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REVIEW

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**Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem. quia malum est homini ut eum  
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive  
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. cccxxviii. AD PASCENT.**

VOLUME XL.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1915.

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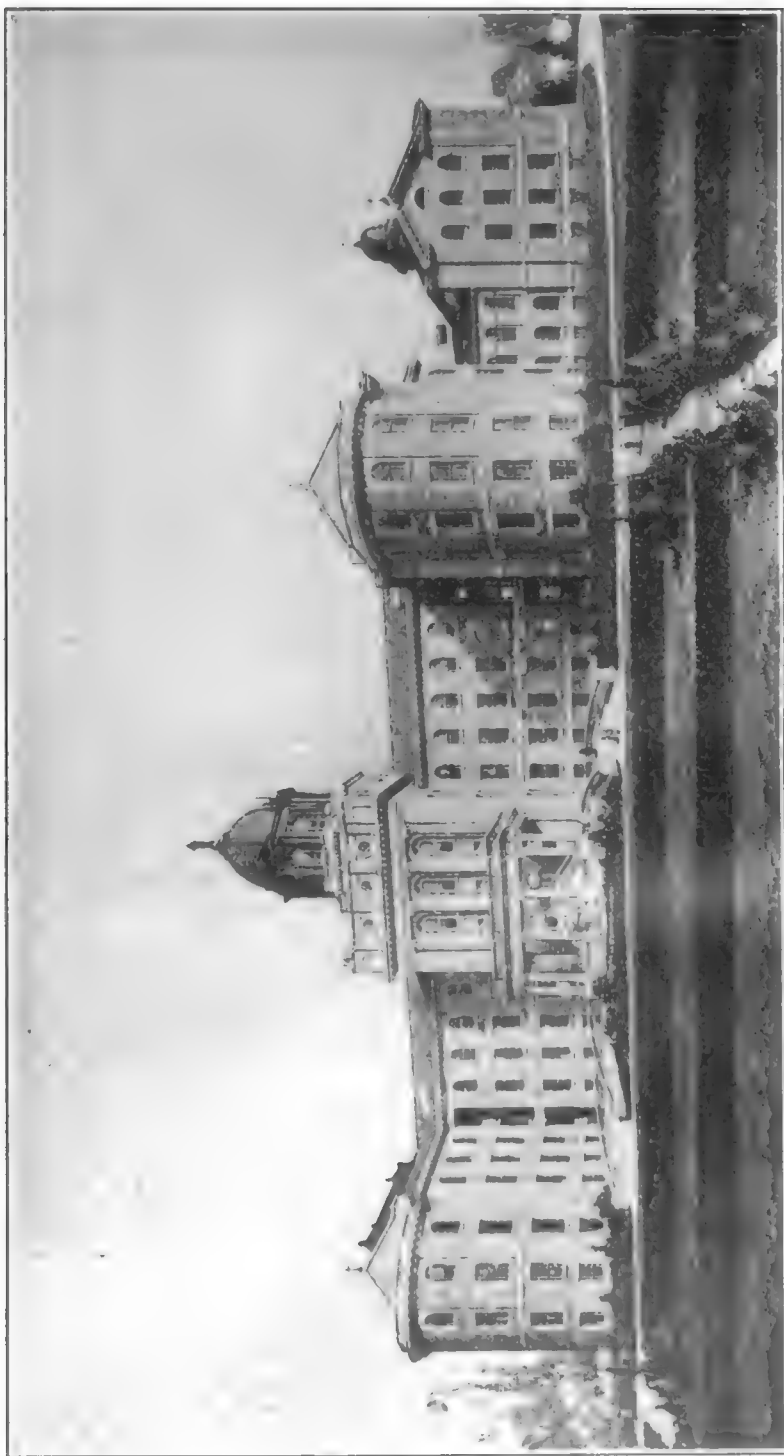
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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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## THE BEAUTIFUL IN ART.

### I.

**I**N studying the beautiful in art, we have to face a subject that presents no small difficulty, but its importance will act as a stimulus to venture upon the task and learn whatever lesson there is contained under the magic charm of the beautiful. Man has a special and indestructible desire for the beautiful; he desires good, and it has for him an irresistible attraction when it is presented to him under the appearance of the beautiful. It sometimes happens that he mistakes evil for good from the fact that evil is clothed with beauty. Few would read a bad book or delight in poetry that is, to say the least, indelicate, were they not invested with its seductive charm. In our picture galleries thousands of visitors would turn in disgust from those pictures and statues which conceal a subtle poison for the innocent and simple were they not clothed in the deceptive veil of beauty. Unfortunately, those who serve truth and virtue by the pen and brush do not always appreciate this irresistible force which the beautiful possesses. If truth and goodness were presented to man with the same charm in which evil and deceit are so often arrayed, men would prefer life to death, but because men have a false idea of beauty, they judge by external appearance alone, and death instead of life becomes their portion.

What, then, is the beautiful? Were we to restrict our inquiries to metaphysical speculation, I fear we should have little to say, as what can be said on the nature of the beautiful would hardly

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fill more than a single page, but when we have gathered from metaphysics the true principles that underlie the beautiful, their application offers a field for speculation as vast as the life of man himself. We speak of things we see around us as beautiful,—precious stones, the flowers of the field and the garden, creatures of the animal kingdom, man, his life and his conduct, his intercourse with his fellows, his virtues, his accomplishments, his works, may be qualified by the magic wand.

To understand the beautiful rightly we must consider two things,—first, what a thing ought to be in itself if it is to be beautiful, and secondly what is that special reason, or, to use a philosophical term, that formal cause why a thing is beautiful. St. Thomas tells us that beauty demands three things in the object which it dowers—integrity or completeness, due proportion and splendour. We should not call a thing beautiful that is wanting in any of its parts; a man without an arm is by no means beautiful, nor should we pronounce a statue without a head a thing of beauty, without at least some qualification. This integrity embraces the entire nature of the object. There must be due proportion in the parts themselves, and in their disposition if a thing is to be beautiful. The Creator, we are told in the Book of Wisdom, ordered all things “in measure and number and weight.” We should hardly say that a man was beautiful if he had one arm longer than the other, or if one eye were blue and the other grey. Neither should we say that a man is beautiful if his intellect and will did not exercise their proper functions. The third condition required for beauty in an object is splendour. Beauty is the crowning quality of a thing resulting from the disposition of its parts bathed in light which becomes, as splendour, the object of sight, the noblest of our senses, and of the intellect, the highest of our faculties, in quest of the beautiful. Hence Aristotle defined beauty as *splendor entis*, the splendour of being, and Plato as *splendor veri*, the splendour of truth.

An object which is beautiful must also be true. It must, in other words, correspond to the exemplar of it existing in the divine intellect, and it must also be good, otherwise it would not appeal to man, the object of whose intellect and will are respectively truth and goodness; and were the thing which we call beautiful not good it would not elicit in us those delights which are ever associated with the perception of the beautiful.

The thing which we call beautiful must have also the quality of nobility and a certain distinction which places it above ignoble things. The beautiful has kinship with the intellect, and its subject should share in the nobility of man's highest faculty. Hence we

do not call ignoble objects beautiful, neither should we designate such, ignoble actions nor ignoble lives. The beautiful always excites in us admiration and delight, which are among the higher affections of the soul, and anything that is not noble and akin to the soul could not, on its perception, produce such results.

When we ask ourselves, what is the formal and precise reason why a thing is designated beautiful, we find that many opinions have been advanced in solution of this question. Some tell us that the precise reason why a thing is beautiful is that it is useful, so that useful and beautiful are convertible terms. This opinion is held by the utilitarian school, and has been adopted by the Sensationists, who look only to the material well-being of the individual or the race. Their views cannot be maintained, as there are many useful things that are by no means beautiful. A bitter medicine is often useful, so is a spade or a shovel, but we should hardly call them beautiful. Our hideous penny and our clumsy five-shilling piece are useful, but one would require a strong imagination to pronounce them beautiful. On the other hand, there are beautiful things that are by no means useful, in a utilitarian sense. Honesty and uprightness of character are beautiful, but we don't admire them for their use but because of themselves. Useful things please us only when we possess them, but beautiful things delight us when we see them. Others tell us that a thing is beautiful because of the gratification, generally sensuous gratification, we experience in seeing it. This opinion is not true, because many things cause us gratification that we cannot call beautiful. A savory dish or an exquisite perfume give a certain sensuous delectation to the appetite, but such things cannot be called beautiful. Delectable things, St. Thomas says, appeal to the appetite, while beautiful things appeal to the intelligence, hence though the perception of the beautiful is always accompanied by some sense of gratification and delight, it does not follow that this experience is the formal reason why a thing is beautiful.

We are told again that the formal reason why a thing is beautiful is the harmonious disposition and unity of the parts which compose it. Though the beautiful presupposes all this, it would not be true to say that the formal reason of the beautiful consists in this disposition and unity, which belongs to its material composition, while a thing to be beautiful must be perfect and have a certain nobility and distinction. It is quite true that every finite thing, being a part of the universe, has its due place and its due proportion in relation to other things, but if it is to be beautiful it must have a certain unity and nobility. There is an old axiom in the schools which says that things which are divided among the



lower types are unified in the higher types. Thus the perfection of bodies of the plant, of the animal are unified in man. In the sunbeam we have splendour, heat, motion, activity and colour. Hence beautiful things, since they are dowered with nobility and distinction, are equivalent, in an eminent degree, to several which are combined in them, in due proportion, under the form of unity: Hence St. Augustine, speaking of the perfection which constitutes the material composition of the beautiful, says—"The form of all beauty is unity."

The School of Associational Psychology would have us believe that the beautiful is constituted from the fact of the association of ideas which are suggested to the mind in looking upon a work of art. This idea of the beautiful is supposed to be embodied in the art of the impressionists. You will notice here that there is an unauthorized transition from the ideal to the real order of things and that the effect produced by an object on the emotions is presented as the cause of the emotions themselves. The aesthetic sentiment, in other words, is taken as the formal cause of the beautiful, while in reality, it is the effect produced by the perception of the beautiful. The beautiful is an objective reality, not a mere sentiment.

The formal reason why a thing is beautiful consists in that consonance by which beautiful things correspond to their archetype, which, in the light of intelligence, manifests the rule and measure of beauty. The principal archetype of created things exists in the divine mind, the second archetype of created things exists in the human mind. Everything has been created by God according to the archetype of them existing in the divine mind, and since the mind of man is a created and participated likeness of the mind of God the archetype of created things exists in a secondary way in the human mind. We experience the existence in our mind of an exquisite form which serves the intellect as a rule and measure in judging the beautiful. When we look upon a work of art, we compare it with this form which we call the archetype, existing in our mind. If the mind were not in possession of this form, it could not institute a comparison, without which it could not judge whether a thing is beautiful or not. We know from experience that when the mind first perceives the consonance of a thing with the archetype of it in the mind, it then perceives a certain form and splendour which is the exquisite and luminous presentment of a perfect and complete object, and this exquisite and luminous presentment is termed the beautiful. It is the archetype in the mind which makes the intellect akin to the beautiful in nature, serves as a guide and model for the artist in giving beauty to his

canvas, and constitutes in the soul that natural and longing desire we all experience for the beautiful. It is clear, then, that the archetype to which all beautiful things should correspond, primarily and absolutely, is the divine beauty itself, which serves God as an archetype in the creation of finite things, and, secondarily, to that exquisite form in the human mind which is a created participation of the divine beauty. We are told in the life of Raphael that he experienced an exquisite form, always floating before his mental vision, which he was ever in vain striving to adequately grasp and transfer to canvas.

The beautiful is distinguished from the good, inasmuch as, in the good, we desire the thing itself, but in the beautiful we desire its splendour. Hence we designate dreams and fancies and fictions beautiful, because the perception of them creates delight, and those objects that appeal to the intellect and to the senses of sight and hearing, the faculties most akin to the intellect, for the same reason, we term beautiful. The beautiful is that which delights when it is perceived, and it delights because it is akin to the intellect, it is akin to the intellect because it corresponds to the archetype by which, in the light of intelligence, we judge what things must necessarily be, if they are to be noble and perfect and beautiful. It is clear, then, that that is beautiful which, in the light of intelligence, corresponds to and is consonant with the archetype in the mind which is the exemplar of the beautiful.

We may then define the beautiful as—"The consonance or correspondence of a noble and perfect thing with the archetype existing in the mind"; and since this archetype of beauty primarily exists in the mind of God, we may formulate another definition of the beautiful,—“The refulgence of the divine splendour existing in things.”

To understand the beautiful more fully, we must distinguish between ideal beauty and real beauty. Ideal beauty is that beauty which, in the mind, represents all those modes which serve as exemplars according to which the divine beauty can be shared by created things. It enlightens and teaches the mind what things must necessarily be if they are to be beautiful. It is that exquisite form ever appealing to the mind for perception, the concrete externalization of which will be always perfect and beautiful. Real beauty is the concrete externalization of ideal beauty. Beauty is again either material or spiritual. Material beauty is the splendour resulting from the harmonious and symmetrical disposition of the parts. Spiritual beauty is either intellectual or moral. The former is the splendour of truth, the latter the splendour of goodness.

We said in the beginning that if a thing is beautiful it must be

true and good, but the beautiful is not simply the true or not exactly convertible with the true. It is rather a species of truth connecting nobility or distinction. The formal reason of the true consists in the fact that it appeals to the intellect, but the formal reason of the beautiful is that it appeals to the intellect as informed by the archetype, which we have said is the measure of the beautiful. Neither is the beautiful convertible with the good. All good appeals to the appetite, but the beautiful appeals to the appetite, inasmuch as the apprehension of it creates delight. Hence the beautiful is not truth in general nor good in general, but adds something to both—to truth an order to the archetype in the mind, and to good delight consequent on its perception.

It must be remembered that the form existing in the mind which we have called the archetype is a spiritual form and admits of development and evolution; and since it is an intellectual and spiritual form, the beautiful exists primarily and principally in spiritual things as opposed to mere material things, in which it exists as in a symbol of something higher. Hence the simple and unlettered cannot appreciate the beautiful, because in them the spiritual archetype in the mind has not been evolved nor developed, neither can they perceive it adequately nor use it as a measure of the beautiful. The idea the unlettered have of the beautiful must always be inadequate and rudimentary.

The beautiful finds its concrete expression in three schools of art, the mystic, the idealist and the realist or naturalist. In the mystic school the aim of the artist was principally religious. In his choice of subject, in his conception of it, the grouping of the figures, in their action, in his treatment, he always had the same end in view. For the mystic, art was the handmaid of religion. He conceives man as a religious being, made to the image and likeness of God, raised by grace to a supernatural life and destiny, ennobled by acquired and infused virtues and illumined by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The mystic artist conceives the soul to be in possession of the body, and informed by a participation of the divine life. In his conception there was a certain subordination of the body to the soul. The soul is superior to the body because it is spiritual while the body is material; its aspirations are ordered by the Creator to spiritual things, to truth which is immutable, to goodness that is real and the possession of which assures perfection to the possessor. He conceives the body to be informed and vivified by the soul, to be subordinated to the soul, to be permeated by the action of the soul, to reflect the soul—its nobility and its spirituality. He conceives the soul of man as united to the body, and communicating to the body some of its spiritual quali-

ties. He further conceives the soul informed by virtue acquired by patient and arduous strife. He studies it under the guiding Providence of its Creator, infused by a participation of His divine life, and equipped by His gifts to become the docile instrument of His divine power.

Mystic art then looks for the divine in man, and for that subordination of the human to the divine which constitutes peace. He looks for the splendour which arises from the union of the divine with the human, because it is immutable, and since it perfects the human it is true and good. He cares less for the human than the divine, since it is mutable and transitory, and though he must embody the divine in the human, his genius is principally directed to the expression of the divine.

You will notice in the works of the mystic artist a spirit of reverence. Acknowledging himself a creature, he conceives man subordinated to the Creator, a sharer in the divine life, feeling his subjection and reverently recognizing it. You will again notice in his work a spirit of peace and repose. Man is at peace when he is in possession of truth and goodness, but he does not repose in the possession of partial truth and partial good, but in the possession of truth and goodness itself. Till he possess this he is in a state of desire, activity and striving. The mystic then represents man, if not in the actual, at least in the assured possession of the divine, and there breathes, as it were, from his works, the spirit of peace and repose. You will further notice in the works of the mystic artist a certain spiritual quality which is felt rather than perceived. It is the divine transmuting the soul, which, in turn, permeates with its life and divine qualities the body and endowing it with that spiritual splendour, visible to the artist's mystic sense, and which it is his principal aim to embody in his work. This spiritual quality is especially noticeable in the works of Fra Angelico with reproductions of whose paintings all are familiar; but you will search in vain for those spiritual qualities in copies. The delicate and rich colouring, the heavenly grace, the reverent pose, the exquisite drapery, are all there, but the spiritual quality has not been seized by the copyist, because, though able to perceive it, he was incapable of grasping it adequately and transferring it to his canvas. He had not the same reverence of soul nor the same power of perception as the Angelico, and this special characteristic is absent from his work. Michelangelo appreciated the spiritual character of mystic art when he said, that the Angelico must have seen the faces of his angels and his madonnas in Paradise.

For the mystic artist the beautiful is comprehensive. He selects

his subject and studies it in all its bearings. He may be deficient, as indeed he generally is, in his knowledge of the human form, in anatomy and muscular development, in light and shadow and perspective, but, as has been said, the mystic seeks the divine rather than the human, the spiritual rather than the material. He studies the body in its relation to the soul rather than the body in itself; he contemplates the soul in its relation to God more intensely than in its relation to the body, and though he fails in representing human form adequately, he succeeds in portraying its spiritual content. His work is consonant with his concept; the archetype in his mind is mystic and spiritual and true and his realization of it is beautiful.

The second great division of art is idealistic art, and in it we find ideal beauty or the ideally beautiful. To understand ideal art you will allow me to make some observations on the formation of the idea. The mind, being spiritual, cannot understand things under a material form; they must assume a spiritual or immaterial character to become its immediate object. In the process of the formation of the idea, the visible object is impressed by its image upon the eye, and thus becomes the object of the imagination. The imagination presents the object, further divested of its concrete character, to the intellect, which, by a process of abstraction from material and individuating conditions, expresses the object under a spiritual form which we call the idea, and which, because of its universality, may be predicted of several objects. Thus when we say linen is white, the idea whiteness is not confined to linen, but may be predicated by snow or any other white substance. By a long process of study and observation and analysis the idealist forms his ideal of beauty which he transfers to canvas. As the idea is a universal and spiritual reality, its content is nobler and greater than any of the individual objects of which it can be predicated, and its externalization, if it be adequate, must contain something that we shall look for in vain in the individual object of which it is the artistic representation.

The idealist gathers his exemplars principally from observation, and the object of his art is chiefly the human form. The aim of the idealist is to idealize man in his art. Masaccio may be considered as the pioneer of the idealist school. Though we can trace in his work the influence of Giotto and Fra Angelico, he surpasses both in his drawing of the human form, in a knowledge of perspective, and power of execution; but it was not till the fifteenth century that idealistic art reached its zenith in Michaelangelo, Raffaele and Bartolomeo. There is this difference between the idealist and the mystic, that while the latter's chief aim was to



represent the divine in the human, the former's was to represent the human in the divine. The idealist studied the human form most minutely, its expression, the several poses it assumes, the different types in which it is represented, its anatomy, its muscular development, its relations to light and shadow and perspective, its drapery, its action, its repose, the effects of grouping and its several relations to time and space. His artistic ideal was gathered from many sources and fashioned from many types. For him accurate drawing, pose and perspective have no difficulties. In fact, he often created difficulties to show his artistic power in solving them. His ideal, however, represented nature, but nature bearing the impress of divine omnipotence, rather than of divine splendour, the fulness of human life and power rather than human life under the benign influence of divine guidance. In his art we might say we find the superman, not in any Nietzschean sense, but as he came forth from the hand of God, conscious of his dignity, as the masterpiece of creation, and though subject to mortality, still retaining the remnants of his power as master of the world.

Who can look upon the grandiose statue of Moses in San Pietro in Vincoli, or the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in Rome, or on the tombs of the Medici in Florence without feeling in Michaelangelo's masterpieces the power of the idealist! Who can stand unmoved before the frescoes of Raffaele in the Vatican—the burning of the Borgo, the battle of the Milvian Bridge and the expulsion of Heliodorus? What thoughts of the beautiful arise in the mind before a canvas by Fra Bartolomeo, when he had reached the fulness of his power, and fallen under the influence of Leonardo and Michaelangelo! Idealistic art has never reached a higher level than in the grandiose figures of St. Dominic and St. Mark, in the convent glorified by the lives of Fra Angelico and Savonarola. Man, in the works of these three great artists, has been idealized. He stands forth, in very deed, the master of the world,—possessing a power that belongs to his soul rather than to his body, the masterpiece of Omnipotence, the Lord and Master of the universe. The concept of him has been gathered from the world, from the construction of his body, and the knowledge of his soul, from the different types of the human family, from their manners and customs, from the consciousness of their origin and their ultimate destiny; and this concept has been externalized and traced by a master hand that knew no faltering, guided by an eye that never wavered from the vision of its noble archetype. It is true that we cannot find the type that they portrayed in individual nature, but is not the content of the idea greater than that of the individual

nature? And though the individual may not represent the entire content of the idea, the idea is nevertheless embodied in the individual and may be predicated of it. It has been gathered by intellectual power of perception and expression, it is the resultant of a spiritual progress which separated it from individuating conditions, spiritualized and transformed it, into a nobler form of the highest of our faculties, the intellect; and it serves as a measure and type for the artist in representing the individual. Idealistic art is beautiful because it is true, since it corresponds with the archetype in the mind. It is good because it has idealized the human form and perfected it. It is noble because it represents the individual apart from all ignoble conditions, the product of divine power, as he might have come from the Creator's hands. We have then the expression of the beautiful in idealistic art, and no one can look upon it without experiencing the intellectual delight that is ever associated with the perception of the beautiful.

The third school of art in which we are supposed to find the expression of the beautiful is the naturalist school. The naturalist took the human form as the subject of his study, and his highest aim was to reproduce it. Neither the mystic nor the idealist had any charm for him. His principal business was to paint the human figure. He studied it neither in its relation to the Creator nor in its relation to the soul. For him its content was flesh and bone and sinew, light and shadow and colour. It was no concern of his what splendour the soul gave to the body, what the body owed to the strenuousness of a virtuous life, nor to the influence of a supernatural province. It was in his eyes a material and sensible thing, of more exquisite proportions and colour than anything else in the world, more subtly charming than the rest of creation, appealing to his aesthetic sense for reproduction, but not for idealistic or mystic embellishment. He clothed it, if indeed he clothed it at all, in exquisite drapery that rather enhanced than concealed its sensuous loveliness. It was a sensible thing and he determined that it should appeal to nothing but sense. His ideal was restricted and not comprehensive as the ideals of the mystic and the idealist. The mystic combined in his ideal the directing providence of the Creator, and the consequent transformation of nature under the influence of this providence. The idealist combined in his concept of the beautiful the power and perfect craftsmanship of the Creator and expressed it in his representation of idealized humanity. While the naturalist, in studying the human form as an object of sense, eliminated from his ideal both the providence and power of God, and presented man to us, in due proportion, it is true, and exquisite colouring, and craftsmanship,

but man, neither appealing to the intellect nor mystic sense. We cannot consider his work beautiful because it is wanting in truth and goodness in its content. It excludes truth because it excludes the soul; it excludes truth and goodness because it excludes the relations of man to the Creator, who alone can perfect man; it excludes the beautiful because it does not appeal to the intelligent nor can it give to man that consciousness of abiding joy which we all experience in the perception of true and real beauty.

The naturalist school had its origin in the severance between the supernatural and the natural, the spiritual and the material. The naturalist school teaches that nothing is real but matter, and that the supernatural and the spiritual are a mere dream, or if they are a reality they are no concern of ours, and hence nothing but matter supplies us with a subject worthy of real consideration. In the naturalist school the science of aesthetics is restricted to matter and the aesthetic emotions to the perception of material things. The perception of the beautiful is confined to sense. It is no concern of any higher faculty which either does not exist or is completely ignored. The naturalist identifies the beautiful with the agreeable, and the utilitarian identifies it with the useful. While the useful and the agreeable are often present in the content of the beautiful, they do not constitute it. There is in the concept of the beautiful, association and appreciation, there is contrast and judgment, and these do not belong to the senses but to the intellect. The perception of the beautiful, then, is not confined to the senses nor shall we find its complete externalization in the works of the naturalist school.

When we institute a comparison to discover the measure of the beautiful in these three schools, we find that the beautiful is found in larger measure in the mystic school, because in it we find, in a higher degree, the true and the good. There are two divisions of truth which we must keep before our minds in estimating the value of the beautiful,—transcendental truth and formal truth. The former is the thing itself connoting the intellect, and having in itself the power of eliciting an intellectual act; it has a transcendental relation to the intellect. Formal truth is the thing itself manifested in the intellect. If it is manifested in the divine intellect, we have absolute truth; if in the human intellect, we have relative truth, which is the consonance of the thing manifested in the intellect with the thing itself. We have seen that man is composed of a body and a soul, and that he has an indestructible desire for truth and good, not truth and good in general but truth and good themselves, which alone are adequate to satisfy and perfect man. As man is the most perfect thing in the world, nothing in it can

add to his perfection; he is only perfected by the divine. The same may be said of the good. No earthly good can perfect him; he can only be perfected by the divine. Man, therefore, has an essential relation to the divine, which he seeks in his desire for the true and good. Mystic art, then, which expresses the divine in the human, expresses the beautiful in the highest degree. Though it may fail in representing the human adequately, it expresses what is far more important, and its content is more in keeping with the divine exemplar in the mind of God, the source of all beauty, and the archetype in the human mind which contains an essential relation to the absolutely true and good.

We find the beautiful in a lesser degree in the idealistic school, which, although it represents the human in a more perfect way in idealistic art, yet it does not express the content of the divine adequately. It expresses the power of God rather than the diffusion of divine life in the human, and hence in idealistic art the divine does not find adequate expression.

In the naturalist school we get the lowest expression of the beautiful. The content of its work is the expression of the content of sense perception. It is the expression of the individual, not the expression of the ideal, and certainly not the expression of the divine. Whatever beauty it possesses, in its colour, in its pose, in its action is confined to the domain of sense and appeals only to sense. It is strictly human and has been inspired by the spirit of humanism. It is not true because it does not express the full content of humanity, as it came from the hand of the Creator; it is not good because it appeals only to sense and not to the intellect and will. It has material unity in variety, it is true, since the parts are adjusted in due proportion, but it excludes formal unity since it excludes the soul and God.

#### THE BEAUTIFUL IN CONDUCT.

When we come to study the question of conduct in the modern world, we are confronted with many difficulties. The question itself has become extremely complicated. In ages that are gone and almost forgotten, it was easy to discuss conduct in the light of the principles that underlie the beautiful, but the days of feudalism are past when conduct was confined to two great categories—the conduct of the lord and the conduct of the serf. The abolition of feudalism, the diffusion of knowledge, the rise of democracy, and the consequent transfer of authority, in large measure, from the classes to the masses, the complication of moral systems which modern philosophy has elaborated, have created difficulties that were hitherto unknown, but that now must be reckoned with

by any one who ventures to discuss the beautiful in conduct. The rationalism of the twelfth century was held in check for a time by the brilliancy of the schoolmen, but it broke out again in the sixteenth century, and has swept the world from end to end ever since. In principle, it made man the centre of intellectual and social life, the judge of all knowledge, human and divine, the arbiter of morals and conduct whose decision in regard to the relations of man with the Creator and with his fellows was final.

In our day the meaning of conduct is restricted in practice to very narrow limits. It is generally confined to our relations with our fellow-men. As long as one does not violate the canons of conduct observed in good society, one's conduct is considered irreproachable, and there is a very substantial and tolerant minority who assert that there is no special reason to rail at conduct, whatever it may be in itself, provided it is not found out. While we shall not, for the moment, discuss this view of the extent of the sphere of conduct, we should bear in mind that objectionable conduct is not confined to up-to-date ladies, screaming their latest scores in bridge or hockey, in a public tram-car, nor to a nursery-maid running a perambulator containing a sleeping baby into one's legs in a congested thoroughfare. The scope of conduct is much more extensive than all this.

If we want to get a right notion of conduct, we must take into consideration the nature of man in whose life and intercourse we look for the beautiful in conduct. Man has been given by the Creator an intellect and a will, and these have been dowered with certain well-defined dispositions and tendencies which we all experience as a fact of consciousness. Man's intellect seeks truth, and his will seeks goodness. It is not partial truth, as we have said, that can satisfy man's intellect; we desire truth itself. There is in the intellect an infinite capacity for truth. We have an insatiable desire to learn which begins with the dawn of reason, and ends only with death. All the truth that we can gather during life does not satisfy us; there is still the capacity and desire for more. The knowledge of phenomena does not satisfy the intellect, it seeks for the cause of them, and when it has found the cause it tries to discover its nature, its bearings and its potential energies, but to find that it too is a phenomenon and dependent on something else. The intellect is still dissatisfied and seeks the first cause of truth which is truth itself, God. Its natural disposition and tendency is rather to seek the effects in the cause, than the cause in the effects. The intellect of man has then an ordination to the divine, and is satisfied in its quest of knowledge only when it is in the possession of the divine, and understands all things in the divine.



It is the supreme ordering of man's conscious being. God is the supreme object of his intellect and will, and his conscious life, if it is to be right, must be lived in the light of this transcendental ordination which brings him into contact with his supreme end and object. The general on the battlefield has one end in view—victory over the enemy. All his dispositions of battle are made in the light of that end, and only in so far as they are made in the light of that end will they conduce to its attainment. In the same way since man has an ordination, in his intellect and will, to truth and goodness itself, in other words, to God, his conscious life will be true and good, only in as much as it is ordered in the light of that end.

But man is a complex being. Besides his intellect and will he has an emotional life of which we may call the heart the centre. The object of the heart is a single and material good; it seeks, of itself, its good in the material world; it yearns for earthly pleasures, and if left to itself without the guidance of the intellect and the restraining power of the will, it impels man to lead a life that has much in common with the life of the animal. The emotional life in man is, however, joined to the intellectual and volitional life, in the closest of bonds, and it is subject to the law of subordination which obtains between the higher and the lower grades of life. Though the intellect and will do not exercise absolute dominion over the emotional life in man, they exercise political dominion, which consists in ordering and guidance and restraint. The intellectual and volitional life is endowed with liberty. The will in man is the highest and most perfect form of human activity. It is a reflective activity in opposition to instinct in animal life, which is a fatal and unconscious activity. It is the power which man possesses of acting with a knowledge of the end he is aiming at, and which makes him master of his action. Hence liberty is the basis of voluntary activity. It is the prerogative of the master; the slave alone is not free. Liberty is founded on the intelligence; the animal is not free because he is not intelligent, man is free only because he is intelligent.

It does not follow that because man is free, he is therefore irresponsible; he is dependent and therefore subject to law. Liberty is too often confounded with license which implies the absence of law and restraint. We live in a free country, yet we are bound by its laws. In fact, though it may seem a paradox, our liberty conditions law. Liberty has a vast sphere of activity. On the one side it is bounded by the infinite, truth itself and goodness itself, God: on the other its boundaries are restricted by apparent truths and apparent good, which in reality are the false and the bad.

We must search for the beautiful in conduct between these two boundaries, the true and the good, the false and the bad.

Man in his personal life has two guiding lights, the light of God and the light of reason. He has a transcendental destination to truth itself and good itself, to God who is his Creator and who has made him to His own image and likeness. As God created man from nothing, man needs His conserving power, and as He has ordered man to Himself, man needs His tutelage and direction. The Creator must enter into his life to conserve it. He must enter into his conduct to direct it. We said that the mystic artist expresses the divine in the human; he represents in the human the true and the good, in the measure of his capacity, and the product of his genius embodies the beautiful in art. The Creator manifested Himself to the world in His Christ, that He might reveal to man His life of God, that man might fashion his own life upon it as a model, and embody its perfections in his conduct. The expression of the life of God in the life of man, in the measure that the infinite can be expressed in the finite, constitutes the Christian life. In Christian life and Christian conduct we have the expression of the true and good, because God is truth itself and goodness itself; we have the expression of unity, because the Christian life is united to life itself, to God, the origin and source of life, and in its conscious acts it manifests the will and providence of its Creator. Christian life, then, since it is the manifestation of the divine life, of the divine will and of divine providence, in the human, is beautiful, and in its conscious activity it expresses the beautiful in conduct. Christian conduct is beautiful.

Who does not admire the conduct of the Saints, in whom we find the expression of the divine life? Their simplicity of character, their humility, their self-abasement, their love of the poor, their love of their fellow-men, their charity, their unselfishness, their self-effacement, their generosity, their forgiveness of injuries,—all these are intensely beautiful. The beauty of their life and conduct appealed even to those who have no desire to imitate them. The mystic charm of their thought and of their communion with the divine casts a spell upon our lives, and we are compelled to admire them. They possess an attractive power, felt more often than understood, that is irresistible, and those who come under its influence, though attracted by motives of curiosity, cannot withhold their praise. What volumes of literature have grown around the gentle Saint of Assisi! Who can withstand the irresistible charm of St. Catherine of Siena, of Henry Suso or of St. Theresa! The divine was expressed in their lives and conduct, which were eminently beautiful.

Besides the light of God there has been given to man the light of reason to be his guide. Reason enables man to discern truth from falsehood. It has a transcendental destination to truth as to the object which perfects it. Truth is its complement. It acts in the light of truth and under its influence. It seeks truth of itself and if true to itself, it will nearly always find truth. The will seeks good, and, as we have seen, absolute good. It has a natural destination to good which perfects it. Wherever we find vitality we shall find an inclination and propensity to something that affects its perfection. As the reason and will are endowed with liberty, there is given to them the alternative of choice; and, as they are finite, they may err in their choice of truth and goodness and may mistake apparent truth and apparent good for real truth and real good, which alone perfect the intellect and will.

The reason acts in the light of truth as its end and object, both in the speculative and practical orders. In the practical order reason is called practical reason or conscience, which, in our direction and guidance, exercises four distinct functions. It is a light that distinguishes between right and wrong; it is an imperative, commanding us to do what is right, and avoid what is wrong, in any given line of action; it is a tribunal that condemns if we do what is wrong; it is an avenger who tortures when wrong has not been righted.

The conscience acts under the influence of truth and good, which constitute its ideal, the realization of which, in our conduct, is the aim of all rational effort. The conscience is extremely complex if we consider all that it presupposes; it is simple if we consider it as the practical judgment it forms at the moment of action and with which it is identified.

In the first place, the conscience presupposes a knowledge of the ideal which is to be realized. In the Christian it presupposes enlightened faith; it presupposes a knowledge of oneself. How can we strive after an ideal to realize it in our lives, if we do not know how far we are separated from it, if we have not studied our souls, measured the capacity of our faculties, counted our resources and numbered our weaknesses; if we are ignorant of the psychological laws which, in every domain, govern human activity; if we have not analyzed our mode of thought, of desire and of action; if we have not reflected on our temperament or our prejudices, arising from race, family or education; if we have no knowledge of the difference between instinct and reason, passion and virtue? The conscience further supposes a knowledge of moral law, human and divine, to which our activity as rational beings is subject in the realization of the end or ideal.

It would be useless to know ourselves, however profoundly, to analyze, as far as possible, our moral energies, if we had not some ideals before us, in the light of which our conduct should be directed and guided. History clearly teaches us that a people without an ideal cannot progress, and we may say the same of the individual, whose moral qualities will depend, in great measure, on the ideal which exercises its influence upon his life. "The idea of the better," says a contemporary philosopher, "is for us the means of realizing the better." The intelligence initiates all its acts in view of certain ends. And the greater number of these ends, far from being indifferent, have a moral value. Character appears from this high standpoint as an order of finality, or, in the words of Emerson, a "moral order," introduced into the nature of the individual by the reaction of his intelligent will, so that a cultured understanding of things, moral and social, in fostering the continuous evolution of character, furthers an ever-increasing progress of moral conduct itself. Did not Socrates conform his life and conduct to his principles and ideals, and that, according to his own testimony, in spite of certain evil propensities of his temperament? Did not Kant realize in his entire life the "categorical imperative?" "I slept," he said, "and I dreamed that life is beauty, but I awoke and saw that it was duty." He awoke under the influence of the ideal. St. Augustine, influenced by his temperament to the excessive indulgence of pleasure, became, under the directing power of the ideal, a great saint."

If conduct is to be beautiful, it must conform to an ideal; it must be ideal conduct. It must be the conduct of an upright man or woman. The ideal must be based on the knowledge of truth and goodness, and must be fashioned under the influence of the true and the good, in their relation to the intellect and will respectively. It must be the product of human liberty acting under the restraint of law, and the direction and guidance of conscience. As an end to be realized it must be in keeping with the dignity of a rational creature. It must be the expression of the mind and will, subordinating to their activity the emotional nature of man, rendering him master of himself and all his actions, otherwise conduct will not express, in its content, the dignity of a rational being, it will not be true. If his conduct is not the expression of his rational and volitional life in its relation to the true and the good, it will not be good, since it will not perfect his nature; for, as St. Thomas observes, if the act of a faculty—especially a spiritual faculty—is not the adequate product of the potential energy of the faculty itself, the faculty is not perfected, but loses in the intensity of its energy. If his conduct is not the adequate

product of the potential energy of the faculties of intellect and will, it will not be the expression of that unity which the beautiful in conduct demands, because it will not express the subordination of the emotional to the intellectual and volitional life.

What, then, is the nature of the ideal which should be the guiding light in conduct, if it is to be beautiful? It does not consist in placing ourselves upon a pedestal, as superior to others, but in becoming masters of ourselves, and of all our actions by the exercise of our free will in the light of reason and conscience. Each of us has a little moral world in himself, which has its own laws, its lights and its shadows, its quiet and its excitement, its days of sunshine and its days of gloom. It is by no means an empty world. Truth diffuses its light therein, but the passions disturb the serene light of truth. They obscure its peaceful shining and truth can hardly penetrate their dark shadow. The ideal should establish in our moral world the light of truth and of reason and blot out the tumultuous clamorings of passion. The ideal should permeate with its light our rational, our volitional and our emotional activity, it should establish in our moral life and conduct a condition of stability, which should make us masters, not of others, but of ourselves.

Ideal conduct, then, is that conduct which is the product of our rational life exercising a mastery over ourselves, and giving us the assurance that we can confidently trust ourselves, in any circumstances whatsoever, to act in the light and under the guidance of that ideal; which further assures us that reason and will and conscience directed in the light of the true and the good shall ever seek them as our end. Ideal conduct, then, is beautiful, because it is true and good, and it secures us that unity which the beautiful requires for its perfection.

To every man and woman who thinks, it must appear evident, that in our modern world conduct is in a state of instability, which gives us every reason for anxiety. This instability, which confronts us everywhere, is the outcome of modern conditions arising from a false conception of duty and conscience. In the modern world there is a disposition to look for the ideal not outside ourselves but in ourselves. Man is no longer to consider himself as a being existing by the power of his Creator, and directed and guided by his providence, but as a law unto himself. We have, unconsciously perhaps, imbibed the subjectivism of Kant, which makes man the source of knowledge and the measure of law. It may be, we are told, that there is a God, and a life after death, but we have nothing to do with that—our only business is to educate man to become a good citizen of the world, who in the domain of



science and art, of morality and education and in public life will no longer depend on faith, which has no right and no value in the direction of human conduct. The deification and the glorification of human nature is the principal source from which what is called modern conduct originates. Its principles and ideals are supplied by the world, not by reason and conscience acting under the influence of the true and the good.

It has been said that conscience presuppose a knowledge of ourselves, of human and divine law, but times have changed and science, we are told, has relegated to the dreams of the past the conception of conscience cherished by Catholic theologians and philosophers. In the light of science and under the impulse of progress, the problem of the moral conscience has changed. Science establishes facts, but knows nothing of the ideal. It attributes no other value to moral laws than that which one gathers from experience. Experience has only a relative value, which is subject to perpetual change, the influence of which even moral laws do not escape. We are told we must no longer distinguish between moral law, hitherto reputed absolute, and universal and positive law, which has only a restricted and relative authority. All moral law in future will be at once natural and positive,—natural in the sense that it shall be bound to adapt itself exactly to all conditions of time and space to which human nature is related in its evolution.—positive in the sense that this adaptation, to be adequate and vital, must take into account that these conditions are produced by the existence of positive facts. Nature as an ideal is a chimera—only *natures* exist. Man as an ideal no longer exists—there are only *men*.

It is clear in this conception of morality that instead of saying a fact is a moral fact, because it corresponds with the rights and laws of conscience, we shall be obliged to judge of the morality of conscience from the relations of its conformity with facts. In other words, law will no longer regulate morals, but morals themselves will have the force of law. But then who will determine the moral value of facts of conscience? By what standard can it be determined that one act is morally good, another morally bad?

Those who reject traditional morality are involved in considerable difficulty when there is question of substituting another in its place. The divergence of opinion on this fundamental point is very great. The principal systems adduced in substitution of traditional morality may be reduced to two, the psychological system and the sociological system. The psychologists tell us that to distinguish between good and evil, between virtue and vice, we have only to study psychological laws. Virtue and vice are products,

like sugar and vitriol. The association of ideas, habit, education, temperament and heredity, the laws of which psychological observation discovers, are the creative and the explanatory causes of the moral conscience, of its apparent unity and real variety, of all the so-called moral judgments and of the sentiments which accompany them. Thus the moral conscience is nothing else than an aspect of the psychological conscience.

The sociologists, though they admit that the psychological solution is simple, assert that it does not cover the complexity of moral phenomena. Psychology only tells us what is, not what ought to be. The question of duty in morals, it is evident, is inseparable from the question of fact, and hence the sociologists conclude that the explanation of duty and moral good cannot be found in psychology. It is to society, they say, we must look and to the laws which it enacts, as exigencies arise, for a solution of the moral problems. The problem of the moral conscience and of conduct admits of only a social solution.

In the first of these systems, the psychological system, it is evident that man is the centre and source of morality. It is by studying himself and the psychological laws that govern his activity, that he discovers moral facts, and the conformity of these facts with the activity and its laws, of which they are the product, constitutes their morality. In this system man is no longer a dependent being, he is absolute without any relativity save to himself. He is responsible to no one but himself. His activity and the morality of it are identified. All his acts are moral, even the most wicked and debased. In this system of morality every crime—murder, robbery and the rest are moral acts and completely justified. In principle the psychological system leads to anarchy and chaos in conduct. Is man an absolute being? It is contrary to evidence and experience and common sense to even suppose it. He is a relative being, having relations to his fellow-man in society, who is a personality having rights like himself. He has relations to the true and the good, as we have seen, because he has an intellect and a will. He has relations to his Creator because he is dependent on his Creator's sustaining power. His psychological activity itself and his conscience tell him in unmistakable language that he is responsible. The psychological system of morals and conduct contains the refutation of itself, and it is abundantly clear that it does not express the content of man's moral activity, and hence it is neither true nor beautiful.

The psychological system of morality and conduct is the parent of all the other systems of morality and conduct that modern philosophy has elaborated. Hedonism, utilitarianism and pragmatism

must recognize it as their source. I can but mention them in passing. They have their origin in the immoderate glorification of man. Their dominant note is egoism and humanism, in a philosophical sense, and as none of them is true, none of them is beautiful.

The sociological system of morality has a more practical, though perhaps a less fundamental bearing on morals and conduct than the psychological system. We cannot conceal from ourselves that conduct in modern times is governed, in large measure, by the principles which society formulates. In pagan nations the state absorbed the individual and violated his rights. In modern times, while the state leaves individual rights intact, society in large measure absorbs them. There is this difference, however, that in ancient times violence was done to the individual in usurping his rights while in modern times the individual voluntarily sacrifices his rights to the principles and canons that society so insinuatingly enforces. We can hardly deny the fact that our convictions, our habits, our tastes, our intellectual activity, our social intercourse, our mode of thought, and even our estimate of morality are influenced and in some measure inspired by society. We have a concrete illustration of this in the insensate vagaries of modern social life, in the artificiality of modern social intercourse, in the extravagant freaks of fashion, especially among women, in our games, in the unprofitable use of time, productive of no good for ourselves or society, in the feverish desire of amusement, usually of an inane and unprofitable sort, and especially in the fact that the two most intense applications of human activity are directed to the invention of the means to slay one another, and to enable us to forget ourselves. We have the one in the invention of engines of destruction in war, and the other in the invention of sources of so-called amusement, which enable us, in most cases, to forget that we are rational beings, and to persuade ourselves that the world has entered on a state of second childhood.

Man has received the faculty of reason to know truth and the faculty of will to desire good. Can we say that the principles which modern society formulates for the conduct of those who surrender themselves to its direction make for the true and the good? Are its canons in keeping with the dignity of reason and conscience and common sense? Are its votaries who have sacrificed their convictions to its empty formularies living in accordance with the dignity of a rational creature? We think not. The aggregate of human beings who constitute society must live in the light and under the influence of the true and the good just as much as the individual. They must direct their life in the light of conscience.

Their conduct must conform to an ideal that shall be in conformity with the true and the good, with reason and conscience; it must be directed to the realization of the ideal, which we have seen constitutes the beautiful in conduct.

We are of opinion that modern social conduct cannot be called beautiful. We do not find in its content the true and the good; its instability excludes that unity which the beautiful conditions, and it does not conform to any noble ideal. We are consequently bound to conclude that modern social conduct can lay but small claim to the beautiful.

We find, then, the highest expression of the beautiful in Christian conduct, especially in the lives of the saints, because in it we find the expression of the divine. We find the beautiful in ideal conduct, because in it we find the expression of reason and conscience and the ideal under the direction and guidance of the divine. We find lastly the lowest expression of the beautiful, if, indeed, it can be called beautiful at all, in modern social conduct, because in it there is no expression of the divine, the lowest expression of reason and enlightened conscience, the expression of an ideal that is ever changing, and that appeals only to sense and imagination, while the beautiful, as we said in the beginning, appeals to and is akin to the intellect, man's highest faculty.

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### IS DOGMA OUT OF DATE?

ONE of the most fashionable notions of the present day is that which proclaims that creeds and dogmas are antiquated. They are belated survivals from ruder and less enlightened times. Today, the world is too busy, too practical and progressive, on the one hand, or too enlightened, too highly civilized, on the other, to see any value or validity or sacrosanctity in religious or philosophical formulas. The men and the nations that lead the modern world in all forms of progress have shown their contempt for dogma, by silently ignoring it, or by violently suppressing it. The leaders of modern thought have swept away its very foundations, and their work has been popularized on the platform, in the newspapers, magazines and best-sellers.

The attack upon dogma runs upon two main lines. It is impossible to formulate religious and philosophical truth in propositions that will have definite, intelligible meaning, and permanent validity.

Even if it were possible, it would be useless. Dogma is of no use, either for the daily life of duty or for the higher life of the spirit. The enemies of dogma are the Agnostics and skeptics, the so-called Mystics and the practical man.

In revealed religion, a dogma is a truth revealed by Almighty God, and propounded as such by the Church to the faith of believers. It is stated in plain, precise, unambiguous language, so that all men may be able to distinguish it from the error which, as a rule, was the occasion for its formulation. In natural theology the name of dogma may be applied to the truths about God, His existence and attributes, which human reason is able to discover and to formulate in terms of scientific exactness.

The opponents of dogma deny its validity and its utility. They fail to observe that their denial itself is based on some principle. If they attempt to defend their denial by rational discussion they have to give reasons, and these reasons are ultimately traceable to a view of life, a system of philosophy and metaphysics to which they themselves stand committed. This view, this system of theirs, has to be stated in precise intelligible propositions. And these propositions themselves are nothing more or less than dogmas. The opponents of dogma are themselves the most inveterate of dogmatists. Just as the absolute skeptic cannot so much as state his position in words without contradicting himself, so the opponent of dogma cannot make a movement without taking his stand on the very principle of dogma. He aims at undermining the solid ground on which he stands, and he is hoist with his own petard.

Let us first consider the practical man. He has no use for creeds and dogmas. There are good men of every creed and there are good men without any creed. The important thing is to be a good man. The golden rule is religion and ethics enough for any man. Do your duty, be kind, just, generous, obey the laws, give everybody a square deal, bear your share of the burdens, dangers, sufferings of life; that is, enough to make you a good man and a good citizen. If you are affiliated with any church, that is your own affair. Do not criticise or condemn any other man's church. Creeds are not important enough to quarrel over. If creeds were abolished we should be rid at once of bigotry, religious rancour, and all the squalid squabbles and controversies that waste so much time and energy and do so little good. Abolish creeds and all the churches can co-operate in the excellent work of ethical teaching, and engage in a noble rivalry to see which will turn out the best citizens. The practical man will go on to say that Christ was not a dogmatist but an ethical teacher and exemplar, that He taught no creed, no religion; nothing except the golden rule and the duty of fraternal

love among men. He is ready, however, to drop the New Testament, should it appear that his reading of it is at fault.

Now, the practical man does not like argument on abstract themes, though he is quick enough to pick up and to use any argument, however abstract, that may help out his own side, and he will pay professors and preachers and editors to uphold his views by abstruse reasoning which is quite beyond his own comprehension. Thus, it is not easy to get at him, so as to begin to persuade him that there is another side to the question. At the same time he is not without shrewdness and candor and there are a few points worthy of his consideration which might be put before him in a way to arrest and hold his attention, till he begins to grow suspicious about his own infallibility, and about the sufficiency of his view of the whole duty of man.

In these days of evolution and the struggle for existence, and the zeal for eugenics, the golden rule itself must be defended. Some writers in a hurry have been claiming that the European war betokens the failure of dogmatic religion. If religion has anything to do with the matter, one could point to the fact that the foes of religion have always claimed that France, England and Germany were enlightened and progressive, precisely in the degree of their rejection of dogmatic religion. Austria now and before the war got less sympathy than any of the other belligerents, precisely because Austria is Catholic; Austria is sneered at, as the mere vassal of Germany, and the very men who are opposed to Germany profess their regret that Germany does not now produce more Schopenhauers, Herders, Goethes, etc., to do the very work of undermining that dogmatic religion which, they say, has failed to hinder the war. But just listen to John Bull, as he tells the world that the Germans have no use for the golden rule, that they are all believers in Nietzsche's theory of the superman with his iron rule of might against right; while the Germans retort that "Britannia Rules the Waves" is a far more flagrant and far less honest avowal of the same ruthless creed of force. If we come nearer home, we find our Socialists declaring that big business is a mighty upholder of the superman idea; the strong, the efficient, the men with the power may and must control the business, the lawmaking, the very lives of the citizens of the country. Liberty, fraternity, equality—all these words stand for dogmas, for rigid principles which have to be explained and defended against avowed or secret opponents. The golden rule itself is an inheritance from ages when men believed in the doctrine of the incarnation; decay of belief in that truth is the root-cause of the decay of the sense of human brotherhood, and when the root is withered or cut away,



it is vain to look for flowers or fruit. The example and the words of Christ established the golden rule in the hearts of men, because He taught as one having authority, and men accepted His word as the word of God, the immutable truth.

The practical man must also say what he means by duty. The sound ethical notions that still prevail among civilized men are part of the Christian tradition; apart from that tradition they gradually become vague and obscure, so that there is scarcely one of them which has not been made the object of attack by some enlightened scribe. The very concept of duty itself has no sacredness if it be divorced from religion; the sacredness which it still has for men who do not believe in God, is another inheritance from the time when men could address Duty as the

“Stern Daughter of the Voice of God.”

Then why ought man do his duty? The practical man may be tempted to quote some Stoic formula about virtue being its own reward; but as a rule he believes no such thing. Voltaire himself would retain belief in heaven and hell in order that pickpockets, assassins, and all that class of people might be kept in their place. Our practical man likes to see his wife and children going to church, believing in God and in Christianity, in the sanctity of the home, and the need for parental authority. He is careful enough to keep out the extreme forms of feministic literature, and words would not express his feelings if he found wife or daughter studying the latest and most advanced theories about free-love and platonic affinities. Perhaps he is an advanced thinker himself, and sees no objection to woman suffrage; he thinks, perhaps, that women are intelligent and strong enough to engage with profit in the struggles of the political arena. In that case he is involved in one of the curious contradictions of advanced thought; for he thinks woman is not intelligent and strong enough to do without religion, while at the same time he thinks she is intelligent and strong enough to take part in politics.

He has to make up his own mind about such difficult subjects as matrimony, justice in public and private life, education, and a host of others. Divergence of view on these matters invariably springs from divergency about root-principles; these principles, definitely formulated, are dogmatic in their nature. Should our practical man be unable or unwilling to test and to verify them for himself, then he accepts them and their consequences on the authority of other men; that is he accepts in practice, what in theory he rejects as the most objectionable aspect of the dogmatic principle, namely, docile submission to another mind than his own. He imagines,

perhaps, that he is an independent thinker, when he is no more than a feeble echo of the last editorials he read or the last lecture he heard.

For him and for all men the fundamental question is not what I or any group of men, or phase of public opinion, may say about duty in general or my duties in the concrete, but what God commands me to do, and what He forbids. The practical man does not deny or question the existence of God, out of the abundance of his own sense; when he goes that far, he usually is following some fashionable leader, or goes with a crowd and does not want to seem odd. In any case, he says, he has not time or capacity for these abstruse inquiries, and is content to stay neutral. He cannot do so, however he may try; he cannot make his wife and children worship and obey God, without feeling the sting of conscience himself. He must be one thing or the other; and he is too shrewd and too practical to fail to see that his duties to God are the most important of all his duties. In moments of trial and sorrow, this will come upon him with a vividness and force from which there is no escape. Then he will see that the only thing of real practical importance for him to do, is to make an act of faith and to say his prayers. The very quarrels of religious people will suggest to him that there must be something really worth quarreling about. He is fundamentally right in his suspicion that the multitude of sects is a sign of some initial error of temper or method or of both. He is also right in his dislike of man-made dogma in revealed religion. Dogma, like the Bible itself, must be divine as well as human. Divine in its origin, and in the providence which secures the correct statement of heavenly truth in human language. The practical man, even in spite of himself and his superficial theories he introduces into his conversation, is at bottom an inveterate dogmatist; and he cannot fail to see, if he be sincere, that revealed religion must be dogmatic, and dogmatic teaching demands a living teacher.

He is big-hearted and he is a gentleman, and he respects the ministers of religion, but he feels that there is something more than mere good nature and good breeding in it. In every city block the church spires direct his thoughts to the skies, and he feels that they were not built by fools or for any foolish purpose. He shudders when he hears the blasphemies at the street corners, and that shudder, too, reveals some holy secret in his heart. He will not stand for vulgar language about sacred things, and he wants to take off his hat when he hears the names of God and of Christ, even though he has forgotten or neglected many a sacred lesson he learned at his mother's knee.

If he tries to live up to his own principles, he cannot fail to observe his own weakness and his own ignorance. He often cannot say what is right to do, and often he finds it a hard struggle to do what he knows to be right. He is not satisfied with his good name among men; he wants to stand right with his own conscience. How is he to do that? Where is he to get light and strength in his difficulties?

You cannot ask him to go down to the public library and become a Wandering Jew of literature, poring over all the pages from Plato to Mrs. Eddy. He has no time for it. He has not that brains for it. He is not built that way. He has not the bent or the gift for that kind of study, nor has he the training or the leisure. He cannot help feeling that God must have provided an easier way for the sons of men to gain the light and the strength they need. Common sense tells him that the squabbling sects must be astray; and he finds that they all err in their initial principle of rejecting the messenger accredited from God to man. Common sense bids him ask God's help and use that help when it comes, till he recognizes that Messenger by her Divine Tokens of Unity, Holiness, Catholicity, Apostolic origin. The practical man, if he is really practical, and gives himself fair play, will see that the Catholic Church is the right place for him and for all men.

## II.

Now we come to the mystic. He is a more difficult proposition. The practical man has common sense, or at all events, he professes a certain regard for that oracle; the mystic has no words to express his scorn for it, and therefore is content to show his disrespect for it in his methods and manners. Moreover the practical man is often endowed with a sense of humor; while the mystic is too heavily weighted by the secret he bears in his bosom to notice how he looks in the mirror. And, thirdly, the practical man has some little respect for the usages of human language, which he has to attend to in his business or his profession; whereas the mystic looks upon language as a plastic medium to be worked up into fantastic forms, or as an instrument on which he may play the rhapsodies of his imagination and the music of the spheres. The mystic is as elusive as the vapor out of which he weaves his cloudy theories. To attempt to argue with him would be about as profitable an undertaking as to shell a cloudbank with a forty-two centimetre howitzer. Still there is just a little method in his madness; to detect a few of his ways that are dark and his tricks that are vain may not be unprofitable to folks who are content to keep their feet on solid earth.

Of course, there is a true as well as a false mysticism. The chosen servants of God are raised up by Him, even in this life, to an intimate union, which no human mind can conceive, no human imagination can picture, no human language describe. Thus, St. John of the Cross warns us that his writings could not fully describe his experiences. But there is rational and logical coherence in them. They are always in harmony with the truths of faith. The true mystic loves Jesus Christ, because he believes that Jesus Christ is God made man for our salvation. He loves and adores the One God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and would die rather than entertain the slightest doubt about the Blessed Trinity or any other doctrine of the Faith. He sees and obeys Christ in His Church, and is sensitively loyal to the Church in all things, and in all things is animated by her spirit. He is exact and punctual in the discharge of the ordinary duties of his state of life, and frequently, as in the case of St. Teresa, displays practical shrewdness in the management of affairs, and business capacity of a high order. He is content to tread the common track of purification by penance and self-denial, by humility and obedience and even in the way of Illumination and of Union; he will never lose sight of his nothingness in the presence of God. His favorite prayer will always be that of the publican, uttered with a sincerity proportioned to the Divine Light that is vouchsafed to him, "O God! be merciful to me a sinner!" At all times, he will be conscious of the great truth, that the Divine Favours he enjoys, are far above the reach of human merits and of the natural powers of man. His consciousness of this will but deepen his humility, and increase his gentle kindness to all men. But two things will stir him to holy zeal and anger; he is sensitive about the sacred truths of religion and about the image of God by grace in the human soul, and so he cannot abide wilful error or sin. He has Faith which works by Charity. He is a believer and a saint.

False mysticism is something vastly different from this. It considers vagueness and obscurity the mother of wisdom. It delivers its Delphic oracles with an assumption of utter indifference as to their reception among the vulgar herd, yet it is pretty exacting in its demands upon the publishers. It delights in speaking about "the diviner life," about the sanctities and the mysteries and the Holy of Holies. It finds the Divine everywhere, not in the sense that all creation tells of God, not in the sense that God is everywhere, not in any sense that can be grasped by the non-mystical intellect of man. It ignores cause and effect, as savoring too much of the solid earth which it despises. It floats among the clouds, and delights in remote analogies, obscure metaphors, opal hushes and rhythmical twilights. It utters contradictory statements without

the slightest compunction and will show its acquaintance with modern thought by giving you a quotation from Hegel to show that contradiction is not merely the spice of life, but one of its fundamental laws. It will recite the Apostles' Creed with a vague feeling that there may possibly be some sense in the words different from the Orthodox sense, which it despises and ridicules, yet sufficiently thin and vaporous to justify the initial "Credo." It is equally edified by the Bible and the Koran, by the Imitation of Christ and the Rubaiyat of Omar. The lack of honesty and sincerity, as well as of clear thinking, here displayed, is justified by the calm assertion that it is all a question of moods. This vagrant bee finds honey in every flower according to its own sweet will, even though the honey be mostly invisible to the naked eye. The Pseudo-Mystic tries to sit on two stools. He keeps the phrases of Orthodoxy, but hastens to fall on his knees before the rude Agnostic who shouts aloud that these phrases are devoid of meaning. He then repeats the phrases of the Agnostic until the Positivist comes along; and then he substitutes Humanity with a capital H for the Unknowable with a capital U. The materialist, the Spiritualist, the Buddhist and the rest of the purveyors of intellectual novelties, each in turn, takes the poor Mystic captive, and he goes along obediently in his train. For the modern mystic follows the fashions, and that for very practical reasons. He likes to be in the swim, to be popular, to be quoted, to have his long-haired coterie, to be taken seriously; and he likes to sell his books. His importance is mainly fictitious and artificial. He is taken too seriously, he is called a Teacher precisely because he declaims upon the futility of all teaching, and a Prophet, precisely because prophecy is impossible. He plays the game of the atheist and the agnostic in a subtle fashion which may be far more effective than the rude aggressiveness which is the characteristic of those men themselves. He helps to persuade the world that religion is only poetry, and minor poetry at that, a matter of vague sentimentality, the yearnings and soulful throbbings of sentimental schoolgirls.

After much shaking of the rainbow mixtures of the mystics, one sometimes gets a precipitate of intelligible language; and it usually means the doctrine of direct Intuition of the Divine, or what is the next step in error, the Pantheism of Hegel or of Spinoza. Some mystics are indiscreet enough to state these things definitely. Then, of course, they are just plain dogmatists like other people. They are upholding a dogma and an orthodoxy of their own. When pressed by argument or by ridicule they abandon these positions, saying that all knowledge, all thought is relative and changeable, and what is true today may be false tomorrow. Of course this,

too, is a dogma; the mystics, like the sceptics, must hold their tongues if they wish to avoid self-contradiction.

### III.

We come now to the Agnostic. He is the real enemy of Dogma. He is the modern prophet, who teaches the Practical Man, and who drives the Pseudo-mystic up a tree, and leaves him there in peace only so long as he consents to make minor poetry and wistful music out of doubts of the Agnostic.

The Agnostic himself ranges over a wide territory. He may discern in matter the promise and potency of all terrestrial life, and hold that the dramas of Shakespeare and the music of Mozart were once latent in a fiery cloud; or the cloud and the earth may seem to him no better than a phantasmagoria of the mind, projected by some mysterious mental chemistry upon the background of nothingness. In the former case he is a materialist, holding the dogmas of materialism with a tenacity as grim and unbending as that of the old Scotch Calvinists. In the latter case he is an extreme Sceptic, and therefore is condemned to eternal silence, since he can make no statement without contradicting his fundamental principle of universal doubt. But that principle itself is not any original intuition on his part; it is based on a theory of some kind about the nature of knowledge, the capacity of human faculties of cognition, and the like; and this theory, too, is dogmatic in its nature. It is derived from Hume or Kant or Mill or some other modern prophet; and many of the Agnostics are content with quoting the words of the master, whoever he may be. This, too, is a dogmatic procedure of an extreme kind. Still more offensively dogmatic is the attitude of those who say nothing can be known about ultimate realities, because they, by their arbitrarily chosen methods, have failed to find out anything. They make their own minds, and their own methods, the supreme criterion of all truth.

Akin to the utter sceptics are the Modernists, with their theory of the mutability of Dogma. Dogma, according to them, is no more than the temporary form in which the intellect expresses the experiences of the inner consciousness. It is true with a provisional truth. It is true today and will be almost certainly false tomorrow. This is, of course, to make conviction a matter, not of evidence and proof, but of moods and tenses. It is to make the vague sentimentality of the individual the guide of life, the source and the measure of truth and knowledge. It is bad psychology and unhealthy ethics, since it leaves the most important issues of life under the control of a factor that imperatively demands the control of reason and of facts and principles definitely ascertained.



To tell the sentimentalist to distrust his own yearnings and experiences, and to try to enter into the yearnings and experiences of other souls, alleged to be nobler and more enlightened, is to steal back the principle of tradition and authority, the very essentials of the dogmatic principle which the Modernists have rejected at the start. The principle that truth is relative, that dogma is changeable, is itself a Dogma, and therefore it shares in the relativity and changeableness of all dogmas; so that tomorrow the modernist may find himself compelled to hold that truth is absolute, eternal, immutable. If everything must change in the mental sphere of the modernist, then his fundamental dogma must change like everything else. In a word, the Modernist is caught in the same trap as the sceptic.

The human mind cannot stay on this Procrustean bed. The Agnostics, as a rule, take a step or two in advance of the sceptic. They feel safe and more comfortable away from the edge of the abyss. Man must have some theory of life and of the world, however imperfect it may be. He needs a system of ethics, and even though all the old religions are antiquated, the religious instinct remains, and some substitute must be found for the creeds outworn. A few feeble voices, it is true, have been raised from time to time, to protest against this belated pandering to superstitious instincts that had become atrophied, or rather wholly removed by the surgery of agnostic science. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen seriously scandalized many grave persons in the Agnostic camp, when he declared that he saw no need for religion of any kind or under any disguise, considering what a beautiful and interesting world we live in, with poetry, politics, history, business, art, music, love, and many other fine things to help us pass the time till we vanish into the nothingness we came from. This will never do, was the almost universal verdict of the Prophets.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mallock<sup>2</sup> clearly showed that the sacredness of duty, the mystery and the holiness of Purity, of Love, and of Marriage, the charm and the dignity of art and literature, depended wholly upon the Christian tradition, and for that tradition modern prophets had as yet provided no adequate substitute. This was felt by the prophets themselves and they set about meeting the long-felt want.

Spencer, with his "Unknowable," was the first in the field. According to him, the religion of the future will consist in worship, mostly of the silent sort, at the Altar of the Unknowable. Matthew Arnold discoursed about the Stream of tendency, the eternal not-ourselves, which makes for righteousness. Here, of course, we

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<sup>1</sup> See the amusing "Voices of Babel," by Father Gerard, S. J., published by the English Catholic Truth Society.

<sup>2</sup> "Is Life Worth Living?"

have dogma with a vengeance, dogma asserted with all emphasis, not merely without evidence, proof or authority, but coupled with the assertion that proof and authority are not merely absent, but unattainable. There is no possibility of proving that the Unknowable exists, and is worthy of worship, silent or vocal. There is no proof that there is a stream of tendency, that it is eternal, that it is not-ourselves, that it makes for righteousness; rather, according to these prophets themselves, all the evidence points the other way. Spencer, Arnold and all their disciples, all the devout believers in the Unknowable, are accordingly Dogmatists in that least creditable meaning of the term which they have in mind when they condemn the Christian Creed. This fact did not escape the notice of the vigilant critics who had notions of their own about what the world wants. They pointed out that nobody, not even Mr. Spencer himself, knows anything about the Unknowable, that for all we know it might be a gooseberry or a parallelopiped. The honest thing to do therefore is to drop the unfair trick of spelling it with a capital U; spell it with a small u and call it unknown.<sup>3</sup>

The weighty monthlies and quarterlies of England were made sprightly by the excellent fooling of Spencer's critics, such as Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. Leslie Stephen, etc. Mr. Harrison came forward gallantly with his own divinity which was nothing more or less than the "Humanity" of Comte. He thought that this god would do in place of the Christian God, Who had been banished from the world by victorious analysis. But he reckoned without his confreres in the ranks of the Enlightened. He was calmly asked what right he had to spell Humanity with a capital letter any more than Spencer had in regard to the Unknowable; capitalizing in this way, he was told, was but a poor attempt at canonizing or rather deifying; one critic told him that humanity in the lump was but a poor thing, "a beast of a creature"; another told him that his choice specimens—Luther and St. Thomas Aquinas, Moses and Spinoza, Aristotle and Descartes—would not get on very harmoniously together, and could only, by their inveterate antagonisms, divide and confuse and mislead, rather than guide and enlighten poor humanity; while still another gave the unkindest cut of all, by calling him papistical, with the heavenly and the earthly hierarchies indefinitely enlarged according to no acknowledged rule of classification or canonization, and with M. Comte in the chair of Peter. That is to say, the Positivists are the most positive of Dogmatists. And so it fared with all who tried to cover some idol of their own device with the stolen clothes of religion. Each in turn was assailed by all the rest. Each in turn was told that his

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<sup>3</sup> Gerard, *ib.*

substitute for religion was far inferior to the original article. Each in turn on the other hand gave the old religion the second place after his own substitute. It was like the old Greek story of the statesman whose name was second on all the lists of candidates voted for, after the name of the voter himself, which was put first in all cases. This disunion and strange agreement among the anti-dogmatic dogmatists gave the bystander the impression that the old Dogma is still able to hold its own. By a simple process of counting the second vote, we get the old Dogma restored.<sup>4</sup>

It is unnecessary to follow the agnostics in their other dogmatic affirmations and denials, such, for instance, as their confident assertion that miracles cannot happen, and do not happen, that any and every higher critic is in turn right, so long as he keeps clear of traditional views, that the latest theory about the Synoptic Problem or the Fourth Gospel, is immutable scientific truth, provided only it is objectionable to the orthodox. In all this we find the same confident, aggressive tone and manner, which is the very essence of Dogmatism. Childlike faith in every word of the modern prophets who attack Christianity, is another feature of the new Dogmatism. For, after all, the principle of Dogma is indestructible. Men need teachers. Men need definite teaching. If they abandon the Teacher sent by God, they can only turn to some blind leader of the blind, or bury themselves in the depths of their own ignorance and conceit. They can never get away from dogma of one kind or another, until they plunge into the abyss of Absolute Scepticism.

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#### THE LARGE PHILOSOPHY IN THE LITTLE POEMS OF FATHER TABB.

IF literary fame depended merely upon the memory of man and upon a constant popularity instead of depending upon the quality and importance of a writer's work, the term "immortal," when applied to literary artists of the highest attainment, would be an uncertain epithet of praise and recognition of their undying worth. Their lives and the expression of their thoughts and fancies are so interlinked with the experiences, the joys and sorrows, the hopes and ambitions and aspirations of the lives of feeling, thinking and acting humanity, that therein lies the

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<sup>4</sup> Gerard, *ib.*

solid claim to immortality enjoyed by the foremost literary geniuses in the world of letters. For the rest, where talent and even genius gives them a place in the history of any country's literature, their reputation must ever be subject to a varying popular favor. Reputation and popularity, when applied to authors, is so subject to change and fickleness of taste, that an author whose fame basks in the sunlight of public approval today, may on the morrow be forgotten. But the really great names in the world's literature seem to enjoy an undying fame; and while such great writers as Shelley, Keats, Byron, Browning, Wordsworth and Tennyson, among English bards, may be allowed to rest on their laurels, so to speak, for certain periods of time, yet they bid fair to hold their places among the "immortals," even if an occasional revival of these poets should at times be necessary to prevent them from sinking into a prolonged oblivion, as so frequently falls to the lot of really great writers whose names are emblazoned on the pages of the history of English literature.

The truly great writers do not die. Instance our great American poet, Edgar Allen Poe, whose popularity abroad is even greater than in America, tardy as we have been to accord him, because of unseemly prejudice, his proper place in a niche of the temple of literary fame. The memory of Tennyson is still green in the hearts and minds of English-speaking people the world over. Wordsworth is gaining more admirers with the increasing years. And so, while for a time still other great poets may have lost some of their popularity among readers in general, they ever find constant patronage in the best of literary circles. Some writers, it is true, have not that broad appeal which warrants popularity with the reading public, and so we find Browning, for example, more to the liking of deep thinkers and classical scholars. The German people worship Goethe and Schiller; but Schiller's plainer speech will appeal to a larger number of his people, and he will ever be in a sense more popular than Goethe for that reason. Nevertheless, Goethe, the patrician, is enthroned on high and is approached by the German-reading public, but ever with more awe than is accorded the plebeian Schiller, and, of course, less frequently.

It was not surprising, then, to the writer of this article, when in a recent conversation with Alfred Noyes, on whose brows rest England's freshest laurels of poetry, that he should say of Father Tabb that he was best known and admired in the exclusive literary circles of his country. In fact, Rev. John Banister Tabb was recognized in England a decade of years before he sprang into fame as a poet on this side the Atlantic. His popularity was not of the kind accorded Father Ryan, that other poet-priest of the South

whose war-songs were on the lips of so many during the late unpleasantness and for years afterwards. Father Tabb's poetry appealed and still appeals to the scholar rather than to the general reader. The lyric quality of his verse endeared him to all alike; but his oftentimes elusive flights of fancy and his intricate conceits, and bits of fantasy necessarily made him a poet more closely studied and admired by the select few of scholarly attainments.

It may not be generally known, but according to one who was intimate with Father Tabb as a co-worker at St. Charles College, where he was a member of the faculty, the monumental work of the poet-priest's career was a hitherto unparalleled translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. This scholarly work of metrical translation, which a few of his intimate friends had seen in manuscript form, promised fair to be classed with Pope's translation of the *Iliad* and Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid*. Father Tabb had been urged to have the manuscript published, but death came to him with the crowning work of his genius still in manuscript form. It may be that his loss of sight in the last few years of his life frustrated a wish to carefully revise once more the completed translation before he let it go forth to the world. At least his death spared him the grief and disappointment that may well have come to him, when the treasured manuscript fell a prey to the flames that destroyed the venerable college building a few years ago. Here was a real loss to the student-world at large, and scholars who knew its worth may never see its like again. Accordingly, we are to know Father Tabb only by his lyrics and sonnets, wherein are stored such sweets as were distilled by the honeyed hyblas, Keats and Shelley, intermingled with lyric quality and melody inspired in him by the friend of his bosom, Sidney Lanier.

Lyrics, being the expression of deep and sudden emotion, are necessarily brief in expression. Brevity, too, is the soul of wit, and in Father Tabb are had a happy blending of deep feeling and flashes of wit. It was, therefore, his nature to write short verses. Like Dr. Johnson in his biographies, his poetic outbursts of song were couched in a "little language," and in this form of expression he has not been surpassed. In form and conceit his style was original; and his originality in the treatment of his poetic ideas will ever assure him a unique place in English literature. Nor is this all. Father Tabb's style of writing is not his only claim to originality and greatness. His is the happy faculty of expressing in a few best chosen words, a breadth and depth of meaning which makes of his poems the epitome of a wide range of human experience, secular knowledge and religious faith, and which denotes him to be not only a poet, but a philosopher as well. He has touched chords

of human sympathy as a lyricist and has sounded the depths of ethical and metaphysical insight, which only his character and education as a Catholic priest could afford him. And so he has written, for our delight and edification and instruction, those priceless cameos of faultless poesy.

We shall consider, in turn, Father Tabb's poems of friendship, his nature poems, his philosophical poems, his religious poems, and lastly his sonnets with their deep spiritual significance.

Firm and steadfast friendship is one of the sacred things of life. Vaunted friendship that will not stand the test when calumny and misunderstanding come its way, is but a travesty of true and lasting friendship, an essential characteristic of which is unity of sentiment. There can be no discord where there is a harmony of hearts.

History has given us many notable examples of true and devoted friends. The story of those two pagan paragons of friendship, Damon and Pythias, never grows old in the telling. The Old Testament tells us of the ties of friendship that bound together David and Jonathan. And in the New Testament we have narrated that crowning and for us an ever symbolic friendship that existed between John, the beloved disciple, and the God-Man, Jesus Christ Himself.

Aristotle tells us that perfect friendship is based on virtue. "Friendship," he says, "is either itself a virtue, or connected with virtue. "For :

"Friendship is still accompany'd with virtue  
And always lodged in great and gen'rous minds."

While utility is the meanest motive upon which friendship can be based, that which is founded on goodness must ever appear the highest. "Owe no man anything but to love one another; for he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the Law." Romans XIII-8.

Let us consider Father Tabb in his friendship for Sidney Lanier as expressed in his poetry. Like Shakespeare he could say: "I count myself in nothing else so happy, as in a soul rememb'ring my good friends." From the day that these two great souls met in Point Lookout prison as Confederate soldiers during the Civil War, their friendship continued warm and close. Of them Addison could have truly said :

"Great souls by instinct to each other turn  
Demand alliance, and in friendship burn."

Theirs were "kindred thoughts, deep sympathies and untold fancy spells." Aristotle has well said: "Men cannot know one another till they have eaten the requisite quantity of salt together; nor can they, in fact, admit one another to intimacy, much less be

friends, till each has appeared to the other, and been proved to be a fit object of friendship." As prisoners of war, these two kindred souls, at peace, shared their meagre meals of prison fare and interchanged ideas about the allied arts of poetry and music. Father Tabb seems to refer to this when in "Captives" he sings:

"Strangers in all but misery  
And music's sustaining tie,  
They lived and loved and died apart,  
But soul to soul and heart to heart."

The Christian's belief in immortality is coupled with the hope that he shall one day be united in heaven with those he loved upon earth. And so a writer well reminds us: "Friendship is love refin'd, and purged from all its dross. It antedates a glad eternity and is a heaven in epitome."

In the opening and dedicatory poem in the little volume of Father Tabb's poems that lies before us, this sentiment is beautifully expressed. It is entitled "Ave: Sidney Lanier," and runs as follows:

"Ere Time's horizon-line was set,  
Somewhere in space our spirits met,  
Then o'er the starry parapet  
Came wandering here.  
And now, that thou art gone again  
Beyond the verge, I haste amain  
(Lost echo of a loftier strain)  
To greet thee there."

Veiled tributes to Lanier appear from time to time in the verses of Father Tabb. Lanier was his guiding star, and so he sings on one occasion:

"While thine image in my heart  
Doth steadfast shine;  
There haply, in thy heaven apart  
Thou keepest mine."

And again,

"Beggared I am of want,  
This boon possessing,  
That thou dost love me."

He would seem to refer to the influence of the poet upon his life, when he sings:

"I feel thee, as the billows feel  
A river freshening the brine;



A life's libation poured to heal  
The bitterness of mine."

Two of his poems, besides those already referred to, speak directly of Lanier. Thus runs his poem *On the Forthcoming Volume of Sidney Lanier's Poems*:

"Snow! Snow! Snow!  
Do thy worst, Winter, but know, but know  
That, when the Spring cometh, a blossom shall blow  
From the heart of the Poet that sleeps below,  
And his name to the ends of the earth shall go,  
In spite of the snow"

And again in his poem, *To Sidney Lanier*, we read:

"The dewdrop holds the heaven above,  
Wherein a lark, unseen,  
Outpours a rhapsody of love  
That fills the space between.  
  
My heart a dewdrop is, and thou,  
Dawn-spirit, far away,  
Fillest the void between us now  
With an immortal lay."

Lover of nature that he was, Father Tabb was not a nature worshiper. He was possessed of the same love of the true and the beautiful as was characteristic of Keats. He did not, however, mistake nature for the God of nature; nor was he in any sense a Pantheist. His clear Christian vision enabled him to see the reflection of the beauty and the goodness of the Creator in the works of His creation. He loved the true, the good and the beautiful; but, in so loving them, he referred his love of them to the God whose gifts to men they are. In a word, Father Tabb in his nature-poems sees a God revealed in nature as a loving Father showering benefits upon his children.

In his poem "Blossom," pregnant with meaning, he indicates that the love of the Creator for man as manifested in the beautiful objects of nature can leave no room for mere prosaic utilitarianism. He sings:

"For this the fruit, for this the seed,  
For this the parent tree;  
The least to man, the most to God—  
A fragrant mystery  
Where Love, with Beauty glorified,  
Forgets Utility."

Addressing the rose in another poem, he says :

“Naught knowest thou of sin,  
Yet tears are thine;  
Baptismal drops within  
Thy chalice shine  
At morning’s birth, at evening’s calm decline.”

His metaphors are all drawn from his intimacy with the Scriptures. He reveals the priest in the poet, and the poet in the priest. Thus, in “Golden Rod” :

“As Israel, in days of old,  
Beneath the prophet’s rod,  
Amid the waters, backward rolled,  
A path triumphant trod;  
So, while thy lifted staff appears,  
Her pilgrim steps to guide,  
The Autumn journeys on, nor fears  
The Winter’s threatening tide.”

In “Earth’s Tribute,” we have another significant poem :

“First the grain, and then the blade—  
The one destroyed, the other made;  
Then stalk and blossom, and again  
The gold of newly minted grain.  
So Life, by Death the reaper cast  
To earth, again shall rise at last;  
For ’t is the service of the sod  
To render God the things of God.”

He strikes a Christian chord in these lines of his apostrophe to “The Cloud” :

“Thou, like the Cloud, my soul,  
Dost in thyself of beauty nought possess;  
Devoid the light of Heaven, a vapor foul,  
The veil of nothingness.”

Emerson in one of his inimitable essays has treated of the subject of Circles. Reasoning man with his limited range of vision this side of the eternal and the infinite, first rings round the extent of his knowledge, setting within its bounds all that he knows of the material side of creation. He goes a step farther and despite finite limitations reaches out to the infinite, touching the very hem of the heavens. And so we have the dreamer, the mystic, the metaphy-

cian, the poet. In fact, he begins to consider that, after all, his mind is the starting point from which the evergrowing circles of his knowledge widen "to leave," as Father Tabb has said, "of Life an ever widening ring upon Eternity."

But, to come back to the Sage of Concord. He says: "The eye is the first circle; the horizon which it forms is the second; and throughout nature this primary figure is repeated without end. It is the highest emblem in the cipher of the world. St. Augustine described the nature of God as a circle whose centre was everywhere, and its circumference nowhere. We are all our lifetime reading the copious sense of this first of poems. Our life is an apprenticeship to the truth, that around every circle another can be drawn; that there is no end in nature, but every end is a beginning; that there is always another dawn risen on mid-noon, and under every deep a lower deep opens. The life of a man is a self-evolving circle, which, from a ring imperceptibly small, rushes on all sides outwards to new and larger circles, and that without end. The extent to which this generalization of circles, wheel without wheel, will go, depends on the force or truth of the individual soul—the heart refuses to be imprisoned; in its first and warmest pulse it already tends outward with a vast force, and to immense and innumerable expressions."

How much of this is relative to some of Father Tabb's poems we shall presently see. Let us examine, in the first place, how he embodies the idea of the circle in some of his philosophical poems. In "Cloistered" he has in mind Sidney Lanier and the idea of God's all-encircling love encompassing the love of friends as thus expressed:

"Within the compass of mine eyes  
Behold, a lordly city lies—  
A world to me unknown,  
Save that along its crowded ways  
Moves one whose heart in other days  
Was mated to mine own.

I ask no more; enough for me  
One heaven above us both to see,  
One calm horizon-line  
Around us, like a mystic ring  
That Love has set, encompassing  
That kindred life and mine."

The vision of the boastful man looms large on the horizon of ambitious enterprise; but how soon it narrows down to the few

practicalities of every day life. Men of power and influence build up in their lives a Babel of giddy success; but along blows an unexpected wind of adversity and the structure comes tumbling about their heads. The eye of the astronomer sweeps the heavens and this little world of ours, one amongst the myriads, might be bounded in a nutshell. He focuses his telescope upon a particular planet, however, and straightway he is lost in a maze of infinite worlds, all clamoring for recognition and attention. For one proud moment the philosopher dubs man king of the universe and the next, in the face of adversity, he realizes what a mite of a man he is after all. The theologian ranks man a little less than the angels and voices the sentiment with St. Paul that he is fearfully and wonderfully made; but we find him also exclaiming, "Vanity of vanities and all is vanity," and "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." He knows that the soul may rise to the heights of sainthood; but he also knows the awful degradation of the sinner.

Again, how buoyant is youth on the threshold of life as the vision of possibilities widens and broadens before it! Age comes on, and with nothing left of the past but memories, come tears, "idle tears," perhaps, yet how sweet withal, when the memories that cause them are linked with the Christian hope of the future life beyond the grave! And thus may the circle of our worldly vision narrow down at last to a tear, symbolic of the penitential souls of the best visionaries who see beyond the parapet of time. Something of all this has been admirably expressed in one of the poetic gems of Father Tabb, when he sings in "The Ring":

"Hold the trinket near thine eye,  
And it circles earth and sky;  
Place it further, and behold!  
But a finger's breadth of gold.

Thus our lives, beloved, lie  
Ringed with love's fair boundary;  
Place it further, and its sphere  
Measures but a falling tear."

Time sets its limits to the life of man; but the soul-satisfying limitation is the union of God's will and man's will; God's possession of man and man's possession of God—the state of perfect happiness hereafter. Thus Father Tabb in "Limitation":

"Breathe above me or below;  
Never canst thou farther go

Than the spirit's octave-span,  
Harmonizing God and Man.

Thus within the iris-bound,  
Light a prisoner is found;  
Thus within my soul I see  
Life in Time's captivity."

And in "Imagination," he sings:

"Here Fancy far outdoes the deed;  
So hath Eternity the need  
Of telling more than Time has taught  
To fill the boundaries of Thought."

The circle that Father Tabb would draw around life is the circle of love. Outside of that circle must be hatred, selfishness, sin. When man sins, he steps, so to speak, outside of the circle. The limitation that he sets is the love of man for his fellow-man bound up in the love of Christ. In "The Promontory," he sings:

"Not all the range of sea-born liberty  
Hath ever for one restless wave sufficed;  
So pants the heart—of all compulsion free—  
Self-driven to the Rock, its barrier, Christ."

Passion sears the human heart and it becomes silent in the desert of its desolation, as expressed in Father Tabb's "To the Sphinx" when he says:

"Ah, not alone in Egypt's desert land  
Thy dwelling place apart!  
But wheresoe'er the scorching passion-sand  
Hath seared the human heart."

The Christian's philosophy teaches a soul-inspiring doctrine of life after death. Father Tabb has touched upon this theme in many a little poem. In "Evolution," thus:

"Out of the dusk a shadow,  
Then, a spark;  
Out of the cloud a silence,  
Then, a lark;  
Out of the heart a rapture,  
Then, a pain;  
Out of the dead, cold ashes,  
Life again."

"Death," he says elsewhere, "is but a tenderness,

A shadow, that unclouded Love  
Hath fashioned in its own excess  
Of radiance from above."

So again in "Nekros" he calls to us:

"Child of the humble sod,  
Wed with the breath of God,  
Descend! for with the lowest thou must lie—  
Arise thou hast inherited the sky."

John Banister Tabb was not only a poet and a philosopher; he was a priest. And as such, it is to be expected that his priestly character and education exerted an influence upon his career as a poet. We may look for and shall ever find here and there an expression in his verses of what his sacerdotal nature prompted. His religious poems were part and parcel of his finest literary productions and, in fact, a religious vein is perceptible in many of his poems which are not to be strictly classed as religious.

The sentiments expressed in Father Tabb' religious poems run the gamut of sacred subjects from the Incarnation to the Resurrection. The joy of virtue, the pain of penance and the Christian resignation to the will of God in times of sorrow; gratitude for blessings received and an expression of love for the true, the good and the beautiful as reflections of the divine love of God for man—these are the all-pervading sentiments in the religious poetry of the poet-priest.

In "The Incarnation," he sings:

"Save through the flesh Thou wouldst not come to me —  
The flesh, wherein Thy strength my weakness found  
A weight to bow Thy Godhead to the ground,  
And lift to Heaven a lost humanity."

In "Resurrection" occur these lines:

"Welcome, then, Time's threshing-pain  
And the furrows where each grain,  
Like a Samson, blossom-shorn,  
Waits a resurrection morn."

Mary Magdalen has ever been an inspiring theme with artists of all kinds, and Father Tabb has sung of her as only a Catholic and a priest could sing. We quote his lines in "The Recompense":

"She brake the box, and all the house was filled  
With waftures from the fragrant store thereof,  
While at His feet a costlier vase distilled  
The bruised balm of penitential love.

And, lo, as if in recompense of her,  
 Bewildered in the lingering shades of night,  
 He breaks anon the sealed sepulchre,  
 And fills the world with rapture and with light."

Again in "Magdalen" (after Swinburne) :

"She hath done what she could :  
 Lo, the flame that hath driven her  
 Downward, is quenched ! and her grief like a flood  
 In the strength of a rain-swollen torrent hath shriven her :  
 Much hath she loved and much is forgiven her ;  
 Love in the longing fulfills what it would—  
 She hath done what she could."

Christ, dying upon the cross, gave us His mother for our mother when he uttered those consoling words, addressing His beloved disciple, John, typical of all mankind, "Behold, thy Mother!" Father Tabb has thus expressed the idea in his quatrain, "Son of Mary":

"She the mother was of One—  
 Christ, her Saviour and her Son  
 And another had she none?  
 Yea: her Love's beloved—John."

This may be appropriately followed by quoting another of his quatrains, "To the Christ":

"Thou hast on earth a Trinity—  
 Thyself, my fellow-man, and me ;  
 When one with him, then one with Thee ;  
 Nor, save together, Thine are we."

and, finally, there is Father Tabb's Christian interpretation of pain and its penitential value. Suffering and sorrow are to be born by the Christian with resignation at all times. They are blessings in disguise to be offered up in a spirit of resignation to the will of God as an acceptable penance for our sins. The painful death is not to be hurried by deadening sensibility in an illegitimate way so as to shorten life. Christ died upon the cross in agony unto the shedding of his last drop of blood. He taught us how to suffer for our sins and blazed the way for the heroic sacrifices of the martyrs.

In "Angels of Pain," Father Tabb calls upon us to regard painful visitations as angels from heaven. He sings :



"Ah, should they come revisiting the spot  
Whence by our prayers we drove them utterly,  
Shame were it for their saddened eyes to see  
How soon their visitations are forgot."

Again in "A Lenten Thought," he prays :

"—with Thy bitterness make sweet,  
What sweetest is in bitterness to hide—  
Like Magdalen, I grovel at Thy feet,  
In lowly pride.  
Smite, till my wounds beneath Thy scourging cease ;  
Soothe, till my heart in agony hath bled ;  
Nor rest my soul with enmity at peace,  
Till Death be dead."

In "The Playmates," he pictures Joy, a boy, and his sister, Peace, as his dearest playmate. When a "man of sober brow," Joy, the merriest among his early playmates, is dead. But Peace remains and her he has wed. And the fruit of that union is Joy, "new born."

In his sonnets, Tabb, the priestly singer, soars to greatest heights and sounds the deepest depths. For, as he himself expresses it, "The lowliest the loftiest sustains."

In one of his sonnets on the subject, "Silence," he refers to the Immaculate Conception, thus :

Clear, midst a cloud of all-pervading sin,  
The voice of Love's unutterable word."

And he has prepared us for this with :

"A silence by no breath of utterance stirred."

There is a deep spiritual significance in a series of sonnets beginning with "The Petrel" and running through such sonnets as "At Anchor," "Shadows," "The Mountain" and "Unmoored." In "The Petrel" we have portrayed a wanderer "that from the wave no sundering light can ween." And this wanderer has a companion, Memory, that —"flits outward where the whitening billows hide.

What seemed of Life the one reality." But Memory returns "ghostlike, to the restless sea." And so man, the voyager on life's restless sea, finds that he lives in his memories, but these, too, must fade away with advancing years. But carry the thought over into the next sonnet "At Anchor," and hear the clarion call for a Christian soul that knows that the be-all and end-all are not here and the deathless soul a mere matter of memory, for the sea of life is, indeed, restless and the soul's anchorage is elsewhere. And so we have this :

"Star of my life, pale planet, far removed,  
 Oh, be thou, when the twilight deepens, near!  
 Set in my soul thine image undisproved  
 By death and darkness, till the morning clear  
 Behold me in the presence I have loved,  
 My beacon here, my bliss eternal there!"

Again in "Shadows" we are once more comforted by Memory  
 who "her pilgrimage of pain

Renews, with fainting footsteps, overworn."

But, despite what "a desert seems of solitude oppressed" there  
 still remains

"The pledges of returning night and rest."

In "The Mountain," he says:

"Around thee, too, the kindred sympathies  
 Of life—itself a vapor—breathe and flow,  
 And yearn beyond thy pinnacle of snow  
 To wing the trackless region of the skies."

In "Unmoored" we have a veritable outpouring of the desire for  
 immortality and blessed life with God beyond the grave. "O blessed  
 consummation," he exclaims, "thus to feel in Death no touch of  
 terror," and further soliloquizes:

"To die in sleep—to drift from dream to dream  
 Along the banks of slumber, beckoned on  
 Perchance by forms familiar, till anon,  
 Unconsciously, the ever-widening stream  
 Beyond the breakers bore thee, and the beam  
 Of everlasting morning woke upon  
 Thy dazzled gaze, revealing one by one  
 Thy visions grown immortal in its gleam."

In "The Portrait," we find the poet contemplating a photograph  
 of himself as a child. "The child is father to the man," and here  
 the man considers his childhood and angel-guardian, and he would  
 be a child again. Christ said: "Unless you become as little children,  
 you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Changed as he is  
 to a man, he now begs a blessing of the boy.

Father Tabb, too, passed through his allotted Golgotha and makes  
 a plea in his sonnet on that subject:

"Oh! let me be,  
 As in those hours of anguish, hidden now  
 In shades of death, the light of life to find."

And so, unmoored at last, it was his "to die in sleep" and "drift from dream to dream." And well may we think of him in those last hours, when we recall the closing lines in "Unmoored," one of his choicest sonnets, where he speaks of Death,

"Tenderly  
As shadows to the evening hills he came  
In the garb of God's dear messenger to thee,  
Nor on thy weary eyelids broke the seal,  
In reverence for a brother's holier name."

J. B. JACOB.

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## THE CROSS ON THE DARK CONTINENT.

### CARDINAL LAVIGERIE AS A MISSIONARY.

[This paper deals with the missionary life of the great African Cardinal, Mgr. Lavigerie. His life as a Cardinal has been written again and again, but no reference has so far been made to his life as the shepherd of his people. The tender heart of the great priest and missionary is very little known. The writer has tried to picture him as his co-laborer, Father Charmelant, described him to him.]

"And I was not thought worthy to go with them."

THESE words, spoken with the deepest regret, were said to the writer of this article by the Very Rev. Father Charmelant, Vicar General to His Eminence Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers. He was relating incidents in the missionary life of the great Cardinal, and among many other things he told me of the dangers of the desert and of the sacrifices made by the missionaries for the salvation of souls. One missionary after another, in attempting to cross the desert of Sahara, in order to reach the southern part of the diocese, lost his life, and his bones were left to bleach upon its burning sands. At a loss for missionaries to supply their places, Monseigneur Lavigerie went to France to the Seminary of Foreign Missions and made a touching appeal to the young Levites. He told them frankly that he had nothing to offer them save privation, suffering and even death. He did not conceal the fate of those who had gone before them; he asked for martyrs. Three young men came forward and placed their hands in his, saying, "Father, we will go with you." Tears filled the eyes of the good Bishop as he looked at their bright, young faces and thought of the fate that might await them. Again he described the trials and dangers that beset this mis-

sion, and again the young men replied: "Father, we entered the seminary to learn to be missionaries; our directors have told us all you have said, and more, too. We feel we are called to a missionary life, and we are ready to go with you." The parents of the young men were sent for and the Bishop explained to them what their sons might expect if they followed him to Africa. "*Nos enfants veulent être missionnaires; que la volonté de Dieu soit faite.*" ("Our sons want to be missionaries; may God's will be done.")

The young men were ordained, and after a preparation of three months, in Algiers, one fine morning, the Feast of the Seven Dolors, they set out for the work assigned them. In order to reach their destination they were obliged to cross the desert. A Mahometan guide was furnished them; they mounted their camels and, accompanied by Father Charmetant and other fathers, they in due time reached the desert. Here they were to leave their friends. The parting between the old missionaries and the young ones need not be described. The young men and their guide turned their camels toward the desert, and, singing the *magnificat*, went cheerfully on their way. The old missionaries watched them for a time, and good Father Charmetant, as he turned homeward, murmured sadly: "I was not thought worthy to go with them."

Nothing was heard of the young heroes for some time; uneasiness was felt as to their fate. Finally, a searching party was sent out to inquire after them. When three days out the party came upon their mutilated bodies bleaching upon the desert sands. The guide, being a Mahometan, was killed, but his body was not mutilated. This interesting narrative led me to look up the life of the great Cardinal as a missionary bishop. To the late Canon Jules Jollon, of Brooklyn, who was for a time in Algiers, and who was a friend of the Cardinal, I am indebted for some valuable information.

Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie, the great apostle of the African slaves in his day, was born at Esprit, France, October 31, 1825. He made his studies at St. Sulpice, in Paris, where in due time he was ordained to the priesthood. His career as a priest was such as to single him out as a man to command, and on March 10, 1863, he was preconized Bishop of Nancy and Toul. But such a field was inadequate to meet the yearnings of his great soul. Bishop Lavigerie had devoted his life to the service of his fellow-men. He was at heart a missionary. His was to be a life of sacrifice. He had taken a deep interest in the French colonies of North Africa. He heard the Arab children calling upon him to deliver them from error's chain, and he longed to be among them. On

March 27, 1867, Pope Pius IX, of blessed memory, appointed him Archbishop of Algiers, and he at once set out for his new field of labor. The diocese to which he had just been appointed was full of hardship, privation and suffering. The native population was smarting under the humiliation of European conquest, and the conduct of many of the French colonists was anything but edifying. These influences had to be counteracted. It required no little tact to accomplish all this, and to overcome the influences and hostility of Mahometanism. The Archbishop was fully alive to the wants of his charge. He had longed for that field of labor; he had studied its situation, its wants and the means of supplying them. He repaired to the Seminary of Foreign Missions, that fruitful source which supplies the world with trained missionaries, and called for volunteers for his far-off diocese. He wanted men of intelligence, men of sacrifice, men of strong constitutions, men with a knowledge of the manners and customs and the likes and dislikes of the African people; men acquainted with the peculiar diseases of these regions, and possessed of sufficient medical skill to treat them; men trained in mechanical arts, who could teach the natives how to make a living after they had abandoned their half-civilized mode of life and embraced Christianity. His appeal was earnest and full of Christian charity, and it met with a hearty response.

When Archbishop Lavigerie landed in Africa he was surrounded by a band of missionaries who knew the great work that was before them, and who were ready to endure all manner of trials and dangers for the salvation of souls. The diocese of Algiers was large; it extended south to the Soudan; there were blacks as well as Arabs to be cared for, and to be brought within the pale of Christianity. They lived in abject slavery, the prey of the Arab slave trader. It would be a long time before the good Archbishop could do all he wanted to for this portion of his flock, but he looked forward to the day when he could at least begin the work of redeeming the African slave.

In the course of his episcopate of over twenty years he had an opportunity to visit the greater part of his diocese; he crossed and recrossed the Great Desert of Sahara, that divided the northern from the southern portion of his territory, and he had ample opportunity to see slavery in all its horrors. In the early part of his episcopate, as we shall see further on, Archbishop Lavigerie appealed to the French Government for aid for his suffering Arabs; later on he appealed to the whole world in behalf of the negro slave. He started out to preach a crusade against African slavery, and Pope Leo XIII not only encouraged him in his glorious work, but gave him \$60,000 to help it along. In July, 1888, Cardinal Lavigerie

(raised to the Cardinalate in March, 1882) addressed the Anti-Slavery Society of London, and gave a touching picture of the sufferings of the blacks at the hands of the cruel Arabs, who were pushing their way into the very heart of Africa. He described the burning of African villages and told how the unfortunate inhabitants were yoked together and driven on long and painful journeys to the market places; how the weak ones fell by the wayside and were slaughtered or left to die of starvation. "May God preserve me," said the Cardinal, "of accusing without compulsion any man, and especially any people. . . . But I cannot resist saying that of all the errors fatal to Africa, the saddest is that which teaches with Islam that humanity is made up of two distinct races—one, that of believers, destined to command; the other, that of "the cursed," as they call them, destined to serve. Now, among the latter they place the negro in the lowest grade—on a par with cattle."

It is a source of great gratification to know that the Cardinal met with great encouragement in all the countries he visited. Part of his plan was that five or six hundred European soldiers, well equipped and organized, would be able to abolish the slave trade from Lake Albert Nyanza to the south of Lake Tanganyika. He also proposed to purchase young slaves with the object of bringing them up in schools and sending them back as missionaries to the parts of Africa to which they originally belonged. We shall see farther on how successful a similar plan was in civilizing the Arab tribes in and around Algeria. Cardinal Lavigerie had already sent several young Africans to the House of the White Fathers, at Lille, France, to pursue the course of the Catholic Faculty of Medicine in the hope that by sending among the natives of Africa physicians of their own race, who would give their gratuitous services to their countrymen, he would be able to draw them to him and lead them more readily to the foot of the Cross.

In an address made by the Cardinal on an occasion when twelve young missionaries and six ex-Pontifical Zouaves responded to his appeal for laborers in his arduous and dangerous field, he said:

"In the prisons of the Catacombs the Christians of Rome were wont, on the eve of martyrdom, to gather around the Confessors to kiss their feet as a token of veneration, not deeming themselves worthy to kiss those venerable heads that were about to fall under the sword of the executioner, and in her maternal foresight the Church has placed among the prayers in her liturgy the one in which she invokes upon her children at the moment of their departure, the protection of heaven.

"It is that prayer we are going to offer up tonight, at these

altars, for these young men, for these apostles, sons of our African Church, who are about to leave us, never to return. You know their history, my beloved brethren. Coming from our France, prepared by you for their hard battles, they are going to join, in the center of this continent, the gates of which we are guarding, their brethren who left us a year ago and who are calling them to come and share their labors. They are going forth with their valiant companions that Belgium and England are sending, and this is the last day that they shall tread the soil of their native land; that they shall hear their mother tongue; that they shall have their fathers and mothers near them; that they shall see their fellow priests, the faithful people; everything that they are sacrificing forever.

"The whole world has heard the glad tidings. It is only the barbarous regions of Africa that has yet to hear them. All the Christian countries of Europe are in line, envying one another in their zeal to open the gates of barbarism hitherto so unfortunately closed against them. America has led the way, England, Germany, Italy, Spain and Belgium follow in her wake. On every side valiant conquerors penetrate unknown depths where the wealth of nature brings out more fully the deep miseries of humanity.

"Do not marvel, then, that a Bishop entrusted by the Holy See with a part of the vast territories in which human slavery still holds sway, that I denounce it before God's holy altar, with all the freedom of my ministry, and that in the name of justice, of my faith, and that in the name of God I war upon it with all my might and declare it accursed."

In order to break up the slave caravans that left the bones of its helpless victims to mark their path across the desert, Cardinal Lavigerie founded an order known as the Brothers of the Desert, sometimes called the Warrior Monks of Sahara. Members of the *jeunesse doree*, of France, formed its first contingent. The main object in view was the liberation of slaves. They were to seek to attract sympathy and good-will by developing the productiveness of the oases and by the creation of new ones, where they would form stations for the relief of the sick, for the offer of hospitality to all comers, and for the relief and protection of fugitive slaves. The Brothers had no office to recite, but had certain prayers to say at stated periods, when possible. They were always to sleep fully dressed, with their weapons beside them, so as to be ready for any emergency. They were to live on the food of the district; where it was impossible to obtain bread they must be satisfied with dried dates. Their uniform consisted of a long white tunic, descending below the knee, belted at the waist, and with a large red Mal-

tese Cross on the breast. The pantaloons were loose and baggy, like those of the Zouaves; a full white burnoose, or woolen mantle, hung from the shoulders, and on the head was a white pith or straw helmet, surmounted on grand occasions by a white plume and embellished in front with a red Maltese Cross. Except when on the move or while in action they invariably wore a veil of white or black cloth, covering both the nose and the mouth. These veils were intended to protect the mouth and nostrils from sand during the fierce desert storms.

The Brothers were assigned to stations along the desert, one at Wagla, an important oasis some three hundred miles south of Biskra. The second station was at the oasis of Mes Jonah, near the Morocco frontier, which was traversed by all great caravans coming from the south. It was here where the military training of the warrior Brothers was brought into full play. The slave dealers were sure to make a hard fight to prevent the establishment within the narrow limits of the oasis of a fortified station, where every slave who was able to effect his or her escape from their cruel masters were certain to find refuge and protection. The Brothers were to attack caravans and rescue the slaves wherever and whenever it was possible for them to do so, and they contributed largely to the abolition of slavery in the region in which they were employed.

But it was not among the blacks alone that the good Cardinal labored for his people. The Christian Arab villages are the outgrowth of the famine of 1868, and were built by Christian charity. The events of that terrible period will never be forgotten by the Algerian Arabs. Famine, closely followed by the plague, carried off one-fifth of the native population in the space of a few months. The most revolting scenes met the eye along the mountain sides, in the valleys and by the roadside, everywhere. Men reduced to the condition of mere skeletons; women eating the weeds they found in the fields; children starving at the dried-up breasts of their mothers or perishing along the highways; and all this enshrouded in the somber veil which Mahometan fatality throws around suffering and death. Added to this misery were crimes unknown to civilization. Fathers and mothers slew their offspring and fed upon their flesh; brother strangled brother and drank his blood; ties of kindred and of friendship were severed, and naught was seen but a savage fever that shone from the eyes of wandering and famished hordes.

It would have been one of the blackest episodes in the history of our day had not the light of Christian charity gleamed through this darkness. Amid the silence of death a cry was heard; it was



the cry of the Shepherd pleading for his flock. Its sound went forth into Christian lands, and it was not long before offerings of money, clothing and food poured into his lap. France herself came to the rescue, and emulation in charity, courage and heroism was manifested on all sides.

Pious missionaries, Sisters of every religious order, charitable ladies, headed by the leading lady of France at that time, the Duchess of Morgento, Madame MacMahon, physicians, soldiers, all responded with energy, and cheerfully faced death in the plague that had broken out. How many noble souls fell victims to the cause of charity is known only to God. One community alone lost twenty-two Sisters, who caught the malignant typhus and died praising God.

The Archbishop of Algiers, Mgr. Lavigerie, was to be seen wherever there was the most need for his services; but he devoted himself in an especial manner to the rescue of little orphans. He directed the Priests and Sisters of his Diocese to seek out all they could find and bring them to him. Committees were appointed in different parts of the Province, and they, too, sent in all the children they found wandering about in a state of starvation; and it was not long before Algiers beheld a scene full of horror and pity. Day after day mules and government wagons were seen stopping before the Archbishop's door and depositing their loads of children, many of them so emaciated as to be scarcely recognizable as human beings. Their limbs were like those of skeletons; their stomachs swollen almost to bursting by the poisonous herbs they had been eating for some time past, and the raiment of filthy rags that enveloped their little forms, exhaling the offensive and fetid odor of the deadly typhus.

Sometimes horses and wagons, thus loaded down with these poor little unfortunates, presented the most horrible scenes. Among the living might be seen little prostrate bodies, with their heads thrown backward, their faces paler, if possible, than those around them, their large eyes staring wide open, their arms thrown out and moving back and forth with the motion of the horse or wagon. They had perished on the way of hunger, cold and disease.

Others, and by far the greater number, evinced the greatest terror in their faces. Those of them who recovered laughed heartily when they explained the cause of their fears. It was customary among the mountain tribes, to which most of them belonged and where the strongest prejudices still exist against Christians, and against the French people in particular, for mothers to tell their children the most horrible stories about the *Roumis* (Romans),

as the French were called. "The French," they would tell them, "suck the blood of infants and children, and when they succeed in carrying them off to Algiers they either eat them or cast them into the sea." This accounts for the fact that as soon as the children of these tribes saw a Frenchman they fled for their lives.

In the case of the children brought in in panniers on mules and horses and in wagons, flight was out of the question, but they trembled from head to foot as they were set down before the Archbishop's door. But when they saw kindly and venerable men—the Archbishop among them—come forward and lift them gently, in their filth and their offensiveness, and put them down tenderly and give them what they most needed, food, they gradually became reconciled to their fate. Indeed, it became necessary to watch them carefully, lest their anxiety for food be attended with fatal results in their weak condition.

In the course of a few weeks over two thousand of these little outcasts were left at the Archbishop's house and formed his adopted family. All France knows how he provided for it, how he raised it, how he saved it, both body and soul. Twenty years passed away since that time. Another problem presented itself to the great Archbishop.

It was not enough to bring up these children; their future must be looked after, and that, too, in a colony where bad examples were more frequent than good ones, and more shameless. How was this to be accomplished? How guard his wards against the temptation of returning to their tribes and resuming their former lives? These anxieties filled the mind of Mgr. Lavigerie, and as far back, too, as 1869, when he appealed to the Christian people of France for the adoption of his children.

"I have already taken steps," he said, towards settling them down in such a manner that they shall be able to help one another and retain the excellent training they have received. I have purchased land for this purpose, so that later on we may be able to establish villages of Christian Arabs, after the manner in which villages comprised of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Swiss and Italians have been formed at different points in Algeria.

"We shall form families by uniting our orphan boys and girls in marriage; we shall allot to each family a sufficient piece of land to support them and their children, and we shall take groups of twenty, thirty and forty of these young families, organize them into villages and continue to extend such help to them as our means will permit. We are confident, also, that the State will join in giving a helping hand to these young people. Moreover, the State is greatly interested in their welfare, as this is the only means by

which these people can be rescued from their misery and made to become good citizens.

"It is true that we shall not make much headway with the adult population who refuse to yield to civilizing influences, but if we had only been able to do for the last forty years what we are doing now for the children we have picked up along the highways, what glorious results would have been ours!

"We are pushing forward with confidence and are ready for our work. The land is ready; our children are growing up; some have already reached the years of manhood, and we shall found our first village before the close of the year. Others will follow, and in a few years all our children of today can be settled down in different places, some of which I have already carefully selected.

"When I reflect over my plans at night, in my solitude, at St. Eugène, with my eyes fixed upon the transparent depths of an African sky, I pray to God for time and grace to finish the work I have commenced, and I sometimes imagine that my grave would not be out of place near one of these peaceful villages in which my children are to dwell. I feel as if my last sleep would be more tranquil among those who are, indeed, my children in gratitude and in tenderness. It seems to me that those souls for whom so many sacrifices have been made, and whom my care shall have regenerated, will pray with greater earnestness for forgiveness for the sins of my life."

The good Archbishop lived to see the realization of his hopes. In less than eight years two villages were built and peopled by young Christian Arabs, one named in honor of St. Cyprian, the great Bishop and martyr of Carthage, and the other in honor of St. Monica, the mother of the great St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. Passengers on the trains between Oran and Algiers get a glimpse of a very pretty village on the side of a hill; the River Chelif flows at its foot, and another little stream bounds it on the right. On this site a Roman colony existed long ago, and that it was a Christian colony is evident from the fact that the columns of a church were found in digging among the ruins. Six years before, where this village now stands, the deep silence of the surrounding solitude was only occasionally broken by the sharp cry of the jackal or the hyena. Now the village forms a sort of oasis in the desert. The houses, which are built apart from each other, and arranged in streets, are unpretending, it is true, but are models of cleanliness—the never-failing sign of civilization. Rows of young eucalyptus trees already hang their green branches over the white walls. An humble chapel, as white as the dwellings it looks down

upon, is surmounted by the emblems of the salvation brought to this youthful population by devoted missionaries, the representatives of the Father of the Fatherless. Adjoining the village is a large garden, divided up into as many parts as there are families living near it, and back of the village is a sort of park, in which are kept the oxen that do the work, and the cows and goats that supply the milk for this model community. In the country around the sterile land is gradually being cultivated, and waving wheat fields are to be seen on every side. All around there is presented a scene of life and activity. Should a stranger inquire the name of the village, he is told: "This village belongs to the Marabout's children." The Marabout is the Archbishop, for these people call the Christian missionaries by the same name by which they designate their own priests. The Marabout's children are the orphans, and the Arabs have come to look upon Archbishop Lavigerie as the father of the children he saved from death, and it is customary with them to name villages after their founders.

In speaking of this village, Archbishop Lavigerie said: "In this village, built by our own efforts, we have commenced the work of settling down those of our wards who have reached the years of maturity. We have found no more efficacious manner of doing this than that of keeping our promises to them, and of assuring their future by gathering them together far from the dangers of city life and from contact with dissolute Arabs."

These villages became, indeed, the safeguards of the young. Dwelling there, under the watchful eyes of their guardians, helping one another, encouraging one another to labor and to practice the virtues of the Christian family they are protected against the temptations and the example of reckless colonists. "Here," as the good Archbishop used to say, "not only are my children growing up around me, but my grandchildren also, for I have been a 'grandfather' for some time now."

It was, indeed, a touching sight to see the venerable Archbishop, in his visits to St. Cyprian, surrounded by numbers of these little ones, calling him "Grandpapa Monseigneur," pulling his cossack and ruthlessly climbing upon his lap and searching his pockets for *bons-bons*.

But the good Father's work was not finished when his children had been provided for. He had children of a larger growth to look after. The victims of diseases, so numerous among the native population, needed a place in which their afflictions could be relieved and their diseases treated. A house, isolated from the others, was fitted up as a dispensary, and here the Arabs of Sahara came, with their loathesome sores, their filth and their fevers, to be treated

by the missionaries. In a short time the cures effected were noised far and wide, and soon the good missionaries were obliged, for want of room, to treat their patients in the open air. There, kneeling upon the bare ground, they would wash and dress the running sores, and treat them for all their ailments. It was not long before another difficulty confronted the Archbishop. The Arabs began bringing their women for treatment, and cases arose which the Fathers could not undertake to treat. To meet this want Mgr. Lavigerie founded the Community of Sisters of the African Missions, and they did for the women what the missionaries did for the men. But there was still a want that was keenly felt. This was the means, not merely of giving temporary treatment to the sick Arabs, but to provide for those whose feeble condition made their immediate return to their homes dangerous, if not absolutely impossible. What was to be done? To allow them to attempt to return was to condemn them to death, to keep them at the Mission was impossible for want of room, and to assign them to any of the houses was to expose the inmates to infection. The only way to overcome this difficulty was to build a hospital. But, where was the money to come from for this purpose, and how was it to be supported when built? Mgr. Lavigerie pondered over these difficulties, and trusted to that Providence which never failed the French missionary, and that Providence came to his assistance in a manner he least expected.

General Wolff was in command of the Military Department of Algeria. He was imbued with the Christian and sympathetic spirit of the Bedeaus, the Soris, the Ladmeraults, the Macmahons. He had watched the courageous and trying efforts of the devoted Archbishop. He admired his zeal and his perseverance. He was fully alive to the benefits, both moral and civil, that had grown out of the charity of the missionaries towards the sick and suffering Arab tribes in the vicinity of St. Cyprian, and meeting the Archbishop one day on his rounds, he broached the subject to him.

"These people feel at home in this neighborhood," the General went on to say, "they appreciate the care and attention of your missionaries. Why not build a hospital, right here, large enough to accommodate them? It will be a work of Christian charity as well as of political advantage. Besides, Your Grace is aware that it has always been the policy of France to win over her conquered subjects by acts of kindness."

We can readily imagine the effect of these words upon the Archbishop. He, too, had thought of government help, but he was hardly prepared to ask for it just then. He thanked General Wolff for the suggestion, and intimated that he was ready to give the

land at his disposal as a site for the buildings, but he added that the most important thing was still wanting—money.

“And how much do you think it will take to erect a hospital such as you require?”

“At the very lowest calculation it would take \$20,000 to put up one wing alone.”

“Very well,” said the General, “if I can obtain the consent of the Governor, I will give you a part of this amount. We have had, for the last fifteen years, quite an amount in the treasury of this division, collected during the visit of the Emperor, for just such a purpose; but, as no practical plan was ever agreed upon, the money, some \$8000, has remained untouched. If this can be transferred to you, charity will soon supply the balance.”

General Chanzy, the Governor, was not slow in recognizing the great advantage to be derived from the plan suggested by General Wolff. Mgr. Lavigerie set to work at once. Trusting in Providence for the means yet to come, he determined that everything in the new hospital should be of the best, and arranged so as to afford the greatest amount of comfort to the inmates. The style of architecture was Moorish, and when the natives saw the magnificent structure, with its splendid appointments, its baths and its gardens, they inquired whether it was to be the palace of a prince. When told that it was to be an asylum for the sick poor, they shook their heads sorrowfully, remarking that the sick poor could never pay for attention in such a place. It was with the greatest difficulty that they could be persuaded that the doors of the hospital were to be open to all, without money and without price.

It took two years to build the new St. Elizabeth's Hospital and prepare it for the reception of patients. In February, 1876, Mgr. Lavigerie saw the completion of his great work of charity. He was anxious to celebrate the event in a manner that would long be remembered by the natives. He sent out invitations to their chiefs, and they came from all parts of the country in great numbers. Neither distance nor the rainy season could deter them. Invitations were also sent to all distinguished foreigners within reach, and to all the government officials in and around Algiers. A Prince Royal of Holland, the widow of the illustrious General Lamoriciers and a large number of English families visiting Algiers sought and obtained permission to witness the *dîffa*, which the good Archbishop was about to give to his African children.

It is not necessary, here, to enter into a full description of the opening and dedication of St. Elizabeth's Hospital. We refer to it only because of the time, place and conditions under which the great work was accomplished. The scene around and about the

building was picturesque and full of life. There, on the hillside, was the bright and happy village, peopled by what were once dying and plague-stricken outcasts, rescued by the hand of charity. A short distance beyond it was the beautiful new hospital, decorated with flags and pennants, and surmounted by the Cross of Salvation. The plain below was white with the tents of the Arab camp that had come to participate in the ceremonies. The whole scene is encircled by the mountains, which form a background to this picture, and high above them may be seen the snowy peaks of Ouazan-senis, rising to a height of nearly 7000 feet. The whistle of the train from Algiers set every one in motion. Arabs, in multi-colored costumes, rode back and forth, their steeds at full speed, and performed all manner of strange evolutions, discharging their carbines, and forming again in line with wonderful rapidity. The newcomers from the capital were alarmed and imagined that the warriors had attacked the abode of charity; but they were soon convinced that they were being welcomed in truly Arab style. General Wolff, attended by a brilliant staff, advanced, as Commander-in-Chief of the Department. The *Maire*, with his two adjuncts, one a Christian, the other a Mussulman, and the Municipal Council, also half Christian and half Mussulman, came next in order, and these were followed by a long procession. The *Maire* addressed a few words to General Wolff, and then the roar of cannon echoed and re-echoed along the mountains, bells rang out joyful peals, and squadron after squadron of Arabs discharged their carbines and rent the air with their peculiar cries. The happy Archbishop, in his pontifical robes, with miter and crozier, surrounded by his clergy and a number of native orphan acolytes, stood under a crimson velvet canopy, and after blessing the Arab and negro hospital, turned to the four corners of the earth, and in a loud, distinct voice sang out the words of Solemn Benediction. This was followed by a salvo of artillery and the ringing of bells. The Prince Royal of Holland, General Wolff, with Madame de Lamoriciere on his arm, and the civil and military officers of the place, at once came forward and offered their congratulations to the true pastor of his people.

The scene presented on this occasion was, indeed, one never to be forgotten in those regions. Here was a country just emerging from darkness into light; throngs of natives, respectful and deeply moved at what had taken place around them, gazed in wonder at the priests in their sacred vestments, at the Archbishop invoking the blessing of Heaven upon the land he had converted, and especially upon his Christian villages, and upon the new hospital, over the door of which was the simple inscription: "*Bit Allah*"—the House

of God. Such a deep impression did all this make upon the spectators, that Colonel Playfair, the Consul-General of England, exclaimed to those around him: "We have seen another Augustine."

The religious ceremonies were followed by Arab races, tournaments, games, feasts (*fantasias* and *diffas*), which we cannot stop to describe here. Suffice it to say that provision had been made by Mgr. Lavigerie to feed this vast multitude. Oxen and sheep without number were roasted in the open air, and French and Arab cooks looked after the wants of their respective nationalities.

Ben-Alem, the Arab chief, was visited in his tent by the Archbishop, the Prince Royal of Holland and Madame de Lamoriciere. To the latter he said: "Madame, the first time I made 'powder speak' along this valley, it was by order of your lamented husband, General Lamoriciere, for the subjugation of the country. I am an old man now, and I make it 'speak' today to celebrate the conquest achieved by Monseigneur—the conquest of all hearts by good deeds."

When the Archbishop returned to the hospital he was obliged to sit on the porch and listen to the songs of the Arab bards and to some Christian hymns that had been composed for the occasion. The celebration ceased at nightfall, and when the sun rose next morning the camps were deserted and the Arabs from a distance had "folded their tents" and returned to their homes.

It is impossible to estimate the good results of the work accomplished by Cardinal Lavigerie for the civilization of the native population of his vast diocese of Algeria. But, as we have seen, it was not the Arab alone that claimed his attention. The poor negro, the victim of Arab cruelty, had a soul to save as well as his Arab master or his white brother, and the Catholic Bishop is the bishop of *all* his people, without distinction of race or color.

When we consider the enormous pecuniary advantage derived from the capture and sale of negro slaves we can readily understand why those engaged in it were loath to give it up. It is well known that the Sultan of Morocco levied an *ad valorem* duty on slaves brought into his dominion, the annual profit of which was \$25,000. Where there is no humanity it was useless to appeal to humanity. If the slave trade was to be abolished in Africa it was to be done *by force*. Laws were *enacted*, it is true, but they were not *enforced*. It was necessary for the Christian nations of Europe to take united and decided action in the matter. No one understood this better than the great African apostle of the nineteenth century, Cardinal Lavigerie. A great portion of his life was spent in the careful study of this question. He was, finally, authorized to visit the countries of Europe and to enlist the sympathy of the



noble-hearted of all religious denominations to act in concert in behalf of the enslaved negro. England, France, Belgium, Italy and other countries received him favorably, and gave him the most generous proofs of their sympathy. The immediate result of his labors was seen in the organization of an Anti-Slavery Congress held at Lucerne, in Switzerland, which discussed the most effective means for accomplishing the object in view. The work of Cardinal Lavigerie was crowned with success and his aims were, to a great extent, at least, attained.

Undoubtedly the finger of God was visible in the wonderful things accomplished by the great Cardinal. St. Peter, who increased the early Church by thousands, and St. Paul, who was a vessel of election, brought Pagan civilization under her rule, have most assuredly been interested patrons of the Church in Africa. Their charity and zeal have been emulated by those who were engaged in work similar to theirs, and the results are that, religiously considered, the desert has been made to bloom with luxuriant harvests that bless and beautify northern Africa. Everywhere, within the confines of the Diocese of Algeria, the benign influence of religion is manifest.

The great missionary Archbishop has gone to his reward; his work is over, but the perfume of his charity will never die.

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## THE CULT OF MEDIEVALISM.

THE echoes of the celebration in honor of Roger Bacon, the thirteenth century Oxford friar-scientist, have scarcely died away. Men ordinarily little given to the study of what was commonly considered a barren period in the history of human achievement have been led to look more closely into the intellectual life of those times. As their interest has been aroused by the multitudinous manifestations of a many-sided vigorous scientific spirit, the sneering contempt or the cold indifference have given way to an eager desire to investigate further. Upon every unbiased mind the conviction forces itself with singular insistence that, during the wonderful thirteenth century the human mind soared to such heights as were witnessed only in Rome in the palmy days of the empire, and in Greece when Socrates, Plato, Aristotle shaped the thoughts of countless future generations. Yet,

there was this abysmal difference between those latter epochs and the former, that the giants of the Middle Ages were deeply Catholic in their life and thought. And this had acted as an effective ban upon all claims for consideration at the hands of most students for the last several hundred years.

Nor were Catholics themselves altogether free from blame in this regard. Even in the great centers of Catholic learning the masters of the thirteenth century were for a long time little understood, and even utterly neglected since the time of Descartes. As for their influence, it no longer permeated the life, fired the enthusiasm, visioned the ideals of men one with them in religion. The world, as of one accord, followed in the mad rush after the idols of science, alluring in their novelty, and cast its heirlooms of centuries on the waste pile.

During the nineteenth century artists of worth, together with some dilettanti dabblers in things esthetic, sated with the cult of facts, gradually came to appreciate the medieval spirit of "stained glass and liturgy, knight-errantry and pageantry." But for many, even to this day, "the tyranny of modernism in the field of philosophy is so great that it has become well nigh impossible for any mind not of the first order to form direct personal relations with any thinker older than the nineteenth century. To ask originality from average minds would be absurd; tutorship in some form is indispensable; but a practice which restricts the choice of tutors, which cuts off access to the majority of the world's thinkers, is a needless aggravation of servitude. A mitigating fact, however, is the patronage granted by influential moderns to certain older themes or writers. Science, eager for new fields, at the same time that it asserts that every field is inexhaustible, intersects its former course, describes a loop, as it were, and numbers antiquity amongst the conquests of modernism. The past as material becomes invaluable, however lightly it may be esteemed as coadjutor. The passion for novelty is as dominant here as elsewhere. What we crave is the latest upheaval of the earliest deposit, and the oldest papyrus would be inestimable as long as it was also the newest."

It is the very surfeit of modernity that has thrown thinkers back on the past, and the Catholic Middle Ages are now reaping the benefit of this movement. If a deeper understanding of its life and thought does not always lead to a deeper appreciation, it is at least a preliminary step towards a fuller grasping of what the Catholic Church has stood for through the ages, especially when, unhampered, she inbued all nations with her teaching unalloyed.

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<sup>1</sup> O. W. Firkins, "The Cult of the Passing Hour," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1914, pp. 665-666.

One phase of this revival of interest in the many-faceted intellectual life of the thirteenth century has only recently been brought in agreeable relief. It has been done by one who, in his training and religion, was so far removed from its tenets that the fact of its having claimed his sympathetic interest is worthy of more than passing notice. Nay, it is a clarion call to those amongst us who still feel that they owe an apology to their contemporaries for the supposed vagaries of thought, the useless disquisitions, that fill the musty tomes so laboriously penned by the thirteenth century. This interesting study of Catholic life is from the pen of an English Unitarian minister, and is entitled "Dante and Aquinas." Except for one lapse from Catholic orthodoxy, no Catholic scholar could have written with more sympathetic insight and deeper understanding, and perhaps few could have done equal justice to the task. The book is based upon the Jowett Lectures delivered before the Edwards Passmore settlement, a characteristically English and Protestant audience.

Reviewing it in the "Philosophical Review" for July, 1914, p. 443, Lane Cooper, of Cornell University, observes that "it is one more sign of the growing semi-popular interest in medieval culture taken as a whole, scholastic philosophy not excluded." And summing up a rather general attitude of mind, he adds: "Time was, not so long ago, when the general reader, though not indifferent to Gothic architecture, or to the 'Inferno of Dante,' yet blind to the glory of the Paradiso, conceived of medieval thinkers as busied with contentions about the number of angels that could dance on the point of a needle. . . . In fact, the general reader did precisely what he accused Aquinas and the rest of doing: he failed to look at things with his own eyes before pronouncing judgment."

The renaissance of scholarly interest in the main intellectual movement of the Middle Ages is clearly shown by the avowed purpose of the author, who aims in the first instance, to bring out the special significance of Dante's work by helping to throw out its distinctive features against the background of the accepted and authoritative exposition of the received philosophy and theology of his day, while, at the same time, enriching his utterances by relating them to the implications and presuppositions on which they are grounded. He trusts, moreover, that his able sketch of the scholastic philosophy and especially of the teaching of Aquinas may have some independent value and may be found useful to many whose interest, or, at the lowest, curiosity, has been aroused in relation to medieval philosophy. Mr. Wicksteed is one of the best known Dante scholars in England at the present day.

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<sup>2</sup> New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1913.

## I.

In order to gain the correct perspective, and to evaluate mediæval culture at its true worth, we must rid ourselves of the false assumption that mediæval learning was exclusively scholastic and theological. In the early Middle Ages literature was almost entirely ecclesiastical and based upon patristic authorities. But all through the twelfth century the tide of scientific and secular learning was rising; soon it had acquired such momentum that in the first part of the next century the University of Paris was powerless to prevent the study of the newly discovered books of Aristotle in natural philosophy. Aristotle, moreover, was far from being the sum and substance of mediæval learning, which drew from many other sources, such as Ptolemy, Pliny, Galen and the Arabs, and which made original contributions and practical discoveries of its own. Western Europe had, by that time, become, as it were, the great melting pot of scientific, philosophical and theological theories. Into the receptive minds of its thinkers were being discharged in quick succession the Hellenic conceptions of Plato, of his belated successor, Plotinus, of his Christian disciple, St. Augustine, but more especially the systematic world-knowledge of Aristotle.

Plato had been known for centuries, at least, in translations and commentaries, to Christians of the west, while all trace of Aristotle had been lost for several hundred years. Greek was a sealed book to the great majority, and it was through Averroes (died 1200) and his Arabic commentaries that the Stagyræ's works filtered through into the west. But, oh, the excitement of scholars, the avidity with which they fell upon this discovery, the enthusiasm with which he was studied, analyzed, commented, expounded! All give us a vivid realization of the eagerness for knowledge, the restless search after truth, which show that the inquisitive human mind is the same in all ages and in all climes. The vicissitudes of search and discovery are excellently and faithfully sketched by Mr. Wicksteed. And, far from being exclusively occupied with theological lore, men's minds were stimulated as much by works on nature. The collection of facts was an engrossing pursuit; there was keen curiosity about the things of this world. Merely bookish scholars received scant consideration at the hands of men like Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon, who frequently have recourse to observation and experimentation as a criterion of truth.

Nor was there any willingness to submit slavishly to Aristotle in all things; but wherever new facts do not chime with the theories of the Stagyræ, they are summarily rejected as insufficient explanations, unworthy of credence. That some of their theories and

experiments bring a smile to our lips in this twentieth century need not militate against the ability of the investigators, as most surely some of our present-day facts and theories will be an object of mild merriment to succeeding generations.

It is beyond the scope of this study to list the numerous scholars who contributed their share to this rapid, many-sided development of human knowledge. It was an age when philosophy in its broadest meaning was the common patrimony of every one; when young men in quest of learning, as true knight-errants of science, traveled from country to country and often studied at various universities before they considered their education in any way complete. Such feverish intellectual activity, venting itself in treatises and pamphlets and disputations, could not but make for an ultimate amalgamation of the various sometimes conflicting elements which had been acting and reacting upon each other. A synthetic mind was needed with masterful grasp of minute details and underlying principles. To Thomas Aquinas was to fall the honorable and onerous task. And Mr. Wicksteed, in a few deft strokes, etches this characteristic portrait: "Nothing can derogate from the stupendous nature of the task with which Thomas was faced, or qualify our admiration of the mastery with which he accomplished it. He developed, with so sure a touch, the tentative solutions and harmonisings that he inherited; he detected and precipitated the latent possibilities that the situation held in solution with such infallible instinct, that, in spite of opposition and dispute, his utterances were felt, almost from the first, to have a certain quality of conclusiveness that makes him not only the most representative of the schoolmen, but, after Augustine, the most influential theologian of the Western Church. . . . I am very far, indeed, from professing to have covered the whole of his stupendous mass of work, but the continuous and careful study of thousands of pages of it, and frequent consultations of the volumes up and down, during many years, have left me with the vivid impression that in the whole of his output the cutting edge of Thomas' mind is never to be found blunted. His whole material is always under command. Whatever he says on any subject, he says in relation to his thought on every other subject. I may add that a few attempts at translation will be enough to teach any competent student to appreciate the condensed precision of the thought and pregnant felicity of diction that characterize this great writer. . . . The certainty and firmness of his treatment of the vast variety of subjects with which he deals is not the result of elaborate tentatives and rearrangement. His advance follows the spontaneous swing of his mind, and he plants each point in its true place with unfailing precision. Like the blameless painter, he never makes a false stroke with his brush.

This impression of perpetual alertness and readiness is particularly vivid when we are reading the treatises written as answers to sets of questions sent by friends. He could never be taken by surprise.

. . . No less striking is his unflinching honesty. He is so certain of his ultimate ground of faith that he is never afraid of putting the opinions he is combating on their very strongest ground. Again and again we read with amazement his concise and forceful expression of objections, against which he, perhaps, has nothing equally clear and penetrating to urge. It is true that he sometimes puts up a man of straw, but never if he knows of a man of iron that can be put in the same place. We see throughout that he feels personally responsible for concealing nothing and for disguising nothing, whereas the issue of the battle, which is 'not his, but God's,' does not really depend on his skill in fence. It rests upon a rock. He must declare the truth wherever he knows it, and declare without flinching all that can be said against it. Then he must say what he can in its support, and if it chances that what he can say is imperfect or even weak, he can leave it, in full confidence in its own strength."<sup>8</sup>

And when we consider his literary output during a comparatively short life (he died at 1274, at the age of 48 or 50), this praise is quite justified. The Parma edition of his complete works (1852-1873) comprises twenty-five folio volumes. His literary activity extended over some twenty years. Allowing for the space occupied by the texts commented upon, and by editorial matter, and for doubtful and spurious works, we shall, perhaps, not be far out if we reduce the twenty-five volumes to twenty double-column folios of some 500 pages each. This gives one such volume per annum for the whole period of Thomas' literary career.

His great work consisted in bringing about a systematic amalgamation between philosophy and theology. While before him the two had run side by side, while expounders of Aristotle had often read Platonism into him, and had understood much of Aristotle in a Platonic sense that had not been so meant, Aquinas succeeds in dissociating the two so completely that Aristotelianism emerges in its pristine purity and vigor and is made the permanent ally of Catholic dogma; nay, the two become warp and woof of a single web. The audacity of his synthesis excites our wonder by its vast sweep. And our amazement becomes all the greater as we realize that this abstract language was transmuted from highly technical—and barbarous, some would say—Latin into the fluent Italian of Dante. For scarcely a page of the great singer's poem but is

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<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 87, 96, 112, 113.

based on Aquinas' philosophy and theology, often quoting him literally.

In order to make clear the poet's true greatness, which consisted in his thorough comprehension and poetical rendering of the highest and most abstruse themes, a closer glance at Aquinas' work will prove enlightening.

His literary legacy may be divided into three great synthetic works, which may be thought of the first as completed before his thirtieth, and the second as completed before his fortieth year. The third was still incomplete at the time of his death.

The first of the three great works just referred to is his enormous commentary on the "*Liber Sententiarum*" of Petrus Lombardus. It represents his first period of activity as a theological lecturer in Paris and rivals the more celebrated "*Summa Theologica*" in bulk. Though he found occasion to correct and modify the conclusions of this his earliest work on several details when he had reached a greater maturity and independence of thought, it is of peculiar interest to the Dante student because it contains the only elaborate treatment of the state of souls after death and of the final consummation which we possess from the great theologian's hand.

During the years that follow he traveled extensively, and we find him successively in Anagni, Rome, Bologna, Orvieto, Viterbo, Perugia, Paris, Naples. It was during one of his sojourns in Rome, from 1261 to 1264, that, at the request of Raymond of Pennafort, the general of the Dominican order and himself a great scholar and missionary devoted to the conversion of Jews and Moors then so numerous in his native country Spain, he wrote a treatise which should particularly appeal to those who, like the Jews, in part, or like the Saracens, in totality, denied the authenticity of the Christian revelation. This work was the "*Summa Contra Gentiles*, or the *Summa Philosophica*."

Although the smallest of his three great synthetic works, it is most important. For all his other works are an explanation of Christian teachings for Christians, and he assumes the truth of what he explains. It is only incidentally that he throws light on the ultimate foundations of his belief, or answers the insistent questions of the modern inquirer as to the grounds on which he accepts the premises from which he often draws such stupendous conclusions. When face to face with the Saracens and Jews he is compelled to change his method and to start from the ground common to all mankind: the data of human reason. As a corollary he determines with perfect precision the relation of reason to revelation, thus leading on the philosopher at the prompting of reason

itself, to cross over into the region of faith, to accept the supernatural.

Hence the first three books of the "Contra Gentiles" treat of what we can find out by reason: the scibile. Book I, after establishing God's existence, inquires into His operations as far as unaided reason can explore. Book II puts us in presence of God's creatures, tells us of their origin, their differences, their nature. Book III shows us the providential direction given by God to his creatures, irrational and rational. He draws them all to Himself, both by the laws of nature and by the special Providence that watches over His intelligent creatures. The fourth book completes the teachings of reason by those of faith.

The "Summa Theologica" is built on the same general plan, and, although it was never completed, it remains a monument of zeal, wonderful insight, methodical and critical exposition; in short, an inexhaustible storehouse of learning. "The form and purpose of almost the whole body of his work keeps his mysticism, that is to say, his immediate sense of the divine (as distinct from his reflection and philosophising about it), latent or in solution. It can be felt throughout, subtly guiding his hand and warming with an inward glow the calm surface of intellectual expression; but the extreme severity of his method gives him little opportunity of direct appeal to the spiritual consciousness of his reader."

And so is the great epic of Alighieri built on the same outline. The "Inferno of the Divine Comedy" is, in man's journey towards eternity, the terminus a quo, the starting point, the state of sin, from which the soul must free itself to attain salvation and final perfection. The "Purgatorio" is the terminus per quem, the means by which the soul frees itself from sin and advances by the practice of virtue towards Him who calls it to union with Himself. The "Paradiso," the terminus ad quem, is the state of grace in which the creature, redeemed by Christ and beloved of God, loves Him in return and lives in union with Him.

The three great works of St. Thomas just mentioned fill seven only of the twenty-five folio volumes of the Parma edition. These remaining volumes include commentaries on Aristotle, Boethius, the pseudo-Dionysius; numerous *Queationes Quodlibetales* and *Opuscula*, treating searchingly of fundamental questions of philosophy and theology dealt with incidentally in the longer works. Also a number of treatises of edification and devotion, and sermons. For with all his learning Aquinas was a most acceptable preacher to simple folk. He addressed them in his own provincial vernacular, which he had never shaken off, and on these occasions he put aside all subtle scholastic disputations and spoke only things



useful and profitable to the common man. Such was the personality and work of Aquinas, a synthesis of thirteenth century holiness and learning. There were, indeed, other great, saintly, learned men, who left their indelible impress upon the times. But concerning all essentials they were in agreement with him, and he is facile princeps in scientific discernment and systematic co-ordination. Sculptors and painters and architects and poets, all were his debtors to some extent; not slavish copyists or servile imitators: original creators, they were all stimulated by his genius. His spirit was theirs; they breathed the atmosphere he created; his work was the background against which they worked, it impregnated their thoughts, their very being. And especially was this true of Dante Alighieri. While it is noteworthy today that many serious non-Catholic students of life and letters owe a totally different conception of the Catholic religion to the study of the "Divine Comedy," many cultured Catholics are almost complete strangers to the contents of the wonderful poem and lack an understanding and appreciation of its unique beauty.

## II.

There is a general opinion that philosophy and poetry do not amalgamate; that the stern discipline and precise definitions of the former lend themselves in no wise to the wide latitude and fanciful imagery allowed the latter. And St. Thomas himself might be adduced as a case in point. Although his hymns are part of our liturgy and justly appreciated as such, they can hardly be ranked with the masterpieces of the world's poets. And right here is where Dante's greatness is first felt.

Some well-known passages of the "Comedy" have always been regarded as reaching the utmost heights of tragedy: the fruitless magnanimity of Farinata degli Uberti, the fatal love of Francesca da Rimini, the fall of Guido de Montefeltro, the doom of Count Ugolino. Yet none of these characterize Dante and make him stand out a unique personality among poets. What makes him essentially the great Christian poet of his time and of all times is the fact that he has succeeded in blending reason and imagination; that he has molded the deepest philosophical and theological truths in the purest poetical language. And yet we realize clearly that the preoccupation of Dante's mind, as he wrote the "Comedy," was neither philosophical nor theological, but artistic. The beginner may be dazzled by the display of learning he finds in Dante, and the opinion is frequently expressed that he carries science and philosophy to the furthest limits which had been reached in his age. After more detailed study, however, one learns to appreciate the artistic

tact and self-restraint that withheld him from pushing his science, philosophy and theology a step beyond the boundaries within which they can support his ethical, religious and poetical purposes and at the same time his boldness and independence in handling them and the moulding ascendancy of his own mind.

Perplexing as the beginner may sometimes find his treatment of philosophical and theological topics, the student of scholastic philosophy will be impressed by the infallible instinct or art with which he abstains from pushing intellectual analysis to the point at which it would divert the mind, instead of stimulating it, and would obscure rather than illuminate moral and spiritual issues. He is content to accept the mystery of the Trinity without attempting to penetrate into the abyss of the infinite. He is content to look forward to the time when the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ shall be as obvious to the beatified vision as the axiomatic law of contradictories, and meanwhile to accept it by faith:

How much more  
Must the desire inflame us to behold  
That Essence which discovers by what means  
God and our nature join'd. There will be seen  
That, which we hold through faith, not shown by proof,  
But in itself intelligibly plain  
Even as the truth that man at first believes.

Parad., Canto II.

But there is more than this. Dante not only knows where to stop himself, but he knows where science stops. He knows that by trying to explain what is inexplicable, you may not only fail, but may wrench the instrument of reason itself in the process. Thus in Canto II of the "Paradiso," when Dante and his celestial guide have entered the moon, he begs of her:

But tell, I pray thee, whence the gloomy spots  
Upon this body, which below on earth  
Give rise to talk of Cain in fabling quaint?

There follows a lengthy attempt at explanation, which dismays by its apparent intrusion into heaven. Yet, Dante's purpose seems evident: he intends to show that when he had left the earth, one of the first lessons he had to learn was, that if you try to explain the things of heaven by the laws of the laboratory you will not only fail in your attempt, but you will strain and violate the laws of the very science that you put to a task which is not its own:

. . . . since thou findest the wings  
Of reason to pursue the senses' flight  
Are short.

And yet how lightly he can touch upon fundamental doctrines of scholastic psychology, and condense them into a few musical lines without any sense of strain!

Only the universal is object of knowledge, and it is abstracted

from the concrete, individual object by the senses. The concrete alone enjoys an independent existence; the universal has merely a mental esse; the whole deep-seated difference between Platonism and Aristoteleianism. And Dante lets Beatrice explain to him, still in the flesh, why she speaks to him of the spiritual intervals between the souls in heaven as if they were material spaces:

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno  
però che solo da sensato apprende  
ciò che fa poscia d' intelletto digno.

Parad., Canto IV., 40ff.

Thus needs, that ye may apprehend, we speak:  
Since from things sensible alone ye learn  
That which, digested rightly, after turns  
To intellectual.

And the question which still agitates all modern idealistic ideology, especially since Kant: do we know merely the image or idea within us, or do we, through this image, acquire an immediate and actual knowledge of the object outside us, is solved in Dante's simple lines:

Vostra apprensiva da esser verace  
tragge intenzione, e dentro a voi la spiega  
sì che l'animo ad esser volger face.

Purg., Canto XVIII., 20ff.

. . . . . of substance true  
Your apprehension forms its counterfeit;  
And in you the ideal shape presenting,  
Attracts the soul's regard.

The above quotations from a standard English translation of the "Comedy," show that pregnant conciseness of the original which only genius can display and which a translator can seldom render. They also make evident the need of living in the intellectual atmosphere, of being on familiar terms with thirteenth century thought and speculation, if one would enjoy Dante to the full. Yet such passages are not so numerous as to deter a well-informed and thinking reader from appreciating Dante. The ideas of Aquinas and his terminology once grasped remain stamped upon the mind with a lucidity all their own.

Nor need it be concluded that Dante is always a slavish copyist, fettered and bound by the master's ipse dixit. Instances are fairly numerous in which Dante spontaneously or deliberately departs from Aquinas, at least in matters purely philosophical, or even theological, when they involved mere popular tradition. Mr. Wicksteed remarks that "in this respect Dante's attitude towards scholastic ideas differed from his attitude towards Christian dogma, which he accepted without question, however grievous a strain it put upon his conscience or his affections." Of this supposed feeling of strain there is not the slightest evidence in Dante. As Dr. Moore said, "there is no trace of doubt or dissatisfaction respecting

any part of the teaching of the Church in matters of doctrine authoritatively laid down." And he who could write that prayer to the Blessed Virgin in terms of such glowing fervor that no saint has ever surpassed them, and which are infinitely beyond the empty words of praise that have at times been wrung from Protestant poet pens:

O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son!  
 Created beings all in lowliness  
 Surpassing, as in height above them all;  
 . . . . . Not only him who asks  
 Thy bounty succors; but doth freely oft  
 Forerun the asking. . . . .  
 Here kneeleth one  
 Who of all spirits hath reviewed the state  
 From the world's lowest gap unto this height.  
 Suppliant to thee he kneels, imploring grace  
 For virtue yet more high, to lift his ken  
 Toward the bliss supreme.  
 This yet I pray thee Queen,  
 Who canst do what thou wilt, that in him thou would  
 Wouldst, after all he hath beheld, preserve  
 Affection sound, and human passions quell!  
 Parad., Canto XXXIII.

He who could write thus from the depths of his soul will stand the rigid test of Catholic orthodoxy.

The most noteworthy instance in which Dante departs from popular religious tradition and gives full sway to his poetic imagination is in his representation of the site of Purgatory. The Catholic Church has never laid down anything as *de fide* on this point. The popularly accepted view then, as now, considered Purgatory as a sort of cavern in the bowels of the earth. Dante, however, represents it as a sunlit hill rising out of mid-ocean at the exact antipodes of Jerusalem. The reader feels arising within him ever new sensations of delight at the beauty of the descriptions, and still more of the atmospheric suggestions conjured up by the poet's vision.

Why should Dante thus depart from the popular and common tradition? Is it merely a poetic artifice to avoid a repetition, on a smaller scale, of the scenery of hell? Perhaps. But there is another and more significant answer to the question, if we look for it in another special feature of Dante's handling of the doctrine of Purgatory.

The last six cantos of the "Purgatorio" have really nothing to do with Purgatory itself, but are concerned with the earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden. And it is the connection between the two that gives us our clue. In Dante's mind the Earthly Paradise he paints so vividly is literally the Garden of Eden of Genesis, and not a mere type of figure of it. The mountain of Purgatory he regards as an outside court, or as the first rung of the ladder that leads

us to the Garden itself in which Adam and Eve led their brief life of innocence. And the souls in Dante's Purgatory whom we see climbing the mountains are literally regaining the very Paradise that our first parents lost, to taste there for a short while the actual joys of Eden. Thus one by one they make good, as it were, the great lapse of the Fall, and actually partake of that earthly bliss which would have been theirs by birthright had it not been forfeited by the first sin.

And so vividly does Dante visualize this fact that Virgil, having brought him through Hell and Purgatory to the Earthly Paradise, tells him that he shall now give him no further direction of any kind. He must take his own impulses for his guide. They cannot lead him wrong; the only fault he could commit were to resist their promptings:

On me the Mantuan fix'd  
His eyes, and thus he spake: "Both fires, my son,  
The temporal and eternal thou hast seen;  
And art arrived where of itself my ken  
No further reaches. . . .  
Now thy pleasure take  
For guide. . . .  
Expect no more  
Sanction of warning voice or sign from me,  
Free of thy own arbitrament to choose,  
Discreet, judicious. To distrust thy sense  
Were henceforth error. I invest thee then  
With crown and miter, sovereign o'er thyself.  
Purg., Canto XXVII.

Thus Paradise is regained, and more than regained. For the souls are now not merely where Adam and Eve were before the fall, but where they would have been had they come out triumphant of the test set for them by the Creator, and thus freely harmonized their own will, henceforth irrevocable, with that of their Maker's irrevocable plan.

Hence the souls pass to the celestial Paradise, the heavenly Jerusalem, to enjoy the fruition of the Divine Aspect, but only when they have first enjoyed the fullness of earthly bliss as the original purpose of the Creator planned.

Here Mr. Wicksteed, non-Catholic though he be, is especially felicitous, and has succeeded in grasping the spirit of Dante and Aquinas as nowhere else. "In expounding the ecclesiastical tradition concerning the life of Eden," he writes, "Aquinas is particularly beautiful and moving, and finds scope for the imaginative splendor of his mind. It is his angel lore that is more abundant, and it is that which gave him his title of Angelic Doctor. But nowhere is he more beautiful, and nowhere do his speculations come closer and more directly home to us than in his psychology of unfallen man. For he so describes the life of Eden as to wake in us exiled sons of Eve a home sense that we belong to Eden still, that its life is

yet within us, as well as heaven being above us, and that even now and here it is abnormal for us to live any lower life than that of the earthly Paradise. Before the fall, he tells us, man had all the physical appetites that he has now, and, moreover, the delight of the senses was much keener yet than it now is. But the desires and appetites were all in perfect harmony, because they were all completely subject to reason. But reason does not mean cold ratiocination. It means the harmonizing and totalizing balance that combines the animal, intellectual and spiritual powers into a full and systematical humanity. When subject to reason, therefore, no passion or desire could ever urge its own special claim without reference to the whole balance of perfect manhood. It could never be a warping or disturbing pressure, but must always be a note in a harmony." And yet, this ungrudging tribute notwithstanding, the Catholic reader feels better at home in Dante than the best informed and most sympathetic outsider. Dante, even if belonging to mankind, is particularly our very own. There are some things in which the non-Catholic's rationalizing tendencies will dampen his ardor of admiration, and which the inner sense of the Catholic trustingly accepts on divine authority, even if the totality of their implications presents a forbidding aspect to mere reason. And Mr. Wicksteed himself is a conspicuous example, in his treatment of the fundamental theme of the "Comedy": free will, and eternal reward and punishment consequent upon it.

A thorough comprehension of the subject demands that we go slightly farther afield.

The "final cause" of all things, the end for which all things are made, the goal towards which all things strive, is the universal order, the realization of the plan of the Prime Mover, by Whom and for Whom all things are made. God Himself is the ultimate end that all creatures seek. The inmost trend of anything, animate or inanimate, conscious or unconscious, by which it strives to realize this end, is: love. All that we speak of as "attraction" is included by the medieval writers, without any sense of strain or improper metaphor, in the term: love. And it is, perhaps, significant that if we want a word that includes the falling of the stone and the yearning of a soul for goodness, beauty and truth, we use the term attraction, which is primarily a physical conception, but which we extend without a sense of breach to the most abstract and spiritual relations; whereas the medieval mind fixed upon "love," primarily a spiritual conception, and imported it, with no sense of discontinuity, into the most elemental of physical phenomena:

Among themselves all things  
Have order; and from hence the form, which makes

The universe resemble God. In this  
 The higher creatures see the printed steps  
 Of that eternal worth which is the end  
 Whither the line is drawn. All natures lean  
 In this their order, diversely; some more,  
 Some less approaching to their primal source.  
 Thus they to different havens are moved on  
 Through the vast sea of being, and each one  
 With instinct given, that bears it in its course.  
 . . . by the Love impelled  
 That moves the sun in heaven and all the stars.

While love is thus the sole motive power of the universe, man also is actuated by it: he finds ineradicably fixed in the depths of his being a supreme desire for blessedness. Under the impulse of this desire man not only can adapt his means to his ends, but he also selects his ends, a faculty not given to any lower beings. It is in connection with this power that man's free will manifests itself, and leads him deliberately to choose either good or evil:

Yet is it true  
 That as, oftimes, but ill accords the form  
 To the design of art, through sluggishness  
 Or unreplying matter; so this course  
 Is sometimes quitted by the creature, who  
 Hath power, directed thus, to bend elsewhere.  
 Parad., Canto I.

Without freedom of the will the moral life is impossible, rewards and punishments are meaningless, and the very idea of divine justice disappears.

St. Thomas is sharply consistent and thoroughly exhaustive in his analysis of the freedom of the will. Mr. Wicksteed would have it that "he analyzes the freedom of the will until he has analyzed it away and leaves us with the sense, not that we are really and ultimately responsible for our own choice, but that we choose, even when we choose wrong, in obedience to the inevitable and unfathomable will of God." (p. 192) "In the mechanical succession of material events only one consequent of any given set of antecedents is possible within the limits of the nature of the material thing concerned. If a stone is released in free air, nothing is possible within the limits of its nature except that it should fall towards the center of the earth. God could, indeed, make it rise, but that would be by miracle, superseding the nature of the stone, and making it act counter thereto. But in the case of man there is no such natural, internal determination of the future by the past. So far as the intrinsic nature of man is concerned diverse courses are open, and God could urge him or suffer him to move along any one of the diverse possible routes without any violation of his nature or breach with the natural continuity of past and future. The freedom of man resolves itself, then, into the existence of open possibilities within the range of his natural powers, and the determination of his course

by his own preferences." "But his preferences themselves," he urges, "are ultimately determined by God."<sup>4</sup>

The fact remains that, since God ultimately moves all things, he must have a share in the very act of man's making a free choice. How then can man be said to be absolutely free?

The question has vexed theologians for centuries, and while they have considered it from every possible angle, and labored diligently at a solution, we are face to face with one of those ultimate problems which it is not given to finite human reason to clarify completely. Implicit trust in an all-wise Providence is the only solution, and this the Catholic faith alone supplies.

At any rate, Dante does not carry his critical analysis as far, but he is as one with St. Thomas in the consequences it implies, and which Mr. Wicksteed so vehemently repudiates: the eternal punishments of hell. And to give a semblance of consistency to his repudiation, he tries to point out a divergence of opinion between the dogmatic teacher and the poet who interprets him. The former's pitiless logic has made him conclude that "by the justice of God the sinner gets what he *deserves*," although this same God is all love, and ultimately influences man's free will somehow; a repulsive sight to contemplate. The poet, however, "sees only what the sinner *chose*, and conceives of the divine justice as giving him that."

As a Catholic understands it, the two conceptions harmonize perfectly in the scholastic psychology to which both Dante and St. Thomas subscribed; in this life, man's free choice is determined by concrete presentations—good or evil, in harmony or not with his ultimate end—of particular goods apprehended by the senses and then by the mind. When death separates body and soul, the latter is no longer dependent upon the senses or set in motion by them; it can no longer change, therefore, from one particular good or evil to another; it is bound to remain in the state it was in when the separation took place; a fixed, unchangeable state or disposition. If, at the moment of death, man had freely turned away from his ultimate end, the very nature of his soul, the very conditions of his activity make a reversal of his will and another choice impossible, force it to remain forever in the state it put itself in at death.

Thus the sinner chooses the eternal punishment of hell, as Dante points out; and by the justice of God gets what he deserves, as St. Thomas holds. His very nature makes eternal punishment the final consequence of his free act, and in this sense it is deserved, since it is in harmony with God's plan. However some minds

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<sup>4</sup> Lane Cooper, in *Phil. Review*, July, 1914, p. 443.



may rebel against its "gratuitous" horror, without it the freedom of the will would be illusory and to no purpose; the soul would be ever moving, and never arriving at its goal.

And herein lies one more proof if such were needed, that Dante does not merely versify the doctrines of others, however great and imposing their learning may be; he has assimilated and organized their ideas with uncommon poetic genius.

To say that while he is found worthy of deep study and admiring appreciation by outsiders, he is deserving of more than superficial praise and unknowing commendation at the hands of Catholics, seems commonplace. "Our generation is on the point of discovering that there is an essential relation between the great orderly imaginative structure of scholastic philosophy, the architectonics, as one might say, of medieval thought, and the quality of mind and feeling embodied in the French cathedrals and in the great structure of the *Divine Comedy*; in other words, that we cannot understand in its larger aspects the life of the period which gave ours life, we cannot sympathize with the manifestations of vital energy in the art of modern times, as opposed to classical antiquity, without rectifying our notions of scholastic philosophy."

J. B. CEULEMANS.

Moline, Ill.

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## MEISTER ECKHART AND THE FRIENDS OF GOD

### A PHASE OF GERMAN MYSTICISM

GERMAN philosophy may be said to have entered history in the guise of mysticism, for the German mysticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the richest and most complete expression of this form of spirituality, both on its philosophical and its religious side. German philosophy has gone far since then and has assumed a very different aspect. It is strange indeed that the teaching of such gentle spirits as Eckhart, Tauler and Blessed Henry Suso should, in the course of centuries, have developed into the materialism of Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardi and others of the same school.

In the middle ages religious speculation went hand in hand with faith. Since then speculation has dropped faith's hand and gone sadly astray, first losing itself in agnosticism and ultimately culminating in atheism supported by militarism, which also will pass

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<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

as all things earthly must. Philosophies may come and go, but mysticism belongs to eternal things, and is ever present with us in some form: for the eternal root of all mysticism is the craving for the absolute, stated philosophically, the yearning for union with God, speaking in terms of religion.

The illustrious group of German mystics known as the Friends of God, and sometimes erroneously called Catholic Quakers, contained about seven or eight persons who stand out above all others, and some may be described as the founders of German mysticism, and of these seven or eight choice spirits the most learned was undoubtedly Eckhart, though owing to some of his writings having been condemned by the Avignon Pope, John XXII, he has not exercised so much influence over Catholics as John Tauler and Blessed Henry Suso, both of whom were his disciples.

A certain mystery envelops Eckhart and adds to his interest; it is not known exactly when he was born nor when he died, all that can be said for certain is that he lived at the latter half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was a Dominican, and his life was hidden with Christ in God. Much more is known of his inner life through his writings than of himself personally, over whom time has cast a veil that can never be penetrated. He exercised so potent an influence over some of the other Friends of God, that he often appeared to them in their visions. The latest opinion is that he was born at Hochheim.<sup>1</sup>

He studied in Paris at the College of St. Jacques, which gave the Dominicans the name of Jacobins. He received the theological degree of doctor under Pope Boniface VIII, in Rome. Report says that he was for a long time Provincial of the Order of Preachers in Saxony; later he became Vicar-General in Bohemia: he is always spoken of as Meister Eckhart in history. He was noted for his high morality, and for the strictness of his discipline. He worked as a teacher of mysticism chiefly in Strasburg and Cologne, and appears to have died in the latter place.

He taught that Hell was absence from God. It was not until after his death that his writings were condemned in 1329, but before he died he had withdrawn the teaching that caused him to be accused of heresy, and he was then reconciled with the Church.

The time in which this band of mystics lived was one of great unrest in social, political, religious and spiritual things, a longing for freedom, not only from feudal bonds, but also for freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of spirit possessed the world. The German language was effected by this longing for freedom, and Eckhart and the writers with whom we are here concerned

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<sup>1</sup> Delacroix. *Essai sur le mysticisme speculatif*. Paris, 1900.

had considerable influence in freeing it from the Latin swaddling clothes in which, witness its grammar, it had been bound. On this account these mystics have been called the "Minnesingers" of German prose.

In spiritual things their tendency was to lead the soul from the formality of vocal prayer, through meditation, to the free and open heights of contemplation.

It was in the Rhineland in the twelfth century that St. Hildegard and St. Elizabeth of Schönau lived, and it was in the Rhineland, in the thirteenth century, that this latter group of German mystics sprang up, especially at Cologne and Strasburg.

We know too well to what the craving for freedom ultimately led in the sixteenth century, and the Friends of God did not altogether escape from its effects, as we shall see. We cannot, however, believe that Eckhart could ever have wilfully fallen away from the teaching of the Church, on which his whole spiritual life was based, or that he did not himself believe that his teaching was reconcilable with that of the Church, and as a matter of fact it is stated in the bull in which he was condemned, that he recanted his errors before he died. He is supposed to have had pantheistical tendencies, of which he was accused by Archbishop Henry of Cologne.

The only writings of Eckhart that have come down to us are his sermons, which were printed in the Basle edition of 1521 of Tauler's sermons: there were fifty-five of Meister Eckhart's originally, though they disappeared mostly from later editions of Tauler's Sermons, but when incorporated in them are easily recognized by their style. He is known to have written many other works which have not come down to us, notably an explanation of the Gospel of St. John, and another of the Cantic of Canticles.

The fact of his condemnation is no doubt the reason that so little of his work has come down to us, for it has caused him to be looked upon as a dangerous writer. That we have so little matters the less, that we have enough to know his whole view of things, for it has been well said that when a mystic enters the scene either in speech or writing, he comes *omnia sua se cum portans*. Formerly Eckhart was accused of sharing some of the errors of the sect called "Brothers of the Free Spirit," but the later critics, notably Herr Schmidt, have cleared him from this suspicion, and have proved that he and his disciple, Tauler, reflected the same spirit in their different individualities, and their writings are only different representations of the same system."<sup>2</sup>

But now it is time to let him speak for himself, and we proceed to give some quotations from some of his sermons, which if frag-

<sup>2</sup> See "Meister Eckhart," von Dr. H. Martensen, Hamburg.

mentary, nevertheless reveal the soul of the man, better than a whole discourse could do, for the most characteristic of his sayings have been selected for translation. From one of Eckhart's sermons for the 2nd Sunday in Advent:

"I have a power in my soul which enables me to perceive God: I am as certain as that I live that nothing is so near me as God. He is nearer to me than I am to myself. It is a part of His very essence that He should be nigh and present to me. He is also nigh to a stone or to a tree but they do not know it. If a tree could know God and perceive His presence as the highest of the angels perceives it, the tree would be as blessed as the highest angel.

"And it is because man is capable of perceiving God and of knowing how near God is to him that he is better off than a tree. And he is more blessed or less blessed in the same measure as he is aware of the presence of God. It is not because God is in him and so close to him, that he is blessed, but because he perceives God's presence and knows God loves him, and such an one will feel that God's kingdom is nigh at hand."

"Who seeks God and something else other than God, he does not find God, but who seeks God alone, he finds all things with God." Meister Eckhart.<sup>3</sup>

"Everything rests in the place in which it was born. Throw a stone into the air, it rests not, it comes back to the earth. Why is that? The earth is its country, the air is its exile. The place out of which I was born is the Godhead. The Godhead is my fatherland. Have I a Father in the Godhead? Yes, I have not only a Father there, but I am myself there also. Before I was born to myself I was born in the Godhead." Fol. 293.

"What is Eternity? Eternity is the present now, that knows not of time. The day that passed a thousand years ago is not farther from eternity than the hour that I stand here, and the day that shall come one thousand years hence is not farther from eternity than the hour in which I now speak.

"What is Truth? Truth is so noble that if God could turn Himself from it, I should stick to Truth and would leave God. For God is the Truth and all that is in time and all that God has ever created is not the Truth." Fol. 252.

"If thou seekest God for thine own use and thine own blessedness, thou seekest not God in truth. Some people would see God with their eyes as they see a cow and would love God as they love a

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<sup>3</sup> Tauler's sermons. Winkworth; 208.

<sup>4</sup> Martensen. The following extracts are all translated from Dr. Martensen's critical study on Eckhart.

cow, which they love because it gives them milk and cheese for their own use. Also they love God for the sake of exterior riches and interior consolation, but these people do not love God aright, but they seek only themselves and their own needs." Fol. 252, 300.

"If anyone asks me what I judge the Creator meant when He created all things I answer, Rest. If one ask me a second time, what all creatures seek in their natural desires, I answer, Rest. If one asks me for the third time what the soul seeks in all her ways, I answer, Rest. For the countenance of the Divine Nature draws all the powers and all the desires of the soul after it. This God adorns so well and it is so pleasing to Him, that all His divine nature is inclined and turned towards it. As much as the soul rests in God, so much does God again rest in her. If she rests only partly in Him, He rests only partly in her. If she rests wholly and entirely in Him, He rests wholly and entirely in her. In the pure soul God finds a reflection of Himself, there God rests again in the soul and the soul rests again in God. Who would deprive God of resting in the soul, deprives Him of His Godhead. For God seeks rest in all things and the Divine nature is Rest." Fol. 292.

"God loves Himself and His nature and His Godhead. In the love wherewith God loves Himself, He loves also all creatures, not as creatures but the creatures as God. Now I beg you to understand this. I will speak as I have never spoken. God delights in Himself and in that delight, wherein He delights in Himself, He delights in all creatures, not as creatures but the creatures as God." Fol. 301.

"As thou lovest so thou art. Lovest thou the earth so art thou earthly: lovest thou God so art thou divine (godly). If I then have love for God do I then become God? That I do not say, but I refer you to the Holy Scriptures where God says, 'You are gods and children of the Most High'." Fol. 246.

"The eye with which I see God is the same eye whereby God sees me. My eye and God's eye is one eye and one face and one knowledge and one love." Fol. 313.

"As I came hither today, I thought how I could preach to you so reasonably that you could understand me well. Then I thought of a parable, and if you can understand this well, then you can understand the sense and the foundation and the meaning of all my teaching.

"And the parable was taken from my eye and a piece of wood. If my eye is open it is an eye, if it is closed it is still the same eye, and through sight nothing goes from it to the wood, nor comes from the wood to it. Now understand me rightly. If my eye is open and cast upon the wood with a glance, each remains as it is,

and yet are they in the actuality of sight so one that one must say the eye is wood and the wood is the eye. But if the wood were without matter and spiritual like my eye, then one might with truth say that in the actuality of sight, the wood and my eye exist in one being. Now if this is true of bodily things, much more is it true of spiritual things." Fol. 300.

"There is something in the soul that is above the power of the soul to procure: it is something divine in kind, simple in itself, a pure nothing more unnamed than named, more unknown than known. Could you annihilate yourself for one moment or for less than a moment, then you would have all which is in itself, but so long as you regard yourself as something, you know as little what this something is, as my mouth knows what colour is, and as my eye knows what taste is. Of this something am I accustomed to speak in my sermons, and sometimes have I called it a power, sometimes *an uncreated light*, sometimes a divine spark. It is free from all names and empty of all forms, as God is free and empty in Himself. It is higher than knowledge and higher than love and higher than grace. For in all this there is distinction. In this power God blooms and flourishes in all His Divinity and the Spirit blooms. In this power the Father begets His only-begotten Son as really as in Himself: in this light is the Holy Spirit." Fol. 274.

"As much as thou retirest from thyself and from all created things, so much art thou purified and blessed in this spark of the soul, which is untouched by time and space. This spark contradicts all creatures and will only have the naked God as He exists in Himself. To this spark suffices neither the Father nor the Son nor the Holy Ghost nor the Three Persons, so far as Each stands in its own attribute. I will say still more, something that sounds still more wonderful. I will say it by the eternal truth, and by the everlasting truth, and by my soul, to this light suffices only the super-essential Being. It desires to go into that simple ground of the Soul where the Three Persons are known, into the quiet wilderness where no one is at home, into the One where no distinction appears, into the simple stillness, which in itself is immovable, but by which immovability all things are moved." Fol. 301.

"I take a glass of water and lay in it a mirror, and set it under the disc of the sun, the sun throws out its bright lustre into the mirror, and yet diminishes not. The reflection of the mirror in the sun is the sun in the sun, and the mirror is still what it is, a mirror. So is it with God. God is in the soul with His nature and His essence and His Godhead, and He is still not the soul. The

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<sup>5</sup> This is one of the condemned propositions.

reflection of the soul in God is God in God, and the soul is still that which it was." Fol. 301.

"Whosoever has understood this sermon to him I willingly yield it. If no one had been here, I should have been obliged to have preached it to this stick. Whoso has not understood this sermon let him not trouble his heart about it, for so long as the man himself is not like this truth, so long will he not understand it, for it is an unthought truth that has come out of the heart of God without any medium." Fol. 302.

"A Master says God has become man, and thereby He has raised and honored the whole human race. On this account should we rejoice, that Christ our Brother is carried by His own power above all the choirs of angels, and sits on the right hand of the Father. This Master has spoken well, but truly I don't think much of it. What would it help me if I had a brother, who was a rich man, and I was thereby a poor man? What would it help me if I had a brother who was a wise man, and I was thereby a fool? I speak of another and a nearer than a brother. God has not only become man, but He has taken upon Him the whole human nature." Fol. 266.

"God is always working in the Now of eternity and His work is the bringing forth of His Son, Whom He is always bringing forth. The Son is the first outbreak of the fruitfulness of the Divine nature, and this breaking out is without the medium of the Will, therefore He is called the Image and Word of the Father. In this Word the Father utters my soul and thy soul. He brings forth His Son in the soul, in the same way as He brings Him forth in eternity and not otherwise. He must do so whether He likes or not. The Father brings forth His Son unceasingly and I say more. He brings forth His Being and His Nature. There spring I forth in the Holy Spirit; there is one Life and one being and one Work." Fol. 268, 299, 304.

"It is the Father's nature that He should bring forth the Son, and it is the Son's nature that He should be brought forth, and that I should be born in Him, and it is the Holy Spirit's nature, that I should burn in Him and melt away in Love." Fol. 245.

"When the will is so united that it becomes one single One, then the heavenly Father brings forth His only begotten Son in Himself, and in me. Why in Himself and in me? I am One with Him, He cannot shut me out. In the same action the Holy Spirit receives His nature, and becomes of me as of God. Why? I am in God, and if the Holy Spirit does not take His nature from me, neither does He take it from God.<sup>a</sup> I am in no way excluded." Fol. 251.

"The Fathers say generally that all men are alike noble in their

nature. But I say that all the goodness that the Saints and Mary and Christ have possessed after their humanity, that is my own in this nature. Now you may ask me, since I have all, is this nature that Christ and His humanity can give, why is it then that we hear Christ and honor Him as our Lord and our God? It is because He has become a messenger of God to us and has brought our salvation to us. Yes, this same salvation which He brought to us was ours. Fol. 266.

"The Lord said: 'All that I have heard from my Father, that have I revealed to you.' Now I wonder that some people who are very learned and would be great prelates, let themselves be so quickly satisfied. They wish also to understand here the Word, He has revealed to us, on the way which is necessary to salvation. That I do not hold, for it is not the truth. All that the Father has and that He is, the abyss of the divine Being and nature, that He brought forth at once in His only begotten Son. This is what the Son hears from the Father and He has revealed to us, that we may be the same Son. God is become Man, that I may become God." God died that I might die to the world and to all created things." Fol. 263.

"Humanity and the human creature are not alike. Humanity in itself is so noble, that it has a likeness to the angels and kinship with the Godhead. The greatest union which Christ possesses with the Father is possible for me to win, if I could lay aside all that is of this or of that (all distinction that is), and could assume humanity." Fol. 251.

"The Father brought forth the Son in righteousness. All the virtue of the righteous and every work of the righteous is nothing else, than that the Son is born of the Father. The Father rests not, it may be then that the Son will be born in me, and He hunts and drives me always, that I may bring forth to Him the Son. This should wise people know and ignorant people must believe it." Fol. 245.

"The righteous man serves neither God nor the creature, for he is free, and the nearer he is to righteousness the more he is freedom itself. All that is created is not free. So long as there is Something of me that is not God Himself that oppresses me, however small it is, and if it were reason and love, in so much as they are created and God Himself is not, they oppress me, for they are not free." Fol. 274.

"A Master says: 'the soul that loves God loves Him under the garment of goodness.' But I say that nature may be purer than goodness. If Nature were not, then goodness also would not be,

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\* These seem to be very rash propositions.



and only as far as it belongs to nature is goodness good. That God is good does not make me blessed, and I will never desire that God make me blessed of His Goodness, for He might perhaps not do it. Thence only am I blessed that God is reasonable and that I perceive it." Fol. 287.

"God has many names, but the first of His names is Being. All that is destructible is a falling off from Being. As far as our life is Being so far is it in God. There is no life so weak and ill, but as far as it is Being, it is nobler than all that Life ever won. If thou couldst perceive a flower as it exists in God, then is this flower nobler than the whole world." Fol. 279.

"It is a certain truth, that it is as necessary to God to seek us, as if His Godhead depended upon it. God can as little do without us as we without Him. Should we run away from God, still God can never run away from us. Therefore I will not ask God that He should give me anything, nor will I praise Him for what He has given me, but I will ask Him that He will make me worthy to receive Him, and I will praise Him that He is the Nature and the Being that He must give." Fol. 252.

"The Will lets itself be satisfied with the goodness of God, but Reason neither lets itself be contented with goodness, nor with wisdom, nor with truth, nor with God himself. She seeks God as the goal from which goodness flows, she seeks Him as the kernel from which goodness springs, she seeks Him as the root from which goodness blooms. She breaks into the Ground where goodness and truth have their origin, and takes them in the beginning (in principio) before they have yet earned their names. She draws off from God the garment of goodness, and takes Him bare and divested of all names. Therefore neither does the Father suffice to her, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit, but she breaks through the innermost depths of the Godhead, and presses into the root from whence the Son springs forth and the Holy Spirit blossoms." Fol. 260, 288, 301.

"St. Paul says: 'All that I am that I am by the grace of God.' These words are true and yet was not the grace of God in him. For grace had worked and had brought Paul into Being, and then had grace fulfilled her work. But when grace had fulfilled her work, then became Paul what he was in eternity. Then has the creature the true spiritual poverty, and has no distinction, and knows neither of God nor of the creature nor of itself, and has neither Before nor After, and waits for no future thing, and can neither win nor lose. Therefore I beg God that He will make me quit of God (that He by grace may bring me into Being), for Being is above God and above distinction." Fol. 307, 308.

"When I remained in my first cause, then had I no God, then was I my own, I willed not, I desired not, for I was a mere being, and I perceived myself according to divine truth. What I willed, that I was, and what I was, that I willed, and I remained empty of God and of all things. But when I escaped from my free will and received my created Being, then had I a God. For before creatures were, was God not God: He was only what He was. When creatures became creatures and received their created being, then was God not God in Himself but in creatures was He God."

In the foregoing passages we have let Eckhart speak for himself, and enough has been quoted to show that by his extraordinary originality, bold speculation and love of paradox he certainly laid himself open to criticism, as well as by his fearless attempts to put into plain language the deepest mysteries of the Godhead, though one of the cardinal points of his teaching is that "there is a certain mystery which for ever lies beyond the range of knowledge." He draws a great distinction between God and the Godhead. "God is a personal Being Who reveals His Divine nature to us, but the Ground out of which the revelation proceeds, is the Godhead, the central mystery of the Godhead."

He went further than any other mystic in teaching that God is beyond all knowledge. He was very paradoxical and was fond of using negative terms to describe the mysteries of the Godhead: as for instance the "Nameless Nothing"; "the Wordless Godhead"; the Unnaturaed Nature"; "the Wordless One"; "the Naked Godhead." In the poetical phrases "the Immovable Rest" and "the Still Wilderness where no one is at home," he describes the mystical place or state wherein God is revealed to the soul, rather than the Godhead Itself.

Just as he teaches that the Godhead is Something beyond God, so when he turns to the human soul he teaches that there is something in the soul which is above the soul. In one of the passages quoted above he describes this something as "simple, divine, unnamed rather than named." In trying to explain this transcendent quality of the human soul, he gives this something various names, as "A Little Glimmer," "a Spark," "the Soul's Eye," "the inner Man," the "Ground of the Soul": which last expression corresponds to the "Fund of the soul" which Father Baker in "Sancta Sophia" is so fond of using.

Eckhart is considered the most profound of all German mystics, and an old couplet said of him:

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<sup>1</sup> These passages from Dr. Martensen's book include some which were condemned by Pope John XXII., but Meister Eckhart retracted all to which exception was taken before his death. The extracts are taken from the Basle edition of 1521 of Tauler's Sermons.

This is Meister Eckhart,  
From whom God kept nothing hid.<sup>8</sup>

His faith was almost sight. He says of himself: "I am as certain as that I live that nothing is so near to me as God. God is nearer to me than I am myself."<sup>9</sup>

In speaking of the intimate union between Almighty God and the soul, although perhaps he never wilfully lapsed into sheer Pantheism, for he taught that the identity of the soul is never lost, yet he goes further than any other Catholic mystic has ever gone in defining the closeness of the union, as for example in the passage quoted from Folio 251, on a preceding page, which is one of the propositions objected to by Pope John XXII. Apropos to his definition of Union with God, there is a passage in one of his works called "On the Steps of the Soul" in which he says: "The spring of Divine Love flows out of the soul, and draws her out of herself, into the nameless Being, into her Origin which is God alone." Pantheism was one of the charges brought against him. Twenty-eight positions in his writings were condemned by the Bull of 1329, of these seventeen were said to be heretical, and the others "dangerous and very rash." The Pope said of him, "that he had wished to know more than he should." One of the condemned propositions which was declared heretical referred to the union of the soul with God in which Eckhart said "We are transformed totally into God, even as in the Sacrament the bread is converted into the Body of Christ." This, said John XXII, "has an ill sound and is very rash."

The historian Trithemius said of Meister Eckhart "that he was the most learned man of his day in Aristotelian philosophy." He was of course greatly influenced by St. Thomas Aquinas, whose "Summa Theologica" was then the text book of the Dominican schools, in which Eckhart taught. He preached in German to the people and lectured to the clergy and students in Latin, in the Dominican monastery at Erfurt: when he was Prior Provincial of Saxony he had fifty-one monasteries and nine convents under his jurisdiction. At Strasburg alone there were in his time no less than seven Dominican convents, and he probably instructed the nuns in most of them. There is still in existence a poem of a Dominican nun of this time in which she mentions "how wisely Meister Eckhart speaks to us about 'Nothingness.' And commenting on it she says, "he who does not understand that, in him has never shone the light divine."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Studies in Mystical Religion* by Rufus Jones, 1909; p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> "The Mystic Way," by Evelyn Underhill, 1913; p. 117.

<sup>10</sup> Rufus Jones, p. 221.

Many monks and nuns and some of the "Friends of God" were under his spiritual direction. He had a spiritual daughter at Strasburg named Sister Katrin, who was probably either a nun or a Dominican tertiary, who seems to have outstripped eventually her director in the Mystic Way, and latterly to have instructed him in mysticism. This custom of lay-people acting as directors even to priests was not uncommon at this time, and prevailed among the "Friends of God," many of whom were lay-persons.

Sister Katrin was subject to ecstasies and trances, and on one occasion she was being carried out as dead for burial, when her confessor arrived upon the scene just in time to discover that she was not dead, but only in a trance.<sup>11</sup> She appears to have been one of the "Friends of God." Some confusion has arisen between Meister Eckhart and another Brother Eckhart, and the latter's errors have been attributed to the great Dominican by a modern German writer named Preger, and also by Karl Schmidt, both of whom accused the Master of being connected with the heretical sect, called the Beghards, for which assertion there is no foundation of truth, as Mr. Rufus Jones tells us in his "Studies in Mystical Religion."<sup>12</sup> In Cologne, Eckhart had a large number of disciples besides the "Friends of God," on some of whom he impressed his teaching so deeply, that in spite of his original style, it is difficult to distinguish his writings from theirs when, as sometimes happens, his sermons are bound up with some of those of other "Friends of God."

He was very human in his sympathies and taught that, "what a man takes in by contemplation he must give out in Love." He even seems to a certain extent to have set the active life above the contemplative, for he says, "Mary was still at school when she sat at our Lord's feet. Martha had learnt her lesson," a very original idea open to criticism. He also says that it is better to feed the hungry, than to see even such visions as St. Paul saw." And again in another place he says, "If a man were in a rapture and another man wanted something of him, I think it would be far better out of love to leave the rapture and serve the needy man." In this doctrine however Eckhart is like all true mystics who have arrived as near perfection as he had, for it is a great mistake to think that all mystics are unpractical dreamers. Few women worked harder than two of the great mystics, St. Bridget of Sweden and St. Hildegarde, not to mention St. Theresa's, the Queen of mystics, work as a reformer.

Meister Eckhart set a high value upon suffering and said "that

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<sup>11</sup> Pfeiffer. *Meister Eckhart*, 1857.

<sup>12</sup> See page 223.

there was nothing nobler than suffering, if there had been God would have redeemed the world with it."

He insisted very strongly on poverty of spirit just as the Franciscans insisted on poverty of goods, and Eckhart taught that the only way to contemplation is to die to creature-knowledge and to renounce completely the world and the things of the world.

In one of his sermons he has two beautiful sayings on the willingness of Our Blessed Lord to come to us, whether actually in the Blessed Sacrament or mystically, when we seek Him in contemplative prayer. The first is "Where the door is open He cannot but come in," and the other is "Thou needst not call Him from a distance, thy opening and His coming are but one moment."<sup>13</sup>

In the Basle edition of Tauler's Sermons of 1521 and 1522 the following high appreciation, in old German, of Meister Eckhart is contained: "Here follow some very subtle and splendid and excellent sermons of very learned Fathers and teachers, out of whom we think Dr. Tauler has taken something as his foundation: namely and especially from Meister Eckhart (which he sometimes announces in his sermons), who was an extraordinarily learned man, and so deeply versed in the subtleties of natural and divine arts, that many learned people of his time did not understand him well. On this account a part of his teaching in certain places and articles is rejected, and should be read by simple people with great precaution. Although here in this book care has been taken to include nothing that cannot be well understood generally, and that may be endured. There is one part of his teaching and preaching that any one may study, however learned and subtle he may be, and on that foundation all his teaching and preaching, like Dr. Tauler's, may be comprehended."<sup>14</sup>

Modern non-Catholic critics have endeavored to clear Eckhart of the charges of Pantheism and Antinomianism that were brought against him in 1326 (charges which were often brought against Christian mystics) and to refute them has been rendered easier by the fact that Eckhart frequently contradicts himself directly, but for Catholics his condemnation is of course final as far as the passages involved are concerned, and he himself acknowledged his errors and retracted all unreservedly before his death.

Nicholas of Strasburg, who was a "Friend of God" and Vicar-General of the Dominican Order, defended Eckhart in 1327 from Archbishop Henry's accusations of heresy and appealed to the Holy See, and Eckhart did the same.

Two of the charges the Archbishop brought against him were,

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<sup>13</sup> "The Mystic Way," by Evelyn Underhill; pp. 353, 355.

<sup>14</sup> Meister Eckhart, Martensen.

that he had said in insisting on the closeness of the union between God and the soul "that his little finger had created everything," which, separated from its context, is of course absurd, and that he had also said "there was something uncreated in the soul," which Eckhart tried to explain away in a sermon he preached in Cologne in 1327. He died two years before his case was settled in Rome, or rather in Avignon, where the Popes were then residing.

DARLEY DALE.

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### AN IRISH SOLDIER OF FORTUNE.

**A**MONG the numerous Irishmen, driven by stress of the penal laws in the eighteenth century to seek a career abroad, was Daniel Charles O'Connell, of Darrynane, County Kerry, uncle to another and more famous Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator of the Irish and English Catholics. They were both fighters, only one fought with the sword and the other with the tongue, weapons which both wielded well and successfully. While the elder's victories were won on many a battlefield whereon blood was shed, those of the younger Daniel were achieved in the Senate, where he faced the foe with equal courage, until the bloodless victory of Catholic Emancipation crowned his strenuous efforts to liberate his co-religionists from the galling yoke to which Protestant Ascendancy had long subjected them.

Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell (Charles Bianconi's daughter) has, in two bulky volumes,<sup>1</sup> told the stirring story of the life of the former, whom she somewhat erroneously designates "The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," a distinction claimed for Henry Dillon; for Count O'Connell was never a Colonel in the old Irish Brigade in the service of France, the brigade which Davis has immortalized in undying verse and which won fame, if not fortune, "in far foreign lands from Dunkirk to Belgrade."

What was destined to be an eventful life began in an eventful year. It was on the 21st of May, 174, that Daniel Charles O'Connell, one of twenty-two children born to Daniel O'Connell, of Darrynane, and his wife, Mary O'Donoghue (daughter of O'Donoghue Duff, of Anwys), was born. It was the year of the Jacobite rising

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<sup>1</sup> The last colonel of the Irish Brigade, Count O'Connell, and Old Irish Life at Home and Abroad, 1745-1833. By Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, London, 1892.

in Scotland, when Charles Edward Stuart unfurled his banner, around which flocked so many chivalrous spirits, and made an unsuccessful effort to recover the throne upon which the rebellion of 1688 had seated a Hanoverian. His parents were popularly known as Donal Mor, or "Big Daniel," on account of his lofty stature, and Maur-ni-Dhuir, or "Mary of the Dark Folk"—Dhuir being the affix of a younger branch of the O'Donoghues of the Glens. The O'Connells were among the lesser clans who followed the Munster Chieftain McCarthy Mor, the Celtic rival of the great Norman Geraldine, the Earl of Desmond, and were hereditary Constables of the McCarthy stronghold on the western coast of Ireland. Darrynane ("St. Finan's Oak-wood") derives its name from a small ruined church on the Abbey Island<sup>2</sup>, a dependency of an abbey in the County Waterford, whose possessions were granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, and after the head of that great Englishman fell under the executioner's axe in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, passed into the hands of Boyle, first Earl of Cork, who leased it to the O'Connells. The family were as prosperous as prolific and divided their attention between farming, sporting and smuggling, the numerous small bays or inlets with which the coast of Kerry is indented affording special facilities for the last-named pursuit, in which many of the best families surreptitiously engaged, without thereby losing caste. The mode of life in that remote region of the country was primitive and patriarchal. The lord of the soil was like the head of a large family or a petty sovereign dispensing impartial justice in accordance with an unwritten code; his mountain tenantry paid him in labor or in kind; there were no middlemen or usurers to appropriate the fruits of the tiller's toil; and there is no record of any invasion of the Crowbar brigade to demolish their humble homesteads for non-payment of a rack-rent to an absentee landlord. It was like Longfellow's "Acadia," "there the richest were poor, and the poorest lived in abundance."

The military career has always had its allurements for a fighting race. The brilliant feats of arms accomplished by the Irish Brigade appealed with irresistible force to the young Kerryman, who, through the good offices of Chevalier Fagan, was, on February 13, 1760, admitted as a cadet into the French infantry regiment of the Royal Swedes, in which he subsequently obtained a commission. His mother, a woman of talent, from whom her illustrious grandson declared he inherited his gift of eloquence, composed, in Irish, a lament or valedictory poem on the departure of her son and four nephews, who sailed from Darrynane harbor. A metrical translation

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<sup>2</sup> The abbey on the grounds of Darrynane was founded in the seventh century by the monks of St. Finbar, founder of the City and See of Cork.

of it by the late Father Charles O'Connor-Kerry contains the following remarkably prophetic lines:

"Ye go your ways. A greater chief from me shall yet be born  
To triumph over ocean's haughty lord.  
Remember in your hearts the Sassenach's foul scorn;  
In his breast find a sheath for your swords."

It was towards the close of the Seven Years' War, in which he made two campaigns, that O'Connell served his apprenticeship to what he calls "the trade" of soldiering. It was a momentous epoch. Frederick the Great of Prussia was then in death-grapple with the five allied powers that sought to overwhelm him and his kingdom. In the campaign of 1672 Dan and Morty O'Connell<sup>3</sup> and other Irish lads saw a good deal of hard fighting on opposite sides. They were following in the wake of many other sons of the sod who had preceded or leading the way for others who followed them. "Count O'Connell's own letters," writes Mrs. Morgan O'Connell, "describes the arrival of sundry Irish lads, imported by himself and other kinsmen of the Brigade. The little wanderers, ranging from twelve to seventeen (the younger the better, so as to get schooling in France) was entrusted to a friendly smuggling skipper, and by him handed over, generally with from £20 to £30 in gold, and two suits of clothes and a good lot of Irish linen shirts—plain and ruffled—to the correspondent of the firm, who either entertained him himself or passed him on to some retired veteran of the Brigade, many of whom had married French women and settled down as interpreters, or part instructors, part boarders, of Irish people; the lads learning certain branches of a military and polite education from the veterans, and attending classes for the rest. Others, again, had married rich wives, and lived at ease; but all were equally ready to take in a little boy from the old country, who came within the immense concatenations of a Kerry cousinship, where sixth cousins are quite countable. The new comer was as a son of the house, until an officer returning to his garrison, a merchant visiting his foreign correspondent, a friar changing from one convent to another, or a batch of students going to some great college, took charge of the boy, and consigned him to the Irish officer who had got him into the regiment." It was his cousin, the Abbe Fitzmaurice, who lent young O'Connell the price of his outfit, and Father O'Brien, Guardian of the Irish Franciscan Monastery at Prague, who equipped young Morty O'Connell of Tarmons, both clerical kinsmen.

It should be borne in mind that this was the period when, under

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<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Baron Moritz O'Connell, of the Austrian service.

<sup>4</sup> *Two Centuries of Irish History*, p. 127.



the operation of the iniquitous penal laws, Catholics were forbidden to carry arms (except fowling pieces), a right they did not regain until many years afterwards. "An Irish Catholic," says Professor Sigerson, "might rise abroad to be field-marshal (a rank which seven did attain in Austria); if he landed in Ireland he could not wear a sword—a Protestant beggar might pluck it from him in the street."<sup>4</sup> The O'Connells had, consequently, to observe caution in their correspondence with their kindred at home; while they signed their name "O'Connell" inside their letters, they wrote it "Connell" in the superscription. The people in Ireland who were entitled to use the distinctive prefix, O', which was the sign manual of the Catholic Celt, refrained from doing so until the penal laws were relaxed in 1782; the Irish abroad used it always. It was penal for any Papists to go or send any one for education abroad, to send money in aid of educational or religious purposes, and death to enlist in foreign service. People of rank had to seek safety in obscurity. Sir James O'Connell used to tell a story about Doctor Smith, who wrote the histories of Cork, Kerry and Waterford, that, when at Darrynane, he fancied a certain pony, the property of his host, and offered, if it were presented to him, to give a full account of the family of his entertainer, whose son Maurice instantly besought him to accept the animal, but for the love of Heaven not to say a word about them, but to leave them to the obscurity which was their safeguard. Irish Catholics were not only penalized and socially ostracized, but those who were willing to be loyal were driven to be disloyal, and those who would have willingly borne arms in the English service were constrained to place their swords and their unchallenged bravery at the disposal of foreign sovereigns. Thus O'Connell, writing to a relative in Ireland, August 6, 1765, says: "I hope in a year or two, if you obtain a passport, to go to see you, and if possible to get into the English service without injury to my religion." Commenting on this his biographer says: "The fervent hope expressed by the young soldier of fortune of entering the British Army gives a shock to our preconceived notions; but the penal laws, though still disgracing the statute-book, were gradually softening in their application. Year after year, Catholics hoped for that Emancipation, to which a Daniel O'Connell of a younger generation was to contribute<sup>5</sup> so largely, and which, but for the personal bigotry of George III, they would have received long before. In Kerry the old bitterness which had actuated the men whose broad lands were handed over to others, and whose homes had actually been uprooted, had passed away in the course of two

<sup>5</sup> More than contribute. No other man and no other methods would have wrung it from England.

or three generations; and the desire to serve at home was a natural one after all." O'Connell, in a letter from Paris, dated February 8, 1778, says: "Your public papers transmitted here the pleasing account of the new laws in favor of the Roman Catholics. A revolution so unexpected and so long wished for must needs procure, in course of some years, an accession to the power and prosperity of the Kingdom of Ireland, and unite in one common sentiment of loyalty the hearts of that long opposed and long unfortunate nation. One step more still remains to be made—I mean the liberty of spilling their blood in defence of their King and country. I doubt not 'twill soon be granted, though no other motive could ever induce me to bear arms against France, where I early found an asylum when refused one at home. I still wish the prosperity of the country, and at the same time that I pursue with inviolable fidelity that of my adopted King. Nature, stronger than reason or principle, still attaches my heart to Ireland." Irish soldiers spilled their blood freely, fighting under the English flag during the Napoleonic wars. but it did not hasten emancipation. It was only when the great Irish Tribune put a new spirit into the downtrodden Catholics and General Montgomery in America had organized a force of 40,000 men, largely recruited by the illustrious Bishop of Charleston, Doctor England, who were ready to cross the ocean to help Catholic Ireland if emancipation was any longer delayed, that Wellington, who knew it meant civil war, and doubtless not unmindful of his having been in Ireland, forced the measure upon the acceptance of a reluctant legislature.

But this is a digression. Young O'Connell, meanwhile having passed seven years on the borders of Alsace, where the Royal Swedes were usually quartered, paying passing visits to Switzerland, Paris and London, spent the winter of 1765-6 at the great military academy of Strasbourg, to which his Colonel, who took a great fancy to the tall, handsome young Irishman, sent him. It was a great privilege, only obtainable by the greatest interest, as the academy was specially destined for young noblemen of the first rank in the kingdom. O'Connell, who was a hard student as well as a hard fighter, made the most of his opportunities. He applied himself zealously to studies which prepared the way for future advancement. Besides mastering the art of war, he became a good linguist. "Considering the remarkable profusion of tongues in Kerry, where Doctor Smith actually deplores the classic lore so diffused among the peasantry, added to the certainty that among the gentry every child grew up to speak English and Irish with equal fluency, Dan's turn for languages," observes Mrs. Morgan O'Connell, "is not remarkable, such being the special aptitude of his native province. Cheva-

lier Fagan describes him as able to speak French and Dutch before he had been a whole year abroad, and we find him engaging private masters for foreign tongues at Strasbourg."

In August, 1767, when acting as Major-officer at Aire, he came in contact with sundry kinsmen serving in the Irish Brigade, namely, Fitzmaurice and two Mahonys, who were in Roscommon's (formerly Rothes) and Bulkeley's divisions or regiments. In the autumn of 1769 he himself entered the famous Brigade. As assistant-adjutant he had won his spurs in the Royal Swedish regiment, when, through the influence of Colonel Meade, he succeeded his cousin, Conway, as adjutant in the regiment of which the young Lord Clare<sup>6</sup>—the orphaned son of the veteran of Fontenoy—was the boy-colonel. Again his good friend and fellow-countryman, Chevalier Fagan, came to his assistance and outfitted him, enabling him to don the red uniform so conspicuous at "famed Fontenoy." A loan of sixty guineas provided him with a complete Indian outfit, for his regiment was under orders for the East. The kindly old soldier was at once his *Mecænas* and his *fidus Achates*. He was like a father to the rising young Irishman, whom he refers to as "Dan, the best-behaved and most brilliant of Irish lads," and to whom, in his apartments in Paris, he extended generous Irish hospitality; but for that timely shelter he emphatically declares he could never have pushed his fortunes. After a six months' voyage he arrived in the Isle of France or Mauritius on July 10, 1771, where the troops found provisions scarce, money lacking and things generally miserable. But, like Mark Tapley, O'Connell contrived to be hopeful and light-hearted, even under the most depressing conditions. "A happy and glorious campaign," he writes, "would console me of all my trouble and hardships." After this he served a couple of years in the East Indies, varied by excursions hither and thither, sometimes getting six months' leave. With one of the officers of the Navy he made a discovery in the South Sea during a cruise, but what it was is not precisely indicated. Doctor Sigerson surmises that the expedition in which he took part probably helped to found or augment French colonies.

Fortune is proverbially fickle, and O'Connell, like many others, was to experience its changeability. The young Comte, or Earl of Thomond and Lord Clare, dying under age and unmarried, at Paris, on December 29, 1774, after holding for a short time his place at the head of the regiment in which his brave old father had won

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<sup>6</sup> He died young after a few months' garrison service.

<sup>7</sup> The scarlet coat was shaped much like the brown coats which used to be worn at Dublin Castle Drawing Rooms.

<sup>8</sup> The French journals of the time refer to him as Marshal Thomond.

the Marshal's baton<sup>a</sup>, the famous regiment of Clare, about eighty-six years after its first formation in Ireland, and eighty-five years from its first arrival in France, was, in accordance with new military arrangements, incorporated with the Irish infantry regiment of Berwick. Writing previously from Rocroi, on July 6, 1774, O'Connell remarks: "Our unfortunate nation has fallen into utter contempt among the French since the death of Lord Clare (the elder), whose favor with the King, and the then recent memory of Fontenoy and Lansfield, still supported us. It is impossible our Brigade can last much longer." [This apparently extinguished all hopes of promotion. With the exception of a visit to Ireland, he passed his time in Paris in company with Chevalier O'Mahony and Colonel Conway, still studying hard, in the Rue de Tournon. Promotion in the French Army then, he says, was not "much better than show . . . for whatever be the rank of a military man, the mediocrity of his pay keeps him in continual distress and makes him very little more happy than before." There was considerable risk of his having to go on half pay, which would have been very embarrassing, as he was constantly writing to his relatives in Ireland for help, being in a state of chronic impecuniosity. As it was, instead of being full captain and adjutant, he deemed himself lucky when appointed second captain under McCarthy Mor in a company of chasseurs formed of the pick of Berwick's and Clare's regiments. "Clare's grand old regiment," writes Mrs. Morgan O'Connell, "ends sadly and prosaically enough—not cut to pieces in such a rush as broke the English ranks at Fontenoy, but sinking into a state of inefficiency and finally losing its identity in mingling with 'Berwick's.' The brilliant verse of Davis contrasts strangely with the very prosaic version of the adjutant—for so I conceive 'aide-major' to mean. Drinking, gambling and running into debt, according to his later letters, had attained a great pitch among the Irish-French officers. Davis' beautiful song about 'Clare's Dragoons' has given rise to a wrong impression that Clare's were horse-soldiers. In point of fact, 'Clare's' was the infantry regiment, raised, clothed and armed for the service of King James by Daniel O'Brien, third Viscount Clare, early in 1689."

O'Connell was not one of those who revelled, drank and gambled. He was studious, reasonably abstemious and high-principled. His kinsman, Richard O'Connell, said of him: "He has a soul above policy, a soul whose passion is to do good and to redress the wrongs of fortune." His nephew, most famous of all who bore the name, said: "In the days of his prosperity he never forgot his country or his God. Never was there a more sincere friend or a more generous man." His biographer adds: "To my hero, his faith was

not merely the spiritual element by which he hoped to save his soul in the next world; it was indissolubly wedded to his honor here below: a successful career to be pursued with no stain to faith or honor was Daniel O'Connell's great object in life."

During a visit to his family, when free from professional engagements, it was rumored in Ireland that the government would accept the offer of the Irish Catholic nobility to raise regiments at their own expense for service in America. Had the proposal been acceded to, Lord Kenmare, who was the initiator of the project, and who, during his residence in France, had known O'Connell, proposed to give him command of one. But with its usual short-sightedness, and actuated by bigotry, government refused. Debarred from serving in the British army, he returned to Paris, where he devoted his time to the study of science at the University, making chemistry and literature his chief pursuits. Some criticisms which he made of a disciplinary ordinance by the French war office attracted the notice of General Comte de Maillebois, upon whose recommendation he obtained the brevet rank of Colonel and a pension of 2000 livres (about £80). It is presumed that the Count may have been favorably disposed towards the clever young Kerryman, because, during his own boyhood, he had been the pupil of another clever Irishman from the same county, Sir John O'Sullivan, Charles Edward's comrade-in-arms during "the '45"; one of the O'Sullivan Mor family who studied for the Church, but, finding he had no religious vocation, accepted the post of tutor in the family of the Marshal de Maillebois, the conqueror of Corsica, to whom he became military secretary.

A passage in a letter of O'Connell's dated "Corke, March the 2d, 1776," will be read with an amused interest: he was to take shipping from Cork to Havre and writes: "Troops are daily marching in here. All those destined for America are to rendezvous at Corke, and to take in provisions there, so that beef and butter will sell at a high rate. England seems determined to crush them next campaign. Fifteen thousand Hessians are taken into pay." England did not succeed in crushing the men who flung the tea chest into Boston harbor and revolted, but was very recently solicitous of forming an alliance with the great Republic of the West, to which the action of the American colonists gave birth. Before the eighteenth century closed, it used the Hessians in fomenting the rebellion of '98, and as a leverage to extinguish the Irish Parliament, and is now closing in death-grapple with these very Hessians and other Teutonic peoples. In this connection it is interesting to note that the imminence of war on the Continent determined O'Connell to decline very advantageous offers made him by an emissary of the

American Congress, and which Major Conway accepted. "It seems a great pity," comments his biographer, "that my hero did not, after all, get a chance of serving under Washington, whose genius he early recognized. All his life he seems to have had a hankering after the Russian service, whence doubtless the fame of the brave deeds and brilliant success of the Lacys came to inflame the Irish cavaliers of fortune all over Europe, but he never succeeded in carrying out this notion."

He tells us himself that he had formed a design of going to America, but on such advantageous terms only as might justify his taking that step. Everything promised him the greatest success, when suddenly the French Court came to the resolution to deny them any help, at least openly. He was to rank as a Colonel in France, and to be employed in America as Major-General, that is, Quartermaster-General of the foot; but, being refused the confirmation of the rank of Colonel in consequence of the above resolution, he thought it prudent to lay aside all thought of crossing the Atlantic merely on the promises of emissaries vested with power vastly limited. "If hereafter," he adds, "our Court should alter its plan, I shall willingly jump at every opportunity of promotion and glory." The prospects of promotion in France were discouraging, for every position was monopolized by those who held the avenues to Court patronage. He tells his cousin, Rickard O'Connell, that there was no sort of encouragement to be expected in France or Germany. "As he is determined to try fortune," he adds, "I think America is now the only theatre where bravery and conduct can open a road for a young man destitute of money or friends in power." He differed in opinion with his brother with regard to the event of the American war. "Though feeble and unsoldierly, the efforts they have made hitherto, still," he says, "if Washington pursues the plan he hitherto seems to have adopted, and that the inhabitants of that country do not fall off, it is almost impossible that England can support the enormous expense attending that war. The late check received by the Hessians proves that there is still a degree of spirit, and some notion of discipline, in the rebel army."

The Comte de Millebois, a man of the highest military reputation, introduced him to Court and to Ministers. To insure at once his social standing and to promote his military prospects, he importunes his relatives in Ireland to procure his pedigree<sup>9</sup>, duly authenticated.

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<sup>9</sup> The O'Connells, not being a large clan with a chief, had no clan pedigree. The great clan pedigrees were exactly like the genealogical lists of Scripture. Their object was to preserve the direct descent of the princely family, the family truly sprung from some prominent chief, who in early times had left his impress on his tribe and was the father whose name his children continued to bear. The chiefs could only be chosen

Many friends and numerous and distinguished acquaintances and, he thanks God, a well-established character" gave him great reasons to expect a favorable change in his situation. Meanwhile, he frankly avows, he had a great deal to do to keep out of debt and support the decency suitable to his station. His friend, the Count, to whom he was so much indebted and to whom he swore an everlasting attachment, prevailed upon him to decline an advantageous offer from the East. At length his patience and perseverance were rewarded and he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of his old regiment, the Royal Swedes, about May, 1778, and obtained the Cross of St. Louis. He did not owe his promotion to any unworthy procedure. When General O'Reilly, Governor of Cadiz, years afterwards, congratulated him on his good fortune, and asked to what *impegnés*, or intrigue, he owed such rapid preferment: "To this, sir," replied O'Connell, drawing his sword, and giving Count O'Reilly<sup>11</sup> a most disdainful look, "to this, which has procured me the favor of my sovereign."

He took part with his regiment at the capture of Minorca, one of the Balearic Islands, at the beginning of the Spanish war<sup>12</sup>, when Port Mahon, one of the finest harbors in the Mediterranean, was wrested from the English in February, 1782. He was, at that time, Lieutenant-Colonel, was publicly thanked for his services on that occasion and recommended by the Commander-in-Chief to the Minister of War for promotion. Fort St. Philip, valiantly defended by General Murray, Governor of Minorca, surrendered to the Duc de Crillon, under whom O'Connell served in the German Brigade. Writing from Minorca, under date, December 1, 1781, our soldier of fortune says to his cousin, Rickard O'Connell: "I suppose you'll not expect from me any particulars of our operations. Your papers will put us all to death, most doubtless, and paint us as a dastardly race, undisciplined and cruel, but the knowing and impartial reader

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from the princely stem recorded in the clan pedigree, and the descents of certain younger branches were recorded in the margin. Centuries ago the O'Connells had been among the smaller and less powerful clans absorbed into McCarthy Mor's great following. *Biog.*, p. 226.

<sup>10</sup> In a letter dated Paris, March 12, 1780, he writes to his brother Maurice, lest he might think him extravagant: "I venture to assure you that no character can be better established, as well in point of honor and delicacy as for prudence and economy, than mine."

<sup>11</sup> Don Alexander O'Reilly, Count Commander of the Spanish Armies, Field Marshal, Captain General of the Havannah, Governor and Lieutenant General of Louisiana, of which he took possession in 1768, when surrendered by the French. He fought in Spain, Italy, Germany, France and America. One of the principal streets in Havana is named Calle O'Reilly after him. He was a patriotic Irishman and a devout Catholic. His dream was to head a Spanish force against England, land in his native country, overturn heresy and tyranny; and the very first thing he swore to do was to burn to the ground his ancestral home, polluted by conforming kinsmen, whom he would put to the sword. Born in Ireland, 1725; died in Spain, 1794.

will, I hope, do us the honor and justice to believe the contrary. I find myself very happy here. You know how much I love my profession, and how much I longed to act. Although I've no opportunity of a separate command by which I may expect to be distinguished, yet such an undertaking as this must needs afford instruction. It's a capital point for me, and the siege of one of the strongest places in the world no bad lesson in the art which rendered Vauban and C—— so famous. I shall endeavor to draw some benefit from it." We have seen that he did draw benefit from it and added another wreath to his military laurels. The siege was severe and protracted, but in three years the Spaniards and their allies captured the whole island, which, at the peace of 1763, had been formally ceded to Great Britain. Scurvy had made dreadful havoc among the beleaguered garrison. General Murray, in his official description of the fate of Port St. Philip, says: "Perhaps a more noble or a more tragical scene was never exhibited than that of the march of the garrison of St. Philip's through the Spanish and French armies . . . Such were the distressing figures of our men that many of the Spanish and French troops are said to have shed tears as they passed."

The next important event in which he took part was the siege of Gibraltar (1779-1783), one of the most memorable sieges in history. It was the last and most noteworthy of the many sieges this rocky stronghold, which commands the western entrance into the Mediterranean, sustained since its capture by Tarik in 711. Its successful defence by General Sir George Augustus Eliot (afterwards Lord Heathfield) was no less memorable. Prince William (who later ascended the English throne as William IV) was present as a midshipman in the British fleet under Admiral Sir George Rodney. O'Connell again served under the Duc de Crillon, who was in command of the besieging forces. All his biographers are agreed that he achieved special distinction at this siege, served on board the floating batteries and had the narrowest possible escape of his life, through the bursting of a shell quite near where he stood. It was on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of another comrade-in-arms, the Comte de Vaudreil, who formed a very high opinion of his capacity. "O'Connell," he wrote to the Comte d'Artois, in 1790, "est encore un de ces hommes propres aux grandes entreprises." Grant records that O'Connell was one of the council of war appointed to assist the Chevalier d'Arcon in conducting the grand attempt in which France and Spain had resolved to try their full strength for the capture of that celebrated rock, the Key of the Mediterranean. In that capacity he repeatedly opposed the plans of the Duc de Crillon and the Chevalier d'Arcon, declared their system



of attack worthless, and in the sequel the triumph of General Eliot proved that his observations were correct.

His nephew and namesake, the Liberator, relates the following incident, which shows the esteem in which Colonel O'Connell was held by the rank and file, who, after all, are the best judges of a man's fitness from practical experience:

"Upon a point of honor recognized in the French army, he claimed a right to share the perils of an attack which was resolved upon against his opinion. When the attempt to storm Gibraltar was resolved on, it became necessary to procure a considerable number of marines to act on board the floating batteries. For this purpose the French infantry was drawn up, and being informed of the urgency of the occasion, a call was made for volunteers, among the rest, of course, from the Royal Swedes. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Connell's regiment was paraded, and the men having been informed he was to be employed on the service, the whole battalion stepped forward to one man, declaring their intention to follow their Lieutenant-Colonel." The Colonel-en-second, Count de Fersen, attributing the men's enthusiasm to his appearance, rode up and assured them he would be proud to lead them. "A murmur of disappointment passed along the line, and at length some of the old soldiers ventured to declare that it was not with him they volunteered to go, but with the other Lieutenant-Colonel, who had always commanded and protected them. Colonel O'Connell was named second in command of one of the floating batteries, and this battery was one of the first to come into action."

The French and Spanish Courts had fixed their hopes for the success of the siege and the capture of the place on the famous floating batteries, which numbered ten. A contemporary account says: "Here it was (at Gibraltar) that a far wider field presented itself to Mr. O'Connell for the display of his bravery and skill; nor was the opportunity lost upon him. In every attack he bore a part either with the regiment or as a volunteer, and such respect was paid to his judgment that he was consulted by the Commanders on every movement of importance. Though he disapproved of the last grand effort, notwithstanding all the tremendous preparations, so happily disconcerted, yet that no occasion of acquiring glory might slip him, he volunteered with eagerness, and in opposition to the wishes of his friends, for liberty of serving in the gun-boats. No doubt there were others as gallant in the same service. The Prince of Nassau may be called valor itself; possibly there is not

<sup>12</sup> Hostilities had begun between England and France in 1777, and two years later Spain, after proffers of mediation had been refused by England, espoused the part of France, and declared war with England on June 16, 1779.

existing a man who has stood the brunt of danger so often. Yet would all his courage have been of no avail that 'day of wrath' were he not accompanied by Mr. O'Connell; for to his exertions he certainly owed his preservation. Dreadful as 'the pelting of that pitiless storm'<sup>13</sup> must have been, when the veteran, whose glorious deeds are some compensation for the many shocks the national honor has sustained during a ruinous war, was like the god of thunder hurling destruction upon his enemies, it is to Mr. O'Connell's peculiar praise that he continued as composed as if he had been only sending them hot rolls for breakfast. In the midst of carnage and confusion, when his companions had abandoned themselves to despair, he conducted everything with coolness, and gave his orders so deliberately that he brought sure on shore the prince's own boat on which he served. Not content with this, he gathered assistance from all quarters for the unfortunates whom he left behind, and it acknowledged on all sides that it was by his activity that the greater part of those who escaped were saved. This generosity, however, had nearly cost him his life, for a party of Spanish sailors, averse as, it might well be supposed, they were to hazard themselves in such a scene, attempted to throw him overboard. Having providentially frustrated their nefarious designs, he received at last a wound on the head, which was thought for some time to have been mortal."

Mr. Daniel O'Connell, of Darrynane, thus relates the above incident as told him by his uncle, Morgan O'Connell: "After the floating batteries were set on fire at the siege of Gibraltar, Count O'Connell was endeavoring to rescue their crews with a boat manned by two Spaniards. The English were firing on the burning ships; their own guns were going off as they got heated, and, of course, there was the risk of explosion. The Spaniards, not liking the danger they must encounter by approaching the ships, agreed to throw Count O'Connell (then Colonel O'Connell) overboard and return to the shore. He understood what they said, took out his pistols, examined their priming, laid them on the seat by him, and, addressing the men in Spanish, told them he would shoot the first that attempted to stir except to row towards the floating batteries. The Spaniards submitted, and Count O'Connell saved several of his friends and others." He was also instrumental in this engagement in saving the life of the Comte d' Artois (afterwards Charles X); and it is well known that a marshal's baton was destined for him by that prince when he ascended the throne, had not the revolution of July, 1830, prevented it. He had received a slight wound in the forehead, the skin of which was a little scarred, by a case shot on the bursting of a bomb at his feet; but it did not put him out of

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<sup>13</sup> The red-hot shot used by the besiegers.

action, for a short time after he was chosen to carry a message on which the lives of three crews depended.

Hostilities on a lesser scale were kept up until February 6, 1783, when the Duc de Crillon announced to Governor Eliott that peace had been concluded, and that the blockade was to cease.

The Prince of Nassau, under whom he served in the floating batteries, wanted him to go out and serve under him in Russia. He was also invited by the Portuguese Government to remodel the discipline of the army, holding the rank of Major-general on the staff. Promoted to be Colonel-commander of his old regiment, the Royal Swedes, he was shortly after replaced by Count Fersen, the King of Sweden having expressed a wish to have one of his own subjects in command of his regiment. He then received the command of the Salm-Salm Regiment, which put him in receipt of £600 a year. At a review of 30,000 French troops in Alsace in the summer of 1785, it was pronounced the best regiment in the field. To pass from the grade of lieutenant-colonel to that of colonel-commandant and inferior general in less than six months was rapid promotion.

He was now on the high road to fame and fortune. Everything seemed to promise a brilliant future. From his then viewpoint the perspective was alluring. Not a cloud obscured the horizon; he saw nothing to foreshadow the coming storm which was to burst over France and, in its onrush, to sweep away every vestige of the old regime he was serving, in the tranquil expectation that it had a long future before it and rested upon a solid foundation, which neither wars nor revolutions could undermine. The industrious pedigree-hunting of his friend, Chevalier O'Gorman, resulted in his being able to satisfy the exacting requirements of the French College of Arms and opened the doors of the Louvre and Versailles to the handsome Irishman and brave soldier, who was caressed at Court in the most flattering manner and raised to the dignity of Comte. A kinsman, writing in a contemporary Kerry paper, says: "Mr. O'Connell is not only the elegant gentleman, but he is looked upon to be as a soldier the best scholar in France, and the most conversant with the European languages; and, what is still more extraordinary in a person moving in the polite circles of Paris, he has never been known to play for a guinea." He became the intimate friend of the Comte d'Artois and the Polignacs. Afterwards, when the former ascended the French throne as Charles X, as in duty bound, he attended the King's first levée, and greeted his sovereign with the words, "Sire, an old servant comes to lay his homage at your Majesty's feet." The kindly monarch caught him by both hands, and exclaimed, "Do not say 'an old servant,'

O'Connell; say 'an old friend.'" In 1788 he first rode in the King's (Louis XVI) coach, a privilege only accorded to those who had the entrée of the Louvre and were among the *intimes* of royalty, and kissed the hand of Marie Antoinette. The Chevalier O'Gorman, writing from Dublin on May 20, 1783, to Maurice O'Connell, says: "You must not be a stranger to the military reputation that your brother has acquired since he has taken service in France, and more particularly since the commencement of the last war. That, together with his personal accomplishments, have procured him the special notice both of the Royal family, the Minister, and the lords and ladies of the Court of Versailles."

Notwithstanding all this favor shown him by those who, in eighteenth-century phraseology, called "the great," he kept a level head. Writing to his brother on the subject of his pedigree, he says, "Vanity has not the smallest share in this step. My sole desire and aim is to qualify myself to push my own fortune and that of my family, whom I may hereafter bring over here." He was a visible Providence to aspiring and adventurous Irish youth; and to him may be attributed the fact, for which he personally vouches, that there were three Kerry people in the Irish regiments abroad for one of every other county in Ireland. From first to last he brought over three nephews and two cousins," not to mention many others, less fortunately circumstanced, to whom he was the friend in need. Such friendly aid was then much required. The penal laws precluding all Catholic schools at home, boys learned the rudiments from hedge schoolmasters, some of whom were very well-informed men, and the classics and French from priests who had been educated abroad, and who lived in the houses of the gentry, Darrynane having harbored many friars, who ministered to the oppressed Catholics, it being unsafe to appoint regular parish priests. Those who did not contemplate a military career and evinced a disposition to enter the ministry he succeeded in placing in one or other of the colleges on free bourses, the O'Connells exercising the right of patronage.

It was in 1788 that Colonel O'Connell reached the summit of his social ambition and was presented at court. Having failed to obtain the King's leave to make the next campaign either in the Austrian or Russian army, for which he earnestly wished, with a

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<sup>14</sup> Eugene McCarthy, of Oughtermony, who died a lieutenant colonel in the British service; Marcus O'Sullivan, of Coullagh, who died a captain in the British service; Maurice, son of Geoffrey O'Connell, who also died a captain in the British service; Sir Maurice (Charles Philip) O'Connell, who was a British general and Governor of New South Wales; Maurice O'Connell, of Carhen, the Liberator's brother, who died a lieutenant in the British service, and the future Emancipator, his namesake, Dan.

view of extending and ripening his military knowledge, to court favor alone he was constrained to look for a chance of a career. "But, alas!" says his biographer," the gilded doors opened too late, and all that his costly pedigree availed him was to taste the pleasures of hope and see the last of a brilliant, unreal world, bright and splendid to the eye as a glimpse of fairyland, but equally evanescent." To him, as to many others, the Revolution was a rude awakening from a day-dream. He lost by it his pension of 3,500 livres (£140) a year, a mark of court favor, and, later on, was very near losing his life, having had a very narrow escape from the guillotine, his name being on the list of the proscribed, after it was discovered that he had been in correspondence with the King." He did not at first expatriate himself along with the *émigrés*, though pressed by them to join them in their hurried flight. While his friends, the Polignacs, and his princely patron, the Comte d'Artois, were in exile he remained in France at the King's wish. He always cautiously abstained from mixing himself up with politics, and now busily applied himself to infantry tactics and regulations. In a letter from Paris on January 14, 1790, he thus defines his position: "The events which come to pass in this country, what may hereafter come to pass, I can't answer for, but as an army will be always necessary, whatever be the form of government, I think I may always aspire to the honor of spilling my blood, whenever the occasion offers, for the defence of the country." He had been lately promoted to the rank of Major-General, but tells his brother that, had he any other means of livelihood, he should have declined new honors and quitted the service, which had become almost intolerable owing to the changes that had taken place. "Necessity alone," he adds, "could determine me to continue in a line of life which exposes a man daily to more than the loss of his life—I mean the loss of his honor." He was removed from the Salm-Salm Regiment to become Inspector-General of Infantry, and to edit or revise the regulations put in force in 1791.

Count O'Connell, whom he designated as "one of those men who are fitted for great enterprises," was named by Comte de Vaudreuil in a letter from Rome in March, 1790, as one of the possible saviours of royalty. He was equal to the occasion. It was not yet

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<sup>15</sup> Mrs. Morgan O'Connell. *Blog.*, Vol. II., p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> "I am on the list of the outlawed persons. Some letters of mine to the late King of France having been found amidst many others in his papers, and having been printed in the collection of said papers by order of the Convention, as I am confidently informed by Dr. Jeffrey Connell, of Corke, lately escaped from that country, who read them." (Letter dated London, December 11, 1793.) This Dr. Connell was actually arrested in mistake for him.

a forlorn hope. At the beginning of the Revolution he had a command of 10,000 foreign troops around Paris, and wanted to be allowed to use them against the insurgents, but the humane, if weak, monarch would not consent. His plan was to get the King, Queen and rest of the royal family in the middle and surround them with German and Irish troops, fire on the mob and cut through them. Marie Antoinette, better realizing the desperate situation in which they found themselves, was ready to risk it, and pressed the King to do so, but he was loath to shed the blood of his people. O'Connell maintained that if he had been allowed to act, the Revolution would have been put down. He was a thorough royalist. He preferred to serve in the ranks as a common trooper to accepting commands under Carnot and Dumouriez, who would have placed him at the head of one of the armies they were hurling against the European coalition.

In February, 1791, the spirit of national resistance to foreign interference in domestic concerns had been so inflamed by the action of the coalition, that the popular voice demanded the abolition of foreign regiments in France. No distinction was made, and the old Irish Brigade was disbanded by the National Assembly. The Duc de Fitz James, grandson of Marshal Berwick, sought, in an appeal to the King, reminds him how his grandfather was accompanied by 30,000 Irishmen, who abandoned home, fortune, and honors to follow the unfortunate King of England, James II. "For the descendants of those brave men, whom your ancestors deemed so worthy of protection, because they had been faithful to their sovereign, I now entreat," he says, "the same favor from the great-grandson of Louis XIV. It is reported that the National Assembly propose disbanding the Irish regiments as foreign troops. The blood they have shed in the cause of France ought to have procured them the right of being denizens of that kingdom, even though their capitulation had not entitled them to that privilege." Having, in the event of their services being rejected, asked the King to recommend them to the Spanish Bourbons, he adds: "Fidelity and valor are their titles to recommendation. Of the former they expect an authentic testimonial from the French nation, as they have never once failed in their duty during a century, and wherever they have fought their valor has been conspicuous in battle." When the Comte de Provence (Louis XVIII) and the Comte d'Artois (Charles X) fled to Coblenz, the formal defection of several Irish officers hastened to extinction of the Brigade. The first of the French troops their loyalty to the fugitive princes were the Scottish and Irish soldiers of the old Regiment of Berwick.

After serving incognito" as a hussar in the Royalist army under his friend Berchini, O'Connell, fearing arrest, fled to London in the late autumn of 1792, to avoid being shot or guillotined. He was almost destitute, this *preux chevalier* who but a few years before had trodden the crimson carpet and breathed the perfumed air of the sumptuous salons of Versailles. He had tasted the sweets of success; he was now, like the other *emigres*, to taste the bitterness of exile and poverty. "Providence alone," he wrote to his brother, "can save from begging their bread as objects of charity men who a little while ago were rolling in the superfluities of wealth and luxury. What shall become of myself or befall me, I can't tell. I wish not to become a burthen to you, and ere that takes place shall seek every means of livelihood that an unbroken courage, a long experience of the world, and a strong constitution qualify me for." Meanwhile he went over to Ireland and sojourned in Kerry for a short time. "It is evident," says Mrs. Morgan O'Connell, "my hero remained unemployed at Darrynane for at least four months, and the fact that he was presented with boots and shoes and a suit of clothes, executed at Hunting Cap's" expense, would show that, whether he went to France or not, he had failed to redeem any of his savings, and was wholly and utterly destitute."

Soon after his arrival in London, Count O'Connell sought an opening for a new career. He and Count Dillon applied for permission to raise Irish regiments for the British service; the former proposing to raise either a Catholic or a mixed regiment, officered by Irish-French officers, and the latter to bring over his officers *en masse*, recruiting the rank and file in Ireland. "Notwithstanding the penal laws," says his biographer, "they had some grounds on which to found this application. French Catholic royalists were employed largely by the English government, which had subsidized several noblemen and their regiments who had been serving in the hapless army of the princes, and the Irish Parliament had passed a seemingly liberal, but unworkable law, allowing Catholics to serve as colonels in Ireland." The ultimate outcome of these negotiations was the formation of King George's Irish Brigade. It was a sad reverse of fortune, a mistake and a self-imposed indignity, for the scarred and war-worn veterans who represented the men who had written their names large in the military annals of Europe, the

<sup>17</sup> He refused any command, lest his name should be mentioned in France, which in case of failure would exclude him forever from that country.

<sup>18</sup> Maurice O'Connell, known in Kerry by the name of "Hunting Cap," on account of his always appearing with that part of the sportsman's costume, because of his reluctance to pay a tax imposed on beaver hats. He gave O'Connell 300 guineas at parting.

<sup>19</sup> Mrs. Morgan O'Connell. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 113.

men whom Davis acclaimed as "the heroes and chiefs of the Irish Brigade," whose dauntless valor on many a well-fought field, "from Dunkirk to Belgrade," had reflected such honor upon themselves and their country, to offer their swords and their services to the power that had driven them into exile, had proscribed their religion, confiscated their lands, and persecuted and penalized their Catholic fellow countrymen. The only use England made of them was to send them to perish in pestilential regions in the West Indies." A few of them, such as Sir Charles McCarthy-Lyragh, Sir Nicholas Trant, and Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell, did get opportunities of distinguishing themselves under British colors. Count O'Connell, however claimed that in opening the military career for Irish Catholics, it paved the way to emancipation, of which, in 1795, high hopes were raised when Lord Fitzwilliam was sent as Viceroy to Ireland, until those hopes were deceived by his recall and the abandonment by the British government of the policy of conciliation; a fatal turning point in later Irish history, followed three years after by the insurrection of 1798, deliberately fomented for the purpose of extinguishing the Irish Parliament, an incontestable fact to which Lord John Russell bears testimony in his "Life of Charles James Fox."<sup>20</sup> Before Wolfe Tone had invoked the aid of French intervention he had declared himself willing to accept the Fitzwilliam policy as a satisfaction of the then grievances of the people, and, Michael Davitt said, it is as certain as anything historic can well be, that if the humane and enlightened policy of Lord Fitzwilliam had prevailed, there would have been no Irish rebellion in 1798." Count O'Connell, writing on March 1, 1795, said: "Lord Fitzwilliam would have not only procured the Catholic Emancipation, but also promoted by all other means in his power the general good of the country." His recall suspended recruiting for King George's Irish Brigade, in which O'Connell had been gazetted Colonel on October 1, 1794, Government having invited the Irish Brigade over *en masse* and Pitt expressing a very flattering opinion of his talents. But O'Connell saw himself a colonel without a regiment, the very first day a Catholic could have ridden at the head of his own regiment since the passing of the Test Act of Queen Anne.

The Duke de Fitz James, who had served for forty years, a general and the recognized representative of the old Irish Brigade,

<sup>20</sup> Blog., p. 179.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. III., p. 396. "He (Fox), like Mr. Burke, detested the rule of a miserable monopolizing intolerance of that Magnum Latrocinium, which, having kept the Irish in bondage, goaded them into rebellion in order to stifle their rightful requests in blood."

<sup>22</sup> Speech at the Parnell Commission Inquiry.



the person whom the Government had specially invited over, and Count O'Connell, the colonel of the New Brigade, were reduced to the position of actually anticipating being placed on half pay with all their officers. When it was proposed to abolish the Regiment of Berwick, of which he was the colonel-proprietor, in favor of a new regiment, Fitz James complained bitterly that the compact was violated under which he and his brother officers had enlisted in the English service; and when Lord Blaney referred insultingly in the House of Lords to the French *émigré* officers, he challenged him to a duel, which was fought in the Phoenix Park, the Duke receiving a slight wound. Secretary Pelham, in a letter to Wyndham (quoted by Lecky), says: "I have never troubled you about the Irish Brigade, but it is a most shocking and disgraceful thing. I have been obliged to advance £1500 upon my own responsibility for the bare subsistence of the officers, who otherwise must have starved, and I very much fear that the opportunity of recruiting is lost."<sup>22</sup> It was not the only lost opportunity which British statesmen, lending a too-ready ear to the Protestant ascendancy faction, have had to lament. The next year, 1796, the year when "the French were in the Bay," and Hoche's expedition sent a thrill of hope through Irish Catholic hearts, was still more unfavorable to recruiting for the English army.

Count O'Connell, who, in 1796, married, in the French chapel, King street, Covent Garden, London, Marthe Gourand, Comtesse de Bellevue (née Drouillard de Lamarre) (his first love, the Vicomtesse de Gouy having apparently died), retired from active service in 1797, abandoning all hopes of acquiring further military renown. "His loyalty to a fallen race," says Mrs. Morgan O'Connell, "had shut out the scientific soldier of fortune from all share in the most marvellous campaigns the genius of one man had ever conceived and carried out. The long-cherished hopes of the Irish *émigré* officers to be let share, on the royalist side, in those great wars had been baffled by the jealousy of the Irish ascendancy party. Our colonel had to possess his soul in patience, and bear with obscurity and inaction for many a weary year. In a word, every hope and plan he had conceived was turned to disappointment, except one very prosaic hope of an assured competency." In the previous year he had written to his brother: "My ambition is extinguished. Tranquillity, retirement, peace of mind, with a revenue merely sufficient to keep me above want, is the sole wish of my heart." He got his wish. The sale of some West Indian property belonging to his wife later enabled him to purchase a

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<sup>22</sup> Pelham to Wyndham, May 17, 1795.

country seat at Mâdon," near Blois, in France. At the opening of the nineteenth century he wrote to his nephew, Dan, then a young barrister of twenty-five: "Doomed to a career of obscurity and idleness for the rest of my life, I have transferred my ambition to you, and do declare you from this hour debtor to your name and family for the lustre it was long my wish and hope to attach on them." How amply that debt has been paid history has recorded in preserving for generations the record of the career of the greatest leader which the Irish race in modern times has produced. "Each Danil O'Connell," says Mrs. Morgan O'Connell, "may be said to represent an Irish type of a different age. The elder Daniel is truly a typical eighteenth-century Irish cavalier of fortune, driven to work out his career in foreign parts with his sword. The brilliant nineteenth-century orator, whose tongue is a more efficient weapon, is essentially a man of our own age. The elder Daniel opened the career of arms to his co-religionists on British soil, though the remnants of the penal enactments prevented his attaining higher rank or employment than the position of a colonel." When the younger Daniel was at the bar he could not rise to be a K. C., and had to be content with a stuff gown of an outer barrister. Both contributed to the achievement of emancipation;<sup>24</sup> the elder in a minor way, the younger in leading the Catholic forces to victory. It was the only political points of contact between them; for the Colonel was an anti-repealer and did not regard with approval the nephew's democratic ideas, as to his mind they savored of the revolutionary, which he abhorred, being an aristocrat with strong conservative leanings, who held by the old order of things. It must have been with dismay that he read his young relative's maiden speech at the Catholic meeting in Dublin in 1799, when the future Liberator, replying to Canning's threat that it might be necessary to re-enact the penal code if the Union were defeated, declared that the Catholics of Ireland would rather accept that code and throw themselves on the mercy of their Protestant brethren than assent to the extinction of the Legislature of their country, and seek advantages as a sect which would destroy them as a nation.

In 1802 he returned to France, after a long absence. The sale of his wife's estates in St. Domingo, or compensation for them, after the Negro rebellion, raised them from genteel poverty to affluence. But the English Government, having seized some French subjects before war was actually declared, Napoleon took reprisals

<sup>24</sup> The Chateau de Madon, now the seat of Countess O'Connell's great-granddaughter, the Marquise de Sers.

<sup>25</sup> The Liberator himself and the Rev. Francis Sylvester Mahony ("Father Prout") credited Moore's *Melodies* with being also contributory to it.

and detained some English residents of Paris, including Count O'Connell, whose movements were watched by spies. At the Restoration all this was changed. In 1817 he was made a lieutenant-general and a Commander of the Order of St. Louis, a rare honor, the number being limited to twenty-four, exclusive of the royal family." He was also made a Peer of France, with right of succession to his step-grandson, Daniel d'Etchegoyen, who, during his lifetime, bore the name of O'Connell, but did not survive to inherit the title. In 1818 he was naturalized as a French subject. When the "three glorious days" of July, 1830, supervened and Charles X fled from Paris and the Citizen King, Louis Philippe, usurped the throne, the oath of allegiance was administered to the army; but O'Connell, a staunch adherent of the elder branch of the Bourbons, refused to take it, saying he was too old to turn traitor at over eighty. He was consequently dismissed the service and struck off the paymaster's list.

The rest of his life was passed in studious retirement—for he was a great booklover and collector—either at his countryseat at Mâdon on the Loire, or in the Paris family mansion in the Rue Neuve des Capucines; wintering at Nice and paying occasional visits to his kinsfolk in Ireland, until advancing age and infirmities precluded the possibility of his again seeing his native land. "Poor Darynane, so dear to my remembrance!" he says in a letter to his grand-niece. He had had his last look at the ancestral home on the rock-bound coast of Kerry,

Where the brow of the mountain is purple with heath,  
And the mighty Atlantic rolls proudly beneath—

where his youth was spent within hearing of the sound of those "free-dashing waves," amid the mountains and valleys of that wild and remote region; the home so typical of the old Irish life, where open house was kept for all wayfarers, rich and poor, who were received with large-hearted Irish hospitality. He never saw it again! Native and to the manner born, he never sank the Irishman in the Frenchman, but was justly proud of his nationality; never quite lost his Kerry brogue, even when speaking French, and kept up his Irish to the last, being often heard to recite long Irish poems. His charity was only limited by his means. Mrs. Morgan O'Connell was told by persons capable of forming an opinion that, between gifts and bequests and charities during his lifetime to his relatives

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<sup>24</sup> Count Bartholomew O'Mahony was the recipient of similar honors. James Roche, the literary Cork banker, who knew several of the most distinguished of the Irish Brigade, refers in his "Essays of an Octogenarian" to General O'Connell, "whose high order of mind, of principle and of conduct commanded the esteem, as the amiableness of his character won the love of all who approached him."

and the poor of his native parish and adjoining district, he expended at least £20,000. Mrs. O'Connell, of Ballinabloun, the Liberator's second daughter, in a letter from Clontarf, in 1890, traces from memory a pen-portrait in outline of the dignified, courtly and courteous old soldier, with his skull cap over his snow-white hair; a perfect specimen of the gentleman of the old school, who had mixed in the highest circles of French society under the monarchy and retained the high-bred manners of that epoch, which he represented to a younger generation. As steadfast in his Catholicism as in his nationality, his thoughts were naturally more drawn to religion as he was nearing the close of a long life; as his biographer quaintly expresses it, "When he got old he became excessively devout." The Marquise de Sers, who remembered his death, says: "My great-grandfather was a most superior man and a saint." The venerable Curé of Condé, near Mâdon (Canon Noury), the parish in which he died, bore the same testimony: he said his memory is still revered among the people, who say that he died like a saint. He passed away peacefully early on the morning of July 9, 1833, having nearly completed his eighty-ninth year, and was buried, in accordance with his wishes, in the chapel of the village cemetery, where he had bought a vault.

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## THE TUNE OF THE ADESTE FIDELES.

**I**N a previous paper on the words of the *Adeste Fideles* I pointed out some of the curious ascriptions of authorship made in recent Catholic hymnals. Almost an equally attractive variety of ascriptions of the tune which is traditionally associated with the words, is due to various guesses of hymnal editors and other lovers of the hymn. Let me place in order the ascriptions which have come under my notice:

### I. WHO COMPOSED THE TUNE?

1. In his review-article on *The English Hymnal* in the (London) *Month* for September, 1905, Mr. James Britten speaks of our tune and says that "the writer of the musical notes in the *Pall Mall Gazette* last Christmas discovered that it came from a Spanish source, but observed a discreet silence when asked to give his authority for the statement." It would evidently be a futile task to investigate this surmise of a Spanish origin.

2. In the fashion which Protestant hymnals have of affixing a distinctive title to a tune for the purpose of ready identification, our melody is sometimes called "Portuguese Hymn." The mistaken title is accounted for by Vincent Novello, who in 1843 published a collection entitled *Home Music*, etc., in which the tune is set to a psalm and is ascribed to a certain "Reading, 1680." Novello places here a note explaining the wrong title of "Portuguese Hymn."

"This piece obtained its name of 'The Portuguese Hymn' from the accidental circumstance of the Duke of Leeds, who was a director of the Concert of Ancient Music, many years since (about the year 1785) having heard the hymn first performed at the Portuguese Chapel, and who, supposing it to be peculiar to the service in Portugal, he introduced the melody at the Ancient Concerts, giving it the title of 'The Portuguese Hymn,' by which appellation this very favorite and popular tune has ever since been distinguished; but it is by no means confined to the choir of the Portuguese Chapel, being the regular Christmas hymn, 'Adeste Fideles,' that is sung in every Catholic chapel throughout England."

The editors of the *Music of the Church Hymnary* (Edinburgh, 1901), from whose interesting volume I have taken the above quotation, think that Novello's explanation is correct, inasmuch as he was for many years organist of the Portuguese Chapel in London, namely, from 1797 to 1822. Let me add that, although Novello was born in the year 1781 and was therefore only about four years old at the time of the directorship of the Duke of Leeds, his posi-

tion as organist of the Portuguese Chapel in London could easily have made him aware, in his after years, of the tradition concerning the origin of the ascription of what he styles "this very favorite and popular tune" to a Portuguese source.

It is curious to note how slowly such appropriate information as this is diffused even amongst those whose labors as editors of hymnals should, one might naturally think, make them quickly familiar with it. And yet a very recent publication which gives evidence of much care in its preparation from the editorial standpoint,<sup>1</sup> as well as from that of the publisher, still gives our tune the title of "Adeste Fideles" (Portuguese Hymn). It would not have been amiss for the editor to place "Portuguese Hymn" in quotation-marks, or to have qualified the expression with some such addition as "so-called" or even "wrongly styled."

3. The title "New Portugal"—to distinguish our tune from a tune by Thorley which had previously been styled "Portugal"—I have also found in the curious volume entitled: *Hymns from the Sequel to Weyman's Melodia Sacra*. It is a Protestant Hymnal published at Dublin in the year 1840 (according to Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood) or between 1820 and 1825 (according to Mr. James Warrington). The tune appeared under these Protestant auspices, however, before the year 1814.<sup>2</sup>

4. Apropos of the title of "The Portuguese Hymn," I must next mention another strange ascription of the tune occurring in several Protestant hymnals. One<sup>3</sup> of these, for instance, ascribed the tune to "M. Portugal." Another gives it simply to "Portogallo." And still a third,<sup>4</sup> which was published in New York as recently as the year 1907, awards the composition of the tune, with great precision of naming, and with great particularity of dating, to "Marco Antonio Portogallo (1795)." Why this date of 1795 is so carefully and definitely assigned, I can not even surmise. Neither can I

<sup>1</sup> *Hymns for Schools and Colleges*, Boston, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to me, dated December 11, 1914, Mr. Warrington says: "I am a little doubtful about the date of the *Sequel to Melodia Sacra*. The book is not dated, so far as I have been able to see copies, and Kidson gives no notice of the publishers. Grattan Flood dates it 1840, but internal evidence points to its being published between 1820 and 1825. There is no doubt that the *Melodia Sacra* itself was published in 1811-1814, the issue being in four numbers. The fourth number contains *Adeste Fideles*. My investigations regarding this book are not yet complete, but I am inclined to think that Flood's date arises from his seeing a reprint, as the *Sequel* appears to have been first published by Cramer and afterwards by Moses." In referring to the *Adeste Fideles*, Mr. Warrington is speaking of the tune, not of the words.

<sup>3</sup> *Laudes Domini for the Prayer Meeting*, New York, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> *Harmony in Praise*, Boston, 1890.

<sup>5</sup> *Hymns Every Child Should Know*.

explain—except on the improbable supposition of a confusion arising from the title of “Portuguese Hymn”—the origin of the ascription of our tune to the operatic composer, Portogallo. And yet Duffield, a careful and laborious hymnologist, gives the ascription without any hesitation, and certainly without any qualification, in his volume entitled: *English Hymns* (New York, 1886):

“The ‘Portuguese Hymn,’ to which the ‘Adeste Fideles’ has usually been sung, was the composition of Marcas Portugal. He was the chapel-master of the king of Portugal . . . The tune was originally employed as an offertory piece. . . . The claim, therefore, that Reading (otherwise Redding) was the composer of this celebrated tune falls to the ground.”

To sum up briefly the whole matter of the ascription to Portogallo, or “M. Portugal,” let me say that his real name was Simao; that in Italy, where he stayed some time, he was styled “Il Portogallo,” whence his name or sobriquet of “Portogallo”; and that, finally, it is obvious that, as he was born in 1763, he could not be the composer of a tune which certainly dates back at least to the year 1750.

5. For the same reason, the ascription (with date) to “John Reading, 1760,” made by the *National Hymn-Book of the American Churches* (Philadelphia, 1893), is not correct.

6. And now we come to the tangled question of the ascription to Reading. The *Oregon Catholic Hymnal* (Portland and New York, 1912) attributes the tune to “John Reading, XVII Cent.” The *Congregationalist hymnal* entitled *Pilgrim Songs* (Boston and Chicago, 1886) gives “John Reading, 1677-1764” as the composer. This John Reading is not the same as the “J. Reading, 1692,” to whom another Protestant hymnal<sup>6</sup> attributes the composition of the tune. On the other hand, the *Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book* (Boston, 1885) will not commit itself to any limits of dating, but is content with an ascription to “J. Reading.” I could give many illustrations of this popular ascription, but those which I have selected will suffice to exhibit the confusion caused by some Mr. Reading.

What is the source of the confusion? It is curious that there should have been three English musicians named John Reading, all of them organists, and all of them living in some part of the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> For the sake of clearness, we must take up

<sup>6</sup> In *Excelsis*, New York, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> It is additionally interesting to note that there should have been still another John Reading, living in the same century, whose name enters into the history of music—the Rev. John Reading, Prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, who in 1663 published a sermon in defense of music, which he had preached at the Cathedral.

the three Readings who were organists one by one, and try to distinguish them as well as we may.

(a) A certain John Reading was organist of Chichester Cathedral from 1674 to 1720 (Grove's Dictionary). He may forthwith be dismissed from consideration, as there is no evidence to support an ascription to him; nor, so far as I am aware, has any hymnologist attributed the tune to him.

(b) As noted above, the hymnal *In Excelsis* gives the tune to "J. Reading, 1692." A reader might naturally refer the date of composition to the year mentioned. But the date represents merely the year of the death of this John Reading. Having filled various musical positions in the Anglican Church, he became organist of Winchester College in 1681 and retained that office until his death in 1692. The tune is attributed to him on the basis of the vague ascription given by Vincent Novello in his *Home Music*, etc., to which I have already referred. In this volume, Psalm 106 was set to the tune of the *Adeste Fideles*, and this was headed by Novello: "Air by Reading, 1680." This date of 1680 offers no difficulty, as Reading died in 1692. There is, however, no evidence to support the ascription; for in an appended note, Novello gives biographical details which do not fit in with the musical activities of the John Reading who died in 1692, but which do agree with those of the following:

(c) John Reading, "born 1677, was a chorister of the Chapel Royal under Dr. Blow. In 1700 he became organist of Dulwich College. . . . He (apparently in 1707) became organist of St. John, Hackney, St. Dunstan in the West . . . and St. Mary Woolnoth (London). He published 'A Book of New Anthems.' He was also the reputed author of the hymn 'Adeste Fideles.' He died Sept. 2, 1764," (Grove's Dictionary). Compare with this description the details furnished by Novello's note:

"John Reading was a pupil of Dr. Blow (the master of Purcell) and was first employed at Lincoln Cathedral. He afterwards became organist to St. John's, Hackney, and finally of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and St. Mary, Woolnoth, London. He published towards the end of the seventeenth century a collection of anthems of his own composition, and his productions are generally esteemed for their tastefully simple melodies and appropriately natural harmonies."

It is clear that the John Reading described by Grove's Dictionary is the John Reading described in Novello's note. But this Reading was born in 1677, and of course could not have composed the tune of the *Adeste Fideles* in the year to which Novello ascribes its composition, namely, the year "1680."

The information given in Grove appears to rest principally on



the researches of Dr. W. H. Cummings, contributed at various times to *Notes and Queries*. In their *Music of the Church Hymnary*, Cowan and Love also seem to me to have depended for much of their information, and for some of their argumentation, on the Reply contributed to *Notes and Queries* in answer to some questioners of his statements. As neither the Dictionary nor the *Music of the Church Hymnary* mentions the source, I give it here for the guidance of such readers as may desire fuller information: *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, III, May 21st, 1881, pp. 410-411. For our present needs, let me quote from this source:

"John Reading gave to Dulwich College several volumes of manuscript music . . . eleven of these volumes are now in the library of the college, and another, purchased at a sale, is in my own library."

Elsewhere, in the same Reply, Dr. Cummings says:

"I have had unusual opportunities of perusing the music composed by the Reading of Dulwich and Hackney, and I cannot think he was the composer of 'Adeste Fideles.' I have not found a single piece of his set to Latin words, nor any music bearing the slightest resemblance to the air of 'Adeste Fideles.' On the other hand, the older Reading, of Winchester, did compose graces and a "Dulce Domum" with Latin words, and, judging by the music, it seems to me that the man who composed the latter might well have been the author of 'Adeste Fideles.'"

Dr. Cummings here suggests the probable correctness of an ascription to the John Reading who died in 1692. Such an ascription would be, nevertheless, the merest conjecture; for, as I have already pointed out, while the date of "1680" assigned by Novello would fall within the active musical life of this Reading, the biographical details furnished by Novello do not fit in with his life, but do agree with the biographical details of the later Reading (b. 1677, d. 1764) given by Dr. Cummings in *Notes and Queries*. On the other hand, the date of 1680 makes it impossible to ascribe the tune to the later Reading, who was born only three years before 1680.

By way of parentheses, let me insert two other interesting paragraphs which I have transcribed from Dr. Cummings' Reply:

"In connection with its reputed English origin it may be noted that the hymn with Reading's tune was first introduced into Rome by the choir of the English College in that city. At least, it is so stated in an old MS. of the hymn, music and words, in my possession."

In view of the arguments stated in my previous paper on the text of the two varying centos, English and French, "the reputed English

origin" is not an unlikely one. The other remark of Dr. Cummings fits in well with what I shall have to say concerning a view (which I shall quote further on) of Mr. Arkwright in the *Musical Times*. Dr. Cummings says:

"The opening bars of a *presto* by Sebastian Bach in his Sonata in B-Minor for violin and clavier, bear a curious resemblance to the beginning of the tune of 'Adeste Fideles.' This is, of course, quite accidental."

There are so many curious resemblances of fragmentary character to be found in musical history, that no careful critic will venture hastily to base an argument of ascription upon such a truly "accidental" foundation.

Before leaving the matter of the ascription to John Reading (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) it is proper to felicitate the discernment of certain hymnal editors who omit any attempt at ascription save a general one to "the end of the seventeenth" or to "the beginning of the eighteenth" century. We therefore pay our respects to Hymns Ancient and Modern (edition of 1875), which places merely a question-mark without any name; to the Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1900), which marks the composer as "Unknown"; to the Hymns of Worship and Service (New York, 1908), which comes nearest to the truth by marking: "Anon, 1751 (?)."

And now to the disturbing note uttered by Mr. Arkwright.

The following note contributed to the (London) *Musical Times* for March, 1905, by Mr. G. E. P. Arkwright, is of undoubted interest. The Fourth Book of Playford's "Theater of Music" was published in 1687, and contains (p. 5) a song entitled "Our Gamester," by Mr. J. Reading. In a copy of Playford's Fourth Book now in the Bodleian Library, Mr. Arkwright found a note (in an old handwriting which, he thinks, is of the end of the eighteenth century) placed opposite the song "Our Gamester," as follows:

"His son was organist of St. Dunstan's Church and Master to Stanley. He was living the year 1750; a little red-faced old man with bleared eyes. He used to go to the Temple Church of a Sunday evening among others to hear his pupil play, & was proud to own him."

"This was evidently written," says Mr. Arkwright, "by someone who knew something about the younger Reading, and is proof, I think, that he was the son of the contributor to the 'Theater of Music' (whoever he was); a fact which is not mentioned in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' nor in Grove."

It seems to me quite a coincidence that the note should have

specified the year "1750"—the year, namely, of the MS. of the *Adeste Fideles* in Euing Library, Glasgow, and the earliest authenticated date set for the hymn. According to Grove's Dictionary, John Reading (b. 1677, d. 1764) was for a time organist of St. Dunstan in the West, and was the "reputed author of the hymn '*Adeste Fideles*.'" This is indeed possible. On the other hand, Dr. Cummings could find in the many volumes of music composed by this Reading nothing suggesting the melody of the hymn. Mr. Arkwright does not touch on this phase of the question, but offers a conjecture based on the perilous foundation of internal evidence. He says:

"It may be worth noting that the composer of '*Adeste Fideles*' seems to have heard and admired the air '*Bensa ad amare*,' from Handel's '*Ottone*' (1723). This was one of the airs for Durastanti, especially mentioned by Burney (*Hist. IV.*, 287) as being 'favourites with all the performers on the German-flute in the kingdom,' 'long after they had done their duty at the opera-house.' The particular passage which is recalled by '*Adeste Fideles*' is this:



Now it is true that the 2nd and 4th measures of this musical fragment do faintly suggest the *Adeste*, the 2nd measure recalling the melody and harmony of the second *Venite adoremus* of the refrain, and the 4th measure recalling the *Adoremus Dominum* which concludes the refrain. But such faint echoings of other musical strains are observable in many musical compositions. If

any argument could be based on them, one might plausibly say that Mozart caught the inspiration for his *Voi che sapete* in the *Nozze di Figaro* from the opening measures of the *Adeste Fideles*. To make the comparison as easy as possible, I transpose the melody of Mozart from B-flat to G, and expand his 2-4 measure to 4-4 (these changes in no wise affecting the tune):



The resemblance is thus seen to be very close—much closer, indeed, than that which exists between Handel's operatic strain and the *Venite adoremus* of the *Adeste Fideles*. And, meanwhile, we shall recall that the tune of the *Adeste* dates back to the year 1750 at least, while Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* was first produced in the year 1786. But who would base, on this curious resemblance, any plausible conjecture of a relationship between the two melodies?<sup>28</sup>

## II. ENGLISH FORMS OF THE TUNE.

While both words and tune date back in manuscript-form to the year 1750, it is interesting to find the words only appearing in print for the first time in *The Evening Office of the Church in Latin and English* (London, 1760).

Although unprinted, perhaps, until a later date, the tune must have been familiarly known to the congregations using the *Evening Office* of the year 1760. Organists may indeed have supplied themselves with transcripts of the melody in the manuscripts; but it may also be possible that the melody's popularity antedated even its appearance in manuscript-form. The question is an interesting one for speculative solution, but in our present ignorance of its provenance, we have more practical matters to consider here.

One very practical matter, for instance, is that of an authoritative form for the tune. Our Catholic hymnals—even recently published ones—exhibit variations which cannot fail to militate against a good congregational rendering. These variations should be compared with the earliest popular form of the tune, in the hope that hymnal editors may with knowledge either accept or reject that

<sup>28</sup> For the sake of completeness, I should add that our tune is also called "Oporto" in *"A Collection for West Church"* (Boston, 1810).

earliest form, and, if they conclude to reject it, may perhaps come to some agreement on a common modern form.

Perhaps our tune was first printed by Samuel Webbe (b. 1740, d. 1816), the composer of several tunes still in Catholic use today, and apparently the editor or compiler of one part of a little volume of hymns, anthems, etc., for Catholic service, published in London in 1782 and containing the words and music of the *Adeste Fideles*. The publication of 1782 is the earliest printed form of the tune known to the editors of *The Music of the Church Hymnary*, who give its title-page as follows: "An Essay on the Church Plain Chant, London: Printed and published by J. P. Coghlan, in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. MDCCLXXXII," and add this description: "The book is in three parts, and the '*Adeste Fideles*,' with its music, is in the second of these, which is headed '*Part Second*, containing several Anthems, Litanies, Proses, and Hymns, as they are sung in the Public Chapels at London.' No composers' names are given in the volume, except in the case of two settings of the '*Tantum ergo*', which are said to be 'by Mr. Paxton.' In his '*Advertisement*' to the public, Coghlan, the publisher, says, 'It is necessary to observe that the Third Part, or Supplement to this work, was not compiled by the Gentleman who did the other Two Parts. It seems highly probable that the '*Gentleman*' so referred to was Samuel Webbe, senior, for nearly all of the pieces in the second part of the volume (including the '*Adeste Fideles*' and the tune now known as '*Melcombe*') appear again in Webbe's Collection of Mottetts or Antiphons, 1792, and several of them have his name appended to them there as composer." The editors of the *Music of the Church Hymnary* do not mean to suggest that Samuel Webbe might have composed the tune of the *Adeste Fideles*; for their own volume gives (p. 256) a brief biographical note concerning Webbe, which states the fact that he was born in 1740 and says, *inter alia*: "It is probable that he occasionally acted as Barbandt's deputy at the Portuguese and Bavarian embassies." As Webbe was born in 1740, it is clear that he could not have composed the tune of the *Adeste Fideles*; but it seems about equally clear that the editors who give a biographical note of him could not have meant to imply that they considered him as a possible author of the tune. It is proper to say this, as a hasty reading of their words might mislead a reader.\*

\* There seems not a little reason for conjecturing that Dr. Flood, in his article in *The Dolphin* (Vol. VIII., 1905, p. 710) on the hymn, has been thus misled. He says: "It has been suggested that Samuel Webbe, Sr., arranged the music for Coghlan's volume, and he certainly composed many of the pieces contained in the second part; but his claim as composer of the *Adeste Fideles* cannot at all be entertained, inasmuch as the air is

The editors of the *Music of the Church Hymnary* do not print the tune (as it is given in Coghlan's publication of 1782) in their volume. It is given, however, in the *Historical Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern*, in the quaint square-notation of Plain Chant, and is exactly the same as it appeared in a revised issue of Coghlan's *Essay*, etc., which was issued in the year 1799, with the slightly different title: "An Essay or Instruction for Learning the Church Plain Chant."<sup>10</sup>

The re-issue of Coghlan's volume would suggest that the form of the melody contained in it would become a norm for future publications. This probable surmise is strengthened by external evidence. Appearing in Coghlan's publications of 1782 and 1799, it had meanwhile been issued in Webbe's *Collection* of 1792. Dr. Flood tells us<sup>11</sup> that the first copy he met with as printed in Ireland "is in a small collection issued by P. Wogan of Dublin in 1805" and prints this form.<sup>12</sup> It is in Plain song square-notation and, allowing for either poor engraving in Wogan's volume, or perhaps errors in the transcription or in the printing of it in Dr. Flood's article, it is the same form as that given in Coghlan's publication of 1782. I find the same form of the melody in *The Complete Gregorian Plain Chant Manual* published in London in 1849 by Richardson (Vol. I, p. 68, with only the first stanza placed under the notes, but again in the same volume, pp. 749-755, arranged as a "Mottett" for solo and 4-voice chorus, with separate notation for each stanza of the four contained in the English Cento of the

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to be met with in 1745, when Webbe was but five years of age . . . and we have no evidence that Webbe composed anything prior to the year 1761, when he became Barbandt's deputy at the chapel of the Bavarian Embassy." With respect to this extract, we note, first, that whereas Dr. Flood declares that Webbe composed "many" of the pieces contained in the second part, Cowan and Love, the editors of the *Music of the Church Hymnary*, merely say that "several" of these pieces have his name attached to them in Webbe's *Collection* of 1792; secondly, that the date of 1745 is a "round" date, and is probably a rough guess on Dr. Flood's part; thirdly, that whereas Dr. Flood asserts without qualification that "Webbe became Barbandt's deputy," Cowan and Love merely say that "it is probable that he occasionally acted as Barbandt's deputy."

<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. James Warrington, the noted hymnologist, for the loan of this interesting volume, which seems to be substantially the same as that of 1782, although it omits the "Advertisement" of Coghlan of which Cowan and Love speak, as well as other editorial matter. It prints one stanza under the notes, and the other three stanzas of the English Cento of the Latin text are not placed under the notes, but appear in the usual form of verse—an arrangement which should have proved somewhat of a stumbling block to the singers who had fearfully to apportion the words of the unequally rhythmized stanzas to the inflexible notes of the melody. But economy was evidently an urgent necessity at that time, for, small as the volume was, comprising in all only ninety-two pages, 12mo., it nevertheless was priced on the title page as "Three Shillings."

<sup>11</sup> *The Dolphin*, loc. cit., p. 710.

<sup>12</sup> P. 711.

Latin text). The engraving and editorial work on the melody are most carefully performed, and one readily sees that the form is that of Coghlan's 1782 publication. I find the same form, also in *A Choir Manual in Three Parts*, published by Coyne at Dublin, in Plainsong notation (p. 276).

All this leads up to a fair conclusion that, by means of the printed page, a traditional form of the melody had been established. However the manuscripts may vary from this form in slight details, they cannot establish a present-day claim against the traditional form of the printed melody.

Another fair corollary might be that all the variations now observable in our Catholic hymnals should be removed in favor of this traditional form. Something should be done in the matter, for the present confusion is to be regretted from the standpoint of a united congregational singing of the hymn. I have examined many of our hymnals, and could present in consequence a highly-varied assortment of variants. But for the present moment, let me confine the question to the Catholic hymnals issued within the last five years. So far as I am aware of them, these are:

1910—St. Mark's Hymnal (New York, 223 pages).

1911—Crown Hymnal (Boston, 562 pages).

1911—Sursum Corda (St. Louis, Mo., 222 pages).

1912—The Westminster Hymnal (London, 416 pages).

1912—The Oregon Catholic Hymnal (Portland and New York, 134 pages).

1913—The Book of Hymns With Tunes (London, 572 pages).

1913—De La Salle Hymnal (New York, 256 pages).

1913—American Catholic Hymnal (New York, 511 pages).

1914—English and Latin Hymns (Four Male Voices), Book One (New York, 42 pages).

1914—Holy Name Hymnal (Reading, Pa., 107 pages).

We have here a list of ten hymnals issued within the last five years. If we exclude the last-mentioned hymnal (which gives only the words, and refers to various standard hymnals for the tunes), we have nine hymnals, no two of which agree in giving precisely the same form for the melody of the *Adeste Fideles*! It may well be esteemed an astonishing fact that not even by the blundering law of chances do we find any two of the hymnals agreeing when they offer the singer the melody of the *Adeste Fideles*. Would it not be desirable to cultivate a "come together" spirit amongst the editors of our Catholic hymnals?

If the editors should indeed come together and deliberate calmly, and should agree thereafter to use only a defined form of the melody, what form should this be? In trying to arrive at an answer

to this question, we may consider, first of all, the form found in Coghlan's publications of 1782 and 1799, etc., as I have indicated above. For the convenience of my readers, I have transcribed this form in modern notation, altering the location of the bars in order to give modern measures, and adding capitalization in order to distinguish the different lines of the stanza, but retaining the key of G indicated in the Essay on the Church Plain Chant. This, then, is the old form of the melody:

Sixth Tone. G Major.

1 2 3 4

Ad - es - te, fi - de - les, lae - ti tri - um - phan - tes, Ve -

5 [6] [7] 8

ni - te, ve - ni - te..... in Beth - le - hem;

9 10 11 [12]

Na - tum vi - de - te Re - gem An - ge - lo - rum. Ve -

13 14 [15] [16]

ni - te ad - o - re - mus, Ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus, Ve -

[17] [18] [19] 20.

ni - te ad - o - re - mus Do - mi - num. Na - tum, etc.

I have numbered the measures and placed in brackets the numbers indicating the measures which have suffered changes in our hymnals at various times.

Two of these measures will immediately demand our attention. No. 6 binds two notes to the syllable *te* of *venite*, instead of (as is almost universally the case with our hymnals) the syllable *ni*. It is a small point, and may be yielded to any one who dislikes the apparent shortening of the tonic syllable in favor of a lengthening of the last syllable; and Wogan's book of 1805, as well as Coyne's and Richardson's volumes, binds two notes to the syllable *ni*. A similar case, but one which is not so easily settled in view of the diverse practice of our hymnals, occurs in the eighteenth measure.



There we find two notes bound over the syllable *mus*, instead of *re*, of *adoremus*. Which is the preferable mode of distributing the syllables? We think the better practice places two notes for the syllable *mus*. This question, however, could be submitted to discussion and be settled by a majority vote. It is rather important that it should be settled in either way; for if a congregation should—as it doubtless will—sing the syllables in both ways, we have at once an undesirable musical collision.

At this point it is of importance to exhibit the variations found in the nine Catholic hymnals within the last five years. The greater part of the melody is identical in all of these, and it is therefore necessary to give attention here only to those measures which are variant.

In the first place, it should be said that not one of the nine agrees with the distribution of notes in the sixth measure of the 1782 form. We may therefore consider this point as settled in favor of giving the two slurred notes to the syllable *ni* of *venite*, instead of to the syllable *te*.

In the second place, we find a division of sentiment concerning the slurred notes to the syllable *mus* in the eighteenth measure of the 1782 form. This form is followed by the St. Mark's Hymnal, the Crown Hymnal, the Oregon Catholic Hymnal, the Book of Hymns With Tunes, and the De La Salle Hymnal. Only two hymnals agree in giving only the last note of the measure to *mus*; these are the Westminster Hymnal and the American Catholic Hymnal. The remaining two hymnals are neutral on the question, as they give only the English words of the hymn.

The Westminster and the American Catholic hymnals agree in the eighteenth measure, but disagree in the twelfth measure. Each one of the two, therefore, differs from all the other recent forms of the melody of the Latin text. They differ also from the Sursum Corda and the English and Latin Hymns in the nineteenth measure. They differ from each other as well. Each one, therefore, stands apart from all the other hymnals.

The Sursum Corda agrees with the Book of Hymns in the nineteenth measure, and both disagree with all the others here. But these two disagree with each other in the sixth measure. They, therefore, stand apart from each other and from all the others.

The form given by the English and Latin Hymns differs from all the others in its nineteenth measure.

We have thus but four hymnals left for consideration. The De La Salle Hymnal differs from the other three in its sixth measure. The Book of Hymns differs from the remaining two in its nineteenth measure. Finally, the Oregon Catholic Hymnal differs from the

Crown Hymnal in the twelfth measure. *Q. E. D.!* That is to say, no two of the nine Catholic hymnals issued in the past five years agree in the melody of the *Adeste Fideles*. A mere statement to this effect might well seem incredible to my readers—and I have therefore taken the trouble patiently to prove the statement.

Catholics are credited by their separated brethren with a wonderfully compact and well-organized efficiency. On our side, we are aware that Protestants are wonderfully disorganized in everything making for a solidarity amongst them, save their dislike for Catholicity. And the wonder therefore grows that, in their recently edited American hymnals, they should have agreed quite well on a common form of the melody of the *Adeste Fideles*. This agreement cannot have been the result of any planning, but must have been unconscious—the survival, out of the earlier discrepant forms of the melody to be found in the older Protestant hymnals, of that form which is, strange to say, almost the form of our 1782 volume, and exactly the form given in our Westminster Hymnal of the year 1912.

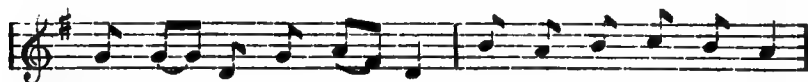
It would be an interesting study for the Catholic musician to pursue in detailed fashion the variants in Catholic hymnals generally. Such a study would, of course, consume much time in its pursuit and much space in its illustration. As the results could not be given here because of their length and their rather technical character, it remains for us merely to consider briefly some of the French forms of the tune.

### III. FRENCH FORMS OF THE TUNE.

The forms of the tune apparently popular in France and in French Canada differ from the English forms in presenting less simplicity in the melody and less definiteness in the rhythm.

In the *Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1903) and in the same volume issued a decade of years later (Tournai, 1914) in order to conform with the Vatican edition of the chants, the tune of the *Adeste Fideles* is identical. It is printed in plain-song notation. For the convenience of my readers I have transcribed it in modern notation and have given it the key of G. In the free rhythm ("oratorical rhythm") employed in the chant, the mathematical definiteness of modern rhythm is quite destroyed in several of the phrases (e. g., "in Bethlehem," "Angelorum," "adoremus Dominum"). Indeed, the melody is divided, not into musical "measures," but rather into rhetorical divisions of the sentences. Roughly speaking, all the eighth notes receive an equal time-value, and, accordingly, the three eighth notes given to the syllable *lo* of *Angelorum* are not to be sung as a triplet. The sense of a modern rhythm is somewhat increased, however, by the fact that a whole bar (e. g., after

*triumphantes*) adds practically a beat equalling one of the eighth notes, while the half-bar (e. g., after *fideles*) does not add any portion of a beat, but merely indicates a place where, if so desired, a breath may be taken quickly. (Strictly, it marks a phrasal division of the sentence rather than a place for taking breath). With this slight help at interpretation I give the transcribed melody:



Ad - es - te fi - de - les lae - ti tri - um - phan - tes :



Ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te in Beth-le-hem; Na-tum vi-de-te



Re gem An-ge - lo - rum : Ve-ni-te, ad - o - re - mus, ve - ni - te,



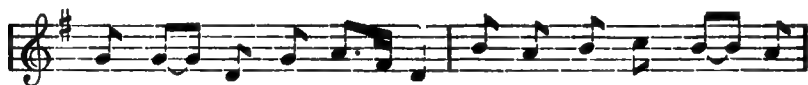
ad - o - re-mus, ve - ni - te, ad - o - re - mus Do-mi-num.\*Na-tum.

It will have been noticed that this form of the tune lacks something of the grave simplicity of the traditional English melody of the words *fideles*, in *Bethlehem*, *Angelorum*, and the last *adoremus*.

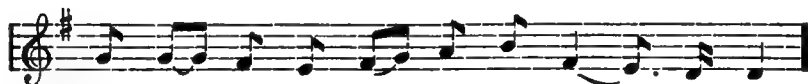
This melody, which I have transcribed from the *Liber Usualis*, is thus found in the editions of 1903, 1908, 1913 and 1914 (this later entitled: *Liber Usualis Missae et Officii*), where it is marked "Cantus Modernus." In this connection it is of interest to note that the *Adeste Fideles* is *omitted* from the *Manual of Gregorian Chant*, compiled from the Solesmes Books and from Ancient Manuscripts, which was published for the use of English-speaking countries in the year 1903 by the Society of St. John the Evangelist (Desclee, Lefebvre & Co.) at Tournai. The reason for the omission would naturally seem to be that the form of the melody sung at Solesmes was in several respects different from the traditional English tune, and it would be a source of confusion to have the same melody appearing in two different forms in the Solesmes publications—one form (that, namely, of the *Liber Usualis* in all of its editions) for Continental use, and another form for use in English-speaking countries. The omission is, nevertheless, very in the *Manual of Gregorian Chant*, from medieval English manuscript; and the volume professes to meet the special needs of

English congregations: "This little book is an adaptation to the special wants of the English-speaking countries of the *Manuale Missae et Officiorum* compiled from the Solesmes books, which has just been published by Messrs. Desclee, Lefebvre & Co." It would have proven a valuable addition, we think, to have had both forms of the melody printed in the volume (which, by the way, is not quite so "little" as the preface modestly styles it, for it comprises xxii + 394 pages), instead of omitting both from its closely packed pages, and the more so in view of the many inclusions in it of English medieval chants not found in the editions of the *Liber Usualis* itself.

The Canadian form given below is taken from *Le Paroissien Noté*, published at Quebec in 1903. It is printed in a plain-song notation, which is not to be transcribed in precisely the same fashion as that of the *Liber Usualis*. This latter volume is issued by the Solesmes Benedictines, whose system for transcription is well defined by them in the volume which they edit. The *Paroissien Noté*, on the other hand, indicates nowhere the system in which the notation is placed, and doubtless follows the ideas of the old "nota longa," "nota brevis" and "nota semibrevis" in vogue before the labors of the Solesmes Benedictines effected a complete change in the interpretation of plain-song notation. With this precautionary statement, I venture to transcribe the Quebec form of the tune, placing it similarly in the key of G:



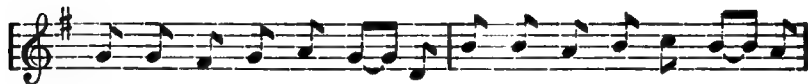
Ad - es - te, fi - de - les, lae - ti, tri - um - phan - tes:



ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te in - Beth - le - hem.



\* Na - tum vi - de - te Re - gem Au - ge - lo - rum



† Ve - ni - te, ad - o - re - mus, ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus,



ve - ni - te, ad - o - re - mus Do - mi - num. \* Na - tum.

As thus transcribed, the rhythm is practically mathematically equal; and the melody is almost the same as that with which we are familiar in our English hymnals, the one notable exception being the run of sixteenth notes over the last "adoremus."

Two further illustrations may be given from French hymnals. The first is taken from *Les Principaux Chants Liturgiques conformes au chant publié par Pierre Valfray en 1669 traduits en notation musicale* (Paris, 1875). There is nothing in the preface to indicate what chants are included from the volume of Pierre Valfray issued in 1669, and a reader might (mistakenly, I think) infer that the *Adeste Fideles* had appeared in Valfray's volume.

In this system of notation, the half-note is practically equivalent to the eighth-note in the preceding illustrations, and the dot placed after it may, for practical purposes, be considered as doubling its time-value when it is followed by another half-note, and as adding to it one-half of its value when it is followed by a quarter-note:



A - des - te fi - de - les, læ - ti, tri - um - phan - tes,  
 Ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te in Beth - le - hem:  
 Na - tum vi - de - te Re - gem An - ge - lo - rum:  
 † Ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus, Ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus,  
 Ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus Do - mi - num.

Our last illustration shall be taken from a *Recueil d'anciens et de nouveaux cantiques notés* published at Paris in 1886. Here we find the melody frankly modernized in notation and rhythm, and differing but slightly from a form which is common enough in some of the present-day hymnals in use by Catholics in the United States. The form is exactly the same, for instance, as that given in the De La Salle Hymnal (New York, 1914, page 4), except in the

cadence at *Bethlehem* and *Dominum*, and the position of the slur over the last *adoremus*:



The element of humor would not be lacking in the combined presentation of the variants of the melody to be found in Catholic and in Protestant hymnals issued at various times in England, Ireland, America and France; but I am mindful of the thought in Milton's hymn on the Nativity of Our Lord:

Time is our tedious song should here have ending.

H. T. HENRY.

Overbrook, Pa.

#### RE-READING THOMAS MORE.

SIR THOMAS MORE was fortunate enough to live at the beginning of a new era in the world's history. The span of years from his birth in Milk street, London, in 1478, to his martyrdom on Tower Hill in 1535 includes, perhaps, more new currents of thought and life than any equal period of time. When he was fourteen years of age Columbus discovered land across the ocean sea, Granada fell and the Morro lost their hold on Spain. In matters of the intellect, also, startling things were happening. Machiavelli's "Il Principe," the "Christian Prince" of Erasmus and More's "Utopia" (1515) took shape contemporaneously. In 1517 Luther was nailing his theses to the memorable door of Wittenburg. In England, too, minds were active. Grocyn had just brought the study of Greek into the country; Linacre was at work; John Colet was tutoring at Oxford—John Colet who was later to deliver these remarkable sermons at the University and at St. Paul's. Not the least significant fact of all, a fact which epitomizes the age, is to be found in the life of More himself. When he had come up to London and was about to deliver a lecture before a brilliant metropolitan audience on Augustine's "De Curitate Dei," he chose to consider

its historical and philosophical status, not its theological aspects. It was the critical spirit of the Renaissance! The "New Learning" was in the air. The first streaks of dawn reached across the sky. The regenerating influence of the so-called Oxford Movement bade fair to create a more splendid Church, and would have done so had not a reaction been compelled by a thoroughly rational and unreasonable Calvinism and the domestic fickleness of a British King and his covetous greed for the revenue of church lands. The adjustment was not complete when the world received a rude shock. The revival of learning gave impetus to Catholic informers, to heretical reformers who were still religious, and to irreligious egoists. The Catholic faith was set back, not advanced, by the Protestant Revolt—its own expansion was interrupted. The heretical reformers formed new churches, became divided and subdivided into their more than 300 sects, and it has taken nearly 300 years for Protestantism to wear itself out in mere vain protesting, and finally to become weak enough as to deny the divinity of Christ. And, as for the irreligious egoists, their Science has failed: it can perhaps explain the what, but not the why.

"God never meant that man should scale the heavens  
By strides of human wisdom;"<sup>1</sup>

and our scientific man is just beginning to realize the fact. As Gilbert Murray says: "Religion deals with the uncharted field of human experience;" and so long as God is infinite and man is finite—as they shall ever be—many, many things beyond our human comprehension must be apprehended from Divine revelation, must be taken as matters of faith. At the beginning of that period which, for want of a better name, we have called the Renaissance, this distinction was just being made when the violence of the Protestant Revolt upset the whole scheme of things. The egoistic man of the Renaissance—following a subjective idealism—sought to grasp the whole and remould it nearer to his own desire. After four centuries Science has failed. Religion once more takes its old place, and we are now advancing again towards the point whither the early sixteenth century churchmen aimed 400 years ago.

It has been said that "the most attractive figure, both among the Oxford reformers and later at the Court of Henry, was Sir Thomas More." In the words which his friend Erasmus wrote to Ulrich von Hutten, we have a sketch which makes the canvas of Holbein live again: "In stature he is not tall, though not remarkably short. . . . His complexion is white, his face fair rather than pale, and

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<sup>1</sup> Cowper: "The Task."

though by no means ruddy, a faint flush of pink appears beneath the whiteness of his skin. His hair is dark brown or brownish black. His eyes are grayish blue, with some spots, a kind which betokens singular talent. . . . His countenance is in harmony with his character, being always expressive of an amiable joyousness, and even an incipient laughter, and, to speak candidly, it is better framed for gladness than for gravity or dignity, though without any approach to jolly or buffoonery. . . . He seems born and framed for friendship, and is a most faithful and enduring friend. He is easy of access to all; but if he chances to get familiar with one whose vices admit no correction, he manages to loosen and let go the intimacy rather than to break it off suddenly. When he finds any sincere and according to his heart, he so delights in their society and conversation as to place in it the principal charm of life. . . . Though he is rather negligent of his own interests, no one is more diligent in those of his friends. In a word, if you want a perfect model of friendship, you will find it in no one better than in More. In society he is so polite, so sweet-mannered, that no one is of so melancholy a disposition as not to be cheered by him, and there is no misfortune that he does not alleviate. . . . With a wonderful dexterity he accommodates himself to every disposition. . . . He is earnest in all true piety. He has his hours set apart for prayer—prayer not of routine, but of the heart. With his friends he so converses on the life that will follow this that you cannot doubt that he speaks from the heart with a most fervent hope."

And truly Sir Thomas More was as interesting a man as he looked to be. He was very busy, because he was conscientious. He tells us himself in the epistle introductory to the "Utopia" wherein Thomas More to Peter Giles sendeth gretynge: "Whiles I doo daylie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters; some to pleade, some to heare, some as arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpire or a Judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one way to see and visite my frende; another waye about myne owne private affaires. Whiles I spend almost all the day abroad emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne; I leave to myself, I mean to my booke, no time. For when I am come home, I must comen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke with my servauntes. All the which things I reckon and accoupte amonge business, for as muche as they muste of necessitie be done; and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be a straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse, a man muste so fashion and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, jocunde, and pleasaunt amonge



them whom eyther nature hathe provided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life; so that with too much gentle behaviour and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche suffraunce of his servauntes, make them his masters. Emonge those thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare."

We must understand one thing, once for all. His was a life full of work and full of contradictions and contrasts. Consider the paradoxes as I enumerate them. He had a phenomenal career at the bar, and he banished lawyers from Utopia. He was an earnest and able lawyer, who rose rapidly in his profession and early stood out for the cause of the common people against the exorbitant financial demands of the Crown; and Erasmus said, "Since his boyhood he has so delighted in merriment that it seemed a part of his nature. He was champion of the "New Learning;" and he scourged himself on Fridays and lived for four years as a Carthusian monk. He could jest with Erasmus over the silliness of royalty and the superstition of the people; and he wrote for Henry against Luther and Tyndall. He constructed in his "Utopia" a religion founded on the authority of reason, and for a great part of his life continually wore a hair shirt. The "Praise of Folly" was written in his house, and he felt the powerful influence of splendid Pico della Mirandola and died on the scaffold for his faith.

But, chiefest of all, we are impressed with his character as a wise and just magistrate, a Parliamentarian who thought not of the wishes of his lordly flatterers, but of the interests of the people, a Chancellor who decided cases so expeditiously and well that, for the first time in many years, the calendar was cleared. Barristers and Judges in those days were prone—nay, were expected—to accept bribes. Eighty-odd years later a case was easily proved against that master thinker, Francis Bacon, but no evidence could be produced against More even by his most scrutinizing enemies. It was as a wise and just magistrate that he won the favor of London and the support of the people. And it is this side I want to make my readers realize; it is this side we see when we read the "Utopia," the book which he did write in "onelye that tyme, which he did steale from slepe and meate," for "cares and troubles did leave almost lesse then no leasure." For awhile Luther, befriended by princes, was condemning the insurrection of downtrodden German peasants, in the same century Sir Thomas More was decrying the rapacity of English barons and denouncing the unjust economic system which deprived honest toilers of an honest living. Though, as far as Utopia was concerned, all men were "ignorant in what sea that

ylande standeth." It is obvious that More wished England were that Utopia, that land of justice which existed only in thought.

It was the magistrate with a discerning eye for justice who discovered that unemployment was the cause of crime, unemployment and the thriftless habits induced by the military "profession" and the maintenance of large retinues of worthless servants, who, losing their incomes through the establishment of peace or the bankruptcy of their lords, preferred stealing to working. It was the magistrate in him which saw the flagrant injustice and awful mistake of those enclosures which not only took the common lands, but also deprived yeomen of their small land-holdings. He sharply criticized the land owners for their action. "Leave no grounds for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures; thei throw doune houses; they pluck doune townes, and leave nothing standyng, but only the churche to be made a shepe house. . . . Your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up and swallow doune the very men them selves." This was the wise and just magistrate—not the court favorite; not the charming friend of gentlemen and nobles, but the man who saw the evils as well as the benefits attendant upon the commercial expansion.

It was the magistrate who wrote: "How pernicious a thinge it is to the weale publicke that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment. For the thefe seyng that man, that is condemned for thefte in loss jeopardie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicted of manslaughter; throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him whome els he would have but robbed. For the murder beyng ones done, he is in less feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knownen, seyng the partye is now dead, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered and disclosed it."

Desire has been common to the English race, as to all races. In the tales collected by Sir Thomas Malory in 1470, England had seen represented the hunger for the marvelous. In these strange old stories Merlin "knoweth all things by the Devil's craft;" Nimue by her art shuts Merlin within a rock; a knight rides about invisible slaying people unawares; Morgan le Fay shapes herself into a great stone; Merlin makes Arthur invisible to Pellinore; four beautiful queens take Lancelot prisoner by enchantment; a bit of cloth of gold has magic healing properties; the Red Knight of the Red Laundes waxes stronger till noonday, and then his strength declines as the sun goes down the heavens. It is the quest of the marvelous;

and the mystery of the Grail is quite as alluring as its symbolism. That was in the previous century.

Francis Bacon, of the age of Elizabeth and James, represents the hunger for knowledge, for science, for learning in his "Essays," in his "Advancement," in his "New Atlantis." It was the scientific curiosity of the Renaissance!

But More, if we will only see it in his work, represents the hunger for absolute justice which, in his age, seemed to exist only in "Utopia," and all men were "ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth." He cared not for marvels, but only for suche thynges as shall be profitable to be knowen, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and writely provided and enacted amonge such peoples as do live together in civile polyce and good ordre." "But as for monsters, by cause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be founde, then bee barkynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and Lestrigones devourers of people and suche lyke great, and incredible monsters."

So he cared not for the wild tales of imaginative Maundeville and cared not for the false feudal chivalry of Malory. "The moste parte of all princes have delyte in warlike matters and feates of chivalrie (the knowledge wherof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feates of peace; and employe much more study, how by right or wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and governe that they have alredie." And when we think that this was written by a man who was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, not as a spectator, but as an actor—written almost contemporaneously with Machiavelli's "Il Principe"—we are all the more impelled to say truly a wise and just magistrate.

Anti-militarism—the European War of 1914 to the contrary notwithstanding—has ever been a tenet of the Socialists. It was to "the workingmen of all nations" that Marx and Engels issued their call to unite in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1847. The Anarchists, William Godwin, Thomas Holcroft, Robert Bage; the "radicals" and the revolutionary novelists of eighteenth century Britain, the Rationalists of France, all have stood out for universal peace and the catholicity of human interests—and so has the Catholic Church! But I fancy it was the wise and just magistrate in More, as much as the Catholic, who protested against war.

In Utopia, what kept the peace among the people themselves was the discipline of self-restraint, and the wise and just magistrate was quick to add, aided by laws. The enlightened self-interest of Godwin and Holcroft, the farsighted "pleasure" of the French philoso-

phers, the principle which led Baron d'Holback to say, "Follow Nature, she alone is true!"—all this is very well, except that the old truism still holds, as old truisms usually do, that the spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak. To be sure, to the thinking man there can be little enjoyment or real attraction in a life "led in continuall hunger, thurst, itching, eating, drynkyng, scratchyng, and rubbing." This is but the "ymage of counterfeite pleasure." "These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come, but accompanied with their contrarie griefes." Laws, restrictions are necessary, as More probably found in his judicial experience, for the spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak. The Catholic tenets are founded, as we all realize that most Catholic tenets are, on the profoundest insight into human psychology, an insight gained after twenty centuries of experience. Times change, opinions vary to their opposites, "modern thought" may come and go with the whim of the moment, but there is something fundamental in the human spirit that remains unchanged through the ages. "Semper idem!" And I suppose that if the French "rationalists," or the British "radicals," or the advocates of the New Learning at the time of Sir Thomas More had ferreted out this truth, they would simply have formed a complete parallel to Mr. Chesterton's English yachtsman who discovered England for one of the South Sea Islands that thought he had found something new! Truly, my relative, Mr. Frank Moore Colby, was right when he said last winter that "a new thinker, when examined closely, usually turns out to be a man who merely has not taken the trouble to inform himself of what other people have already thought."

To return to More, it was not "the stern and uncompromising champion of mere and rigid dogma," as Churton Collins calls him, or the "intolerant Catholic," as Maurice Adams would have it; it was not the man painted as a manipulator of the torture-rack—as Francis Bacon after him was painted—but I believe it was a wise and just magistrate who wrote into his dreamland "a decree, that it should be lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would." It was a Catholic tolerance and a judicial wisdom comparable to that of the great Catholic pioneer, Lord Baltimore, which prompted this idea, for King Utopus had heard "even at the first beginning . . . that the inhabitants of the land wer before his coming thether, a continuall dissention and strife amonge themselves for their religions."

Sir Thomas More exposed conditions with a master hand. He wanted just laws, "those decrees and ordinances well and writtely provided." He was well fitted to express this want; he had come

in touch with justice and injustice; he had seen the wrong of the common people and the errors of kings; he was a lawyer and a diplomat and a wise and just magistrate. The eternal thirst for justice which inspired the writings of his "Utopia" reveals itself in one of the most startling paradoxes of the whole situation. Here was More, a Catholic, a martyr for his faith, now beatified by the Church—and yet the very name of his book has been commonly coupled with the names of a whole school of Socialist reformers, the Utopian Socialists; and William Morris declared it "a complete gospel of Socialism." It inspired Robert Owen; it stirred Etienne Cobet; it enthralled William Morris himself. Yet it was the work of a Catholic martyr.

The explanation is obvious, but not brief.

From Plato's "Republic," built in the realm of pure logic, or from the Atlantis of his "Critias," to Owen's New Harmony in the far-away Middle West; from Coleridge's Pautisocracy community to be founded on the banks of the Susquehanna, with its pretty-sounding name, to Upton Sinclair's Halcyon Hall, men have thought of perfect lands and perfect laws. Certain moral truths, tortuously established as in Plato or seen and accepted as by Owen, have served as the basis for ideal communities. It is more than a "vulgar itch for innovation." It is the thirst for justice. Men were discontented with existing conditions; they wanted a change; and like the lover in Rostand's "La Princesse Lointaine," they conceived an affection for a far-away ideal. Colonel Gädke recently began a magazine article on universal disarmament with the words, "An Utopia!" The statesmen as well as the generals tell us with a superior smile, "Eternal peace is a dream!" As early as 1625<sup>2</sup> Francis Bacon employed the term to indicate the impossible. Thus the word has come to be used. Utopia was a dream—a dream of justice. A dream, and therefore at present unattainable. But the psychical experts tell us that dreams come home to the business and bosoms of men; they spring from the very essence of our present life. So do the Utopias!

Poor Thomas Paine, much maligned and often sadly mistaken, once said, "Whatsoever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always lack of happiness." The real cause of Utopian dreams is likewise lack of happiness. For a Utopian is simply an idealist whose warm heart rebels against the evils of society. Owen was unwilling to see his workers miserable; More was indignant because poor men were being cheated of their farms. What maladies afflicted the English nation in the sixteenth century, More

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<sup>2</sup> In the *Essay, "Of Usury,"* just published that year.

detected and described with sure eye and sympathetic heart.<sup>2</sup> All of us know that little children ought not to starve, all of us know that something is wrong with the world. Some of us wallow in the mire of despondency, without hope. But the Utopian, with his feet in the mire, strains his eyes upward to the heavens. He sees imaginary Commonwealths founded on justice, phantom cities where all work in harmony and no one lacks for food. He would fain have all people work and all share fairly in the fruits of toil. Visions fair the Utopian beholds; but his feet still touch the earth.

Plato, More, Owen, Fourier and many another seer has beheld from afar off the land of social justice—Utopia. Plato would wait for a philosopher-king to arise and lead the people into the possession of justice. Sir Thomas More placed his Utopia in an unknown sea, perhaps a fairy land, whither he hoped to sail with neither rudder nor mast, or perhaps he knew his alluring vision was, after all, only a dream. Owen and Fourier, with the bolder genius of the nineteenth century, aspired to establish their cities in all reality, and failed. The Revolutionary Socialists, inspired by their "prophet," Karl Marx, in their turn conceived the hope of suddenly turning society upside down and expected to establish the universal workman's state. The same idea, that justice shall be achieved by violence, now fires the hearts and loosens the tongues of labor agitators with dented derbies, of revolutionary syndicalists, of occasional impatient anarchists. If necessary they would set sail for Utopia on a sea of blood.

More is like all social reformers in that he was discontented so long as were wrongs to redress. And this did not interfere with his religion nor his religion with it, for the Catholic Church is never against discussion of wrongs and effort to reform. In their dislike of unjust conditions Catholics are and always have been at one with radicals and Socialists; often also in the immediate remedy; but in spirit and aims they diverge. Socialists think they have outlined a just society; More was wiser and put it in a far-distant island. The Catholic principle is to work for justice, by just laws, not overconfidently, and to lay stress on a just spirit in the individual. More wished to draw something of the spirit of justice from the world above to establish a state of justice in this world. Justice was a matter of custom, a habit of mind, in Utopia.

But conditions must change; the process must be gradual. And this is what More lacks; there is no connection between his first and second books, between his criticism and his exposition. Divin-

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. de B. Gibbins, "Industry in England," chapter xlv.

ity may descend in one instantaneous flash, but it is only by arduous labor and careful thought that the free and perverse human will can attain a complete apprehension of what it is privileged to enjoy.

The saner sort of Socialism stands for what it calls "the organic idea" by which problems shall be solved as they arise, by a will of the majority. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is a thorough believer in this parliamentary method, and much of the British social reform of the last decade—really beneficial reform—has been due to his work and the persistence of the Liberal ministry. He says: "Experiencing every incident on the way, and determining stage by stage where the next day's journey shall lead, . . . the Socialist method is that of moving out step by step, and of walking by sight and by faith at the same time." They would climb the heights with their eyes on the ground, lest they slip and fall backward or stray from the path. They would socialize economic and political life as Catholicism would realize the spiritual life of the world; and with some principles of Socialist doctrine adjusted, the two could well exist side by side.<sup>4</sup>

But where, you say, is such a plan for human betterment inconsistent with the Catholic faith? I shall tell you. The sight of the two is identical; but the faith is different. The principles of Socialist doctrines which must be adjusted are fundamental principles. The whole of this sane modern Socialism is based on the "class struggle theory," on a perpetual antagonism of classes, perpetual distrust between "oppressor" and "oppressed," perpetual war, continued dissatisfaction and unrest, and the exploitation of the grievances of labor against the "upper classes." They are in danger of becoming "the ablest architects of ruin that have hitherto existed in the world." There can be no settled justice in such a scheme; men would be ruled by demagogues—shouting leaders and shouting crowds—and once the tradition of revolt is established, security will be forever insecure. The second point of divergence centres around the frantic independence and loose morality of Socialism. Stability in moral concerns can only be gained by the help of laws—as I have already pointed out and as More provided, like the wise and just magistrate that he was. The third and most important point of difference is seen in the whole view of life. Socialism demands just recompense for labor; Catholicism—as More illustrates—demands moral citizenship. Socialism aims, finally, for the material welfare only; Catholicism—as More again illustrates—aims for absolute justice, a gleam, a guiding light from the realms above. The Catholic Church, in

<sup>4</sup> A friend of mine, Mr. R. S. Bourne, has written in the "Columbia Monthly" for November, 1912, a splendid article on this point.

France and in Mexico, to take two obvious examples, has been doing a great work of organization, of reestablishment of purely personal relations in the business world, of alleviating and correcting economic evils. "Catholic Democracy," as it is called, *was* fair to be a powerful and successful rival of Socialism, for it offers all that Socialism does and the added element of stability.<sup>5</sup>

And at the last we must deplore the misconception by the Socialists of Catholicism itself. They have revolted when there was no need of a revolt; they have attacked, in attacking Christianity, the greatest force for good of which modern civilization can boast. I think it the most unfortunate thing in the world that Socialism, in its vigorous propaganda, has mistaken a Living Church for a dead wall, has mistaken a moving, extensive and inspiring cross for a symbol of conservative aristocracy and social cruelty, when the Church has in reality ever been the most democratic of institutions and Christianity has been the very thing which impressed the ideal of universal brotherhood on the world; that Socialism, finally, has been such a class movement of hostility, so violently anti-Catholic, as to compel the Church to be anti-Socialistic. The Church never has been nor ever will be anti-social or against economic improvement. The Church may ever stand for reform—as so many English Catholics vote for labor reform—but it can never favor Socialism as long as Socialism remains an unmoral system and so long as Socialists condemn and condemn the Church. There has been a misunderstanding. And the Socialists have misunderstood.

To return once more to Sir Thomas More, who had this Catholic thirst for justice, it would be unjust to say that he "threw himself into court affairs." He was dragged in. He was an unwilling and an unfortunate favorite. He did not play the Seneca to Henry's Nero—Seneca, the sire of all Janus-like hypocrites; Seneca, who wished to stand well with Nero and not ill with God. More early saw the trouble ahead, as we clearly learn from his son-in-law, Roper, and he tried to resist the advances of Henry VIII. Then came the break and the vengeance of royalty. Under the Act of Supremacy of 1534, he declared himself willing to admit the temporal authority of the King, but not the religious authority. The Pope stood then, as he stands to-day, supreme in matters of faith and morals, and the affair of Henry and Katharine was certainly a matter of faith and morals. The Catholic objection to divorce as an offense against the sacrament of matrimony is well illustrated in More's "Utopia." "They know this to be the next way to break love between man and wife, to be in easy hope of a new marriage." The

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Day: "Catholic Democracy, Individualism and Socialism."



teachings and requirements of the Church were clear. If you really believe in your religion, you will be loyal to it, even to the altars of sacrifice. Thomas More, with his thirst for justice, truly believed; he stood out against the marriage and the religious revolt; and so he died on the block at Tower Hill "in and for the faith of the Catholic Church."

And where, aside from this problem of Socialism, is the exact lesson for us?

More's was a life of many contradictions. He had had a wide judicial, academic and diplomatic experience. He had a remarkable mind. He saw the beginning of the commercial and political expansion of Europe. He was acquainted with the New Learning and Humanism, with its spirit of reasonable criticism. He lived in the midst of an intolerable confusion of ideas not far different from that which confronts us to-day, and in it he had to find his way to a firm station of spirit. He was a Judge accustomed to deciding cases on their merits. He sought in many places for the absolute justice and found it in Divine revelation, where we also may find it—in the Catholic faith.

We are the creatures of environment, and all our ideas and systems come from without. We only need "the will to believe." Even the most confirmed atheist I know admits to me that he got his theories from other people, from books, from lectures. And so do we all! It is a matter of education. It may seem old-fashioned—following Mr. Chesterton's line of thought—to say that we have to choose between the creed of Calvin and the Church of Laud, between the theology of Aquinas and the philosophy of Swedenborg, between the faith of Kipling and the disbelief of Shaw, between the world of Darwin and Russel Wallace and that of General Booth, between the conviction of Newman and the experiments of Huxley, between the social teachings of Gibson and Masefield and the religion of poetry of Alfred Noyes, between the intuitionism of Bergson and the æsthetics of Croce. It may seem old-fashioned and silly, yet so we must choose whether we will or do. If our theories and systems come from without, as even my atheist friend admits, we are taught by Mr. Hearst in his morning "American" and evening "Journal," or by Mr. Bennett in his morning "Herald" and evening "Telegram," or by any other man wealthy enough to impress his ideas and his point of view on the public through the daily insinuation of the newspaper editorial. Or perhaps we are taught the strenuous life by Mr. Roosevelt or the simple life by Charles Wagner. It is our education and we cannot help it. We get our words, our classifications, our ideas, our standards, our models and ideals

from somewhere, often accepting them all too readily without full and sufficient examination. In such things our minds are "wax to receive and marble to retain." They talk glibly of "intellectual radicalism," "freedom from restraint," "reform," "shackles of prejudice," and think they have discovered something new when they have merely renamed the old things. They are not intellectually free, nor can they be. Even reform movements have leaders and platforms; even "protesting" churches have parsons and creeds. They must accept from somewhere, some conversations and ideas, and it is merely a matter of choice whether they end in the pure violence of the I. W. W. or in the sheer vulgarity of the Mozart Society and the Charity Ball. It is the same as it was when Sir Thomas More lived. It is all a confusion of confusing, contracting and commingling currents and cross-currents. Out of these many creeds we must select one creed; out of these many preachers and teachers we must select one teacher; through the "blaze of Bengal lights," as Alfred Noyes has it, we must look through to the heavens and select a star—"hitch our wagon to a star," as Emerson says—if we would move in conformity with the laws of the eternal Divinity, trace and find a star and follow in its orbit. And where in all this maze and hubbub shall we find the absolute truth for which we search except in some Divine revelation? There are many revelations by many men, many false gods whose scientific "laws" and "hypotheses" are but guesses and suppositions. There has been but one Divine revelation—through Jesus Christ and the Catholic Church, which stands as the perpetual Incarnation of Himself. Perhaps if we, in our confusion and bewilderment, follow the course which led Sir Thomas More out of his perplexity and remain loyal to our sincere beliefs and convictions, we also may be privileged to die "in and for the faith of the Catholic Church."

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PENANCE AND ST. JOHN, XX., 22, 23.

WHILE there is nothing in the present Christian economy so necessary as the Sacrament of Penance for those who once have been "illuminated," but have darkened the light within them by deliberate sin, so, too, there is nothing that places a more grievous burden upon men. Indeed its very irksomeness to both confessor and penitent is advanced as an argument against the possibility of a human origin. However, that may be, a proof is naturally demanded that is irrefragable, for none wish to yield on such a point unless conviction is forced. For Catholics the Council of Trent has spoken in no ambiguous terms, and the early Christian liturgical and patristic writings offer adequate testimony to the unbiased student of their dusty records, that there was even in those days of acknowledged pure faith, a sacrament whereby confessed sins were forgiven by God's anointed priests. But with such proofs the present paper does not deal, its only purpose being to examine the Scriptural argument furnished us in the twentieth chapter of St. John, verses 22 and 23:

*καὶ τοῦτο εἰπων ἐνεφύσησεν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς. λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον. ἂν τινος ἀφῇτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφεώνται αὐτοῖς. ἂν τινων κρατῇτε, κεκράτηνται.*

Even here we might try to exhaust the text and find out all that it might yield, but we shall confine our enquiry to the main points at issue. The endeavor will be to show that the words were spoken to the Apostles only, that they confer a power that is strictly and technically judicial, and finally that this power to forgive sins judicially carries with it as a correlative the obligation incumbent on all to submit their sins to the priest-judge in a detailed way. Against these assertions the Protestants make their heaviest attacks, claiming as they do that this remissive power is not restricted to priests or ministers of God's word, nor is it at all judicial. They whittle Our Lord's words down until nothing is granted but the power merely to assert that sins are forgiven, a truly "graphophone" power, quite in keeping with modern progress.

A cursory reading of the text of St. John as it lies in context, may give rise to a doubt as to the persons to whom these important words were addressed. In verse 19 we come upon the words, *οἱ μαθηταί* which in St. John are by no means confined to the Twelve, but are a generic term for all those who followed the Master and "learned" His lessons. Moreover from the exquisite short-story of St. Luke, xxiv., 13-35, we learn that the two disciples, returning from Emmaus where they had known the Lord in the breaking of bread,

εὖρον σινηθροισμένους τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς and that, too, at the very time when Our Lord appeared to them in the apparition of St. John, xx., 22, 23. How restrict these words merely to the Apostles? We may answer the difficulty with Corluy (*Spicilegium Biblicum* II., p. 440). "It is logically deduced from the subject-matter of the very words themselves that these words were pronounced by Jesus, not at all present, but to the Apostles only." That an adequate solution lies herein we are certain, but it may not be amiss to seek a more direct proof from reading Holy Writ itself. This proof we shall outline at the close of this paper. Corluy's proof is adequate, for if it is proved that the power is judicial, it follows that those who exercise it are judges, and hence logically only those to whom, as vice-gerents of God, the present economy of grace is entrusted.

So some power is granted to the Apostles which is not given to others. But is it a power by which the Apostles and their successors are constituted judges in remitting sin and a tribunal to which recourse must necessarily be had? We have no intention of touching any other points than these. Is there question of sin in its strict acceptation? Is there question of a formal remissive power? Was that power peculiarly Apostolic or was it to endure? Was it judicial? Finally is confession, and detailed confession at that, a matter of necessity? All these points must be proved if we are to hold to the tenableness of the Catholic position from Scripture alone.

Certainly none that read the Bible in Greek can deny that the word used in the text, *ἁμαρτία*, does oftentimes mean *sin* in its fullest acceptation, and hence the problem devolves into settling its meaning in this passage. From the context-setting it not only may, but it must be interpreted of sin in its formal and essential aspect of offence against God, and not of the consequences of sin, the ecclesiastical censures for sin etc., etc. The setting is indeed very solemn, for Christ our Lord is giving a power than which there is no greater, save that of the transubstantiating power of the words of consecration. As we read the preceding words we see the Apostles are to have power over that against which Christ Himself was sent: *καθὼς ἀπένταλξεν με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς.*

But He was sent against sin as St. Paul tells us in II Cor. v., 21, *τὸν μὴ, γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν, ὑπερ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποιήσων, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ.*

Again they are to be the instruments of the Holy Ghost, for the connection evidenced between the two parts of verse 22, "and when He had said this He breathed on them and He said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost"—and verse 23 is certainly that of instrumentality. The Holy Ghost, however, in justifying man

effects the expulsion of sin itself. (Needless to say the Catholic doctrine of justification is the immediate substratum of the present question, as there can be no true remission of sins if they always remain lurking behind the veil of Our Lord's imputed merits.) Just as of old, then, God breathed the spirit of natural life into man, so now on the threshold of a new economy of supernatural life, Christ breathes into the earliest nucleus of the Ecclesia Docens a vitalizing spirit. Man's soul, by a Semiticism "the breath of life," breathed into him at the dawn of history is the vivifying, preserving and restorative principle of his composite being; so this higher power was to have like end, for it was to vivify and quicken man as never the soul quickened him; it was to preserve him from further sin; it was, and this its chiefest purpose has no counterpart in other vitalizing forces, to bring him back from the dead when the life of the soul had been snuffed out by deliberate and serious transgression of God's law.

Over sin then as an offence against God the Apostles have a power. This power, moreover, is not that of a mere herald, proclaiming the antecedent will of the king, but an authority that strictly effects that which it proclaims to be effected. The Apostles are to forgive sins and not merely to declare that they have been forgiven. This explanation is forced upon us by the phrase, ἀφίεναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας, which in New Testament usage always refers to the authoritative remission of sin and not to a mere declaration of a state of innocence already obtained. This assertion need not be delayed upon, as it can be proved by the use of a Greek N. T. Concordance, and is a mere matter of simplest comparative study of texts. Another reason, less conducive it may be, but quite satisfying, is this, that were ἂν τινῶν ἀφῆτε to refer to a mere declaration, then in the same short sentence of seven words, the identical word, ἀφίεναι, referring to the same subject matter, ἁμαρτίας, would be used in two radically different senses, since ἀφένονται in the second part refers by common consent to actual remission by God Himself. Yet, nowhere in text or context is there any hint leading us to suspect this sudden change. A final and decidedly cogent argument against the Protestant position is derived from the conditional form of the sentence: ἂν τινῶν ἀφῆτε, ἀφένονται.

If priests were merely to declare that sins had been forgiven by God, the present form of the sentence would be impossible, for, as it now stands, by the inherent force of the conditional structure, remission on the part of God is made to depend on their action: "If you forgive the sins of any one they are forgiven," and by no device of hysteron-proteron or other known figure of speech, can

the sentence of St. John be thus construed. Then, too, besides the serious grammatical difficulty, this forced explanation demands a constant private revelation to be given to the priest for every individual penitent. Yet any trace of a promise of such revelation will be sought for in vain, whether we turn to the pages of Scripture or consult the living voice of Tradition.

The next point of the time-limit of this power need detain us only a short while, for the proof adduced is one that constantly recurs throughout the treatises on the Church and the Sacraments. This power must last in the Church, then, for three reasons, ultimately reducible to one. They are: 1—The Apostles are thereby to continue the mission of Christ, which is co-extensive in time and place with the Church He founded; 2—It touches the most essential purpose of the Church, the salvation of souls, which is completely and adequately frustrated by serious sin; 3—It is given for an effect to be produced, the need of which is continually felt and will be until “the creature also itself shall be delivered from the servitude of corruption.” (Rom. 8-21.)

The Apostles, then, have a power that remits sin in the strict sense of both words, “remit” and “sin.” So far, so good. But is this power judicial? Here the Protestant attack is heaviest, for they freely admit that a judicial power will entail some sort of confession. This admission does not carry with it an affirmation of the absolute necessity of confession, but merely concedes that an accusation of sin is necessary if one be so minded as to make use of this means of grace. Catholics, of course, go further and prove from the text of St. John that this is not a channel of grace we are free to use or not, and that therefore the necessity of confession is an absolute one. But this last point will come up for separate treatment later.

First, then let us begin with a definition of what a judicial power means. It is the inherent or communicated power to decide authoritatively and definitely according to fixed laws between the conflicting rights of parties who come under the jurisdiction of the judge. We may as well premise that none contend this power to be other than communicated when we speak of the Sacrament of Penance, since God alone, against Whom man sins, has the right to say when and how the transgression may be atoned for, and pardon for it obtained. Hence the contention is that St. John’s words clearly demonstrate that the priest has, by virtue of divinely delegated powers, the authority to decide by a sentence, against which there is no appeal, between God’s right and that of the sinner. If he grants absolution because of the known dispositions of the penitent, then by virtue of that absolution God’s right to regard the sinner as His enemy ceases

completely and God will stand by His creature's judgment. Contrariwise, if the penitent is found deficient in the dispositions demanded, then the priest, with equally binding sentence, decides that God's right is still to remain in force, and reaffirms with authority the sinner's obligation of submitting his sins to the power of the keys. Is all this clear from our text? It is, granted the last three points are proved, that there is question of sin itself, of true remission of said sin, and finally of a perpetual power. If indeed there is an authoritative remission of sin itself by the priest, then there is the authoritative abolition of God's right against the sinner, which right is founded on the sin. If, after maturely weighing the case, and by an action strictly ordered according to the wishes of our Lord, the priest declares that he forgives the sinner his sins, then those sins are by that very fact forgiven and all that which incurred the hatred of God is done away with. There is nothing now for God to be displeased with and so His displeasure ceases. So, too, when the sinner fails to meet the few requirements exacted of him, the priest solemnly decides that God's right is still valid and the guilt is not lifted from the penitent.

Herein is preserved the essence of judicial action. Two parties there are, each with rights to be decided. God has the right (according to our limited mode of expression) to hold man worthy of eternal punishment for sin committed and not properly repented of; man has the right freely bestowed on him by God, and entailing no subordination thereby, to a renewed friendship with his Heavenly Father and to a cancellation of all eternal liabilities, provided he has fulfilled the requirements God has deigned to ask of him; and all this question of rights depends on the attitude of the sinner towards the sin committed. Between these two rights the priest-judge is to decide authoritatively and definitely, for he is to determine whether sin, the ultimate point at issue, is to be remitted or retained and remission or retention is final. If he forgives, they are forgiven; if he retains, they are retained; an absolute nexus between the two expressed as clearly as human words permit. It is all over and done with when he pronounces judgment. Absolute statement of a fact accomplished, consequent upon a previous fact, is one of the strongest ways man has of expressing causal nexus, and finds place often in the New Testament writers. St. Matthew writes, c. 15, v. 28: "Then Jesus answering said to her. . . . Be it done to thee as thou wilt; and her daughter was cured from that hour"; and again, c. 14, v. 32: "and when they were come up into the boat, the wind ceased."

Of course there is only an analogy between civil judicial actions and the confessional, but analogy there is when the essentials of

both are looked into. In both a culprit is arraigned, in both certain forms are to be observed, in both authoritative decision is made, and by these analogies generic similarity is proved. They may differ in this that the sacred tribunal finds the culprit both plaintiff and defendant; that the civil court looks to the public weal, the sacrament sees only the individual and his individual salvation; that the punishment inflicted by civil magistrates is simply and solely penal, that laid on the penitent is by God's good mercy raised to a satisfactory value, and becomes an antidote for sin. Yet withal it remains true that each and every priest has a communicated power to decide authoritatively and definitively according to laws given him by Christ or His Vicar, the rights that prevail between God and the sinner, and so he is a judge in the strictest sense of the word and his action is consequently judicial.

So far then for the nature of the Sacrament, right views on which are imperatively required, as on this all ultimately depends. But is there any obligation enforcing recourse to this judicial power, or may justification still be obtained in the new as well as in the old law by an act of contrition with no intention at all of submission to the keys? Take up the text again and note the words, *κρατῆτε, κειράσθηται, κρατεῖν* in Greek signifies in the only meaning applicable here *to lay hold of, to seize, to hold fast* (Cf. Liddell and Scott sub voce); all of which denote a positive action of repression. It has the idea of forceful retention written all over it. The authoritative decision then of the priest-judge is such that he restrains the sinner from securing pardon, he *holds* the sinner *fast* in his sins. Yet to what effect if the penitent can leave the sacred tribunal, and without ever again having any intention, be it formal, virtual or interpretative, of returning, can by a mere act of contrition secure the remission of his sins? The power given by Our Lord in so solemn a manner would be futile indeed, and no power at all, for as Bel-larmine says, it is quite foolish to give a man the key to the front door of a house, and bid him keep it locked, if every other means of ingress is permanently left open. It may be objected, however, that submission to the power of the keys is a free means of sanctification, and one is at liberty to use this means or not, but once having used it must stand by the results. To render such a position tenable clear proof must be deduced, from a positive command left by Our Lord to that effect, for it is not in the nature of things that the use of a free means entails the forfeiture of the right to use other means in case the first fails of its purpose. If I choose to go from Manhattan to Brooklyn by the subway, and the subway is disabled, I have not thereby foregone my right to use the ferry or the bridge-car. Unless the meaning of *κρατεῖν* be so shaded down contrary



to all usage in Greek, that it denotes a harmless, negative power of non-remission, it shows us that the minister of this sacrament is such that he holds the keys to the only door of God's mercy. He opens and none shut; He shuts and none open. If we want sin to be forgiven we must go to this tribunal under penalty of remaining God's enemies.

We come now to the final point we have assumed to prove from the text, the necessity of a confession detailed both as to kind and number of sins committed, technically known among the schoolmen as specific confession. Here it may just as well be stated that this deduction is made from the *ordinary* requirements of judicial actions and that we do not mean to deny by our omission the possibility of generic confession in extreme cases. This paper, as before stated, does not deal with the Sacrament of Penance in its entirety. As was noted above, the main burden of our contention with Protestants does not lie with specific confession, but it is no waste of time to clarify our thoughts on this vital question in its relation to the verse of St. John. That such an obligation is incumbent on men is, theologians claim, scientifically certain from Scripture, that is given the major from St. John, and one or two minors which are demonstrably true, the conclusion is inevitable.

Current among all men is the conviction, translated everywhere into practice, that the essence of a judicial action demands that the case in hand be known as thoroughly as possible, in order that the contending parties may have the contested rights and obligations, clearly, cleanly, and authoritatively defined. None ever think of calling a despot's whimsical decisions judicial actions, nor is such a wholesome name debased to title the procedure of a Pilate weakly condemning innocent blood. There must be a "hearing." Nor will it be sufficient for the judge to know vaguely that the arraigned has violated civil law, that he has transgressed some statute or other of the civil or criminal code, but he must come to a specific knowledge of what law in particular has been infringed upon, how far the infringement went, what damage was done to the public weal. This is the common acceptance of a judicial action, and from it the argument is deduced for Penance. Christ Our Lord has instituted a sacrament that is judicial in its nature. He therefore wishes the judicial power to be exercised in a way that is commonly accepted as judicial, unless He has clearly stated the contrary in Scripture or Tradition; in plain words He wishes the priest-judge to give his decision consequent upon a clear knowledge of all the essentials of the case. That much seems certain. But the rub comes on the "case," Is the case "I am a *sinner*—and yet have the requisite dispositions?" or "I have committed *this* and *that sin*—and yet have

the requisite disposition?" Recall what was just said about the violator of civil laws. His "case" is admittedly not that he has offended against civil law, but against this or that or the other civil law, because that on which the right of the contending parties (here the State and the individual) immediately pivot, must be adduced. Carry all this over to the analogue. God's right and the sinner's right are immediately and formally connected, not with the "state of sin" in general, but with this specific individual sin. A man who has committed ten mortal sins is the object of God's anger, not precisely and formally because he is a sinner, but because he has committed ten individual mortal sins. God's claim then against man falls precisely and directly on each individual particular sin, which is only another way of saying that each separate sin is the "case" to be heard and tried.

In concluding we wish to subjoin a sketch of a proof from the Gospels themselves, that the words we have been dealing with were spoken to the Apostles only. To some its appeal may be stronger than to others, and so it is offered tentatively. St. John 20, 19-28, is certainly parallel with St. Luke 24, 36-43. Whether or not it stands in like relation to St. Luke 24, 44-49, is a matter of dispute among New Testament chronologists. Be this synchronism of events granted or not, the force of the proof does not seem to be effected. Now in 24, 49, St. Luke speaks of Our Lord addressing those whom He had "sent," and who are to be "endowed with power from on high." These are *Πέτρος σου τοῖς ἑνδεκα* of Acts 2, 14, and again *Πέτρου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις* of Acts 2, 37. This proof holds even though the event to which St. Luke 24, 49, refers be not the same as St. Luke 24, 36, for as we read on from verse 36 we find St. Luke speaking of a certain body of men to which everything from v. 36 to v. 49 is referred, which body of men crystallizes into the "Twelve" through the subsequent narrative of Acts 2. St. Luke wrote as you or I or any other man would write, and according to such canons the deduction seems secure. Higher criticism has canons which would make over an everyday narrative into a law paper where the very clearness sought for becomes elusive in the labyrinth of torturous and torturing phraseology. This point is further substantiated by St. John 20, 24, which follows immediately upon the text which forms the general subject of this discussion: *Θωμᾶς δὲ εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν ὅτε ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.* The close juxtaposition of *εἰς τῶν δώδεκα* with *μετ' αὐτῶν* renders our suspicion that only the *οἱ δώδεκα* are meant, favorable merely from the context of St. John itself.

Taking Scripture then alone, it is proved adequately and con-

clusively that every one must submit to the power of the keys. The proof is long and massive, but it is a forged chain, every link of it, and Protestantism finds itself bound fast on its own selected battle ground, "the Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible."

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## Book Reviews

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**THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.** A Series of Histories of the First Century. By *Abbé Constant Fouard*, late Member of the Biblical Commission, formerly Professor of the Faculty of Theology at Rouen.  
*The Christ the Son of God.*  
*Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* 2 vols.  
*St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity.*  
*St. Paul and His Missions.*  
*The Last Years of St. Paul.*  
*St. John and the Close of the Apostolic Age.* 6 vols., 12mo. Price, \$7.50 net. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

It is good to see a new impression of these sterling books. They have never been superseded, and probably they never will be. Although the first of them appeared in 1879 and the last in 1904, just after the author's death, they still hold first place as manuals of the history of the Church during the first century. They are not only biographies, but histories in the best sense of the word, or rather it might be better said they are histories in the form of biography.

The author was fitted in an unusual manner for the work not only by great piety which gave him a love for it, and by thorough education which gave him equipment, but also by years of residence in the Holy Land, which gave him an intimate knowledge of persons, places and things that cannot be gained from books.

In the very beginning he wrote: "This life of Jesus is an Act of Faith. We have had no intention of pursuing through these pages a controversy in which so many minds have been matched since the opening of our century; we only desire to make the Saviour better known and loved. Surely, the times are propitious, for the Gospels, combated at a thousand points, have triumphed over their critics. The attacking party and the defenders alike seem exhausted. What is left for this generation, unless it be to avail ourselves of the inspired witnesses and by drawing from them an account of the actions of Jesus demonstrate that He, whose death some have published to the world, lives still, is indeed the very Life itself!"

In this spirit he approached his great life work, and his words are as true now as when he first penned them. When the author came to the second part of his work he said: "The title of this book is not the one I had intended to give it. According to my first plan, the name of St. Paul was to have been predominant through-

out this story of the beginnings of Christianity; I expected to demonstrate thereby that in the makings of this new institution the great Apostle had exerted so preponderating an influence that the history of the new-born Church was the history of his life and labors. But by degrees and as the work advanced another countenance in place of the one I had set myself to sketch stood forth, so to say, developing itself from the features of my first subject. Thus the position destined for the Apostle of the Gentiles was taken by the Leader and Head of the Twelve, St. Peter."

But the sub-title of this volume, "The First Years of Christianity," shows that St. Paul will soon appear on the scene. Hence the author says when introducing the third volume:

"In the preceding volume of this series I endeavored to give a summary of so much as is known concerning the earliest years of Christianity (from 30 to 45 A. D.). Therein we watched together the growth of the new-born Church and its development under the fostering care of the Apostles, and of Peter in particular, as the Head and guide. But neither the brief account in the Acts nor the primitive traditions, few and unsatisfactory as they are for this period, could furnish us with a perfect picture of those times. Over many a point of interest the shadows of history have settled and darken our vision. On the contrary, the facts of the ensuing age (from 45 to 62 stand forth) in an unclouded atmosphere, plain and unmistakable. Beginning with the thirteenth chapter of the Acts, St. Luke's narrative is no longer the bare memorial of St. Peter, but becomes a History of St. Paul; the former well nigh disappears from the inspired page, thus demonstrating the importance of the part played by his brother in the Apostolate—in the war he was to wage against Judaism."

It is not surprising, then, to find two volumes of the series given up to St. Paul, the first dealing with his missionary journey, and these make up the longer term of his apostolate (from 42 to 62), -and the second, devoted to the last five years of his life, after his arrival in Rome, and one-half of that time was spent in captivity.

The last volume of the series, entitled "St. John and the Close of the Apostolic Age," completes the author's original purpose and brings us to the end of the first century.

Abbe Fouard opens this volume with these words:

"Up to this stage in the series on 'The Beginnings of the Church' I have confined myself to the purely historical narrative, not dwelling on controversial points. As was said in the very first lines of 'The Christ the Son of God,' 'my only wish is to make the Savior better known and loved.' With this end in view, the several studies of the Apostolic Missions followed in natural sequence. The work now before us, born of the same spirit, is intended to furnish the reader with a picture of religious conditions toward the close of the first century, at the period when the Fourth Gospel was composed by St. John, who had outlived all his brethren in the apostolate and had attained a very advanced age. . . . His name, as formerly the names of the great Apostles Peter and Paul, would seem appropriate to represent the period wherein his closing years were spent, a period over which, by his deeds as well as by his writings, he exercised so profound an influence."

Those who are familiar with this grand work of the Abbe Fouard cannot but regret his death with the completion of the fifth volume, for they realize his full value as an historian. While we are thankful that he lived long enough to complete the history of this very important period, we cannot stifle the wish that he might have lived longer to push his labors into the succeeding centuries.

These volumes may truly be said to be his monument, for they will perpetuate his name indefinitely.

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**LONELINESS.** By *Robert Hugh Benson*. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

As it has been said of Canon Sheehan that he was at his best among the lower classes in Ireland, so it may be said of Monsignor Benson that he was at his best among the upper classes in England. And to push the comparison further, wherever Canon Sheehan laid the scene of his story outside his native country, or introduced persons of other nationality into it, he notably weakened; so with Monsignor Benson.

As the scene of the present story is laid in England and among the upper classes, it reveals the author at his best. The following

synopsis of it is given by the publisher, and we reproduce it because it is truthful and reveals only enough of the story to induce one to read the book without telling so much as to destroy the interest.

"Miss Tenderden left her convent school in England when she was eighteen years old and went to the Continent for a year and a half to study music. Upon her return and while living with her friend, Maggie Brent, who was introduced to her by a Jesuit, she becomes acquainted with Max, the son of Lord and Lady Merival. Her brief career on the operatic stage and the courtship of Miss Tenderden and Max Merival are vividly described, while the influence of religion and class distinction is portrayed with an analysis of character and motive and with a brilliancy and charm that compel and delight by its supreme craftsmanship." The last sentence is perhaps a little too strong.

Miss Brent and her parrot are two of the most interesting characters in the book. She is a middle-aged maiden lady and convert, who is very charming and very true to life. Her strong faith, satisfying and uncompromising; her love of her devotions, which are an unfailing source of consolation to her; her charity and forgetfulness of self for the sake of others, give her a charm which draws us and holds us.

And the Parrot—Radamonthus—well, he is just a human, old-fashioned bird, who swears like a trooper if things don't go right, and keeps it up until he is extinguished by the green baize cover that has been made for his cage, when he subsides with a series of grunts quite justifiable under the circumstances. The contrast between Miss Brent's devotions and the devotions of the parrot is really charming.

Another interesting feature of the book is the insight it gives of stage life. Quite a large part of it is taken up with the life of the heroine as an opera singer.

As in *Initiation*, we have again the struggle between nature and grace, and grace again triumphs. We have often been tempted to ask why didn't Monsignor Benson permit his lovers to marry sometimes? Making all due allowance for the superiority of the religious state, it will always be the exception and not the rule. We hate to think that there are so many broken engagements

among decent people, and we would rather meet normal lovers more frequently who have all the loyalty and gallantry that our fathers and mothers had, and that are ready to make every sacrifice for their love. Would it not be better to teach young people how to live this normal life?

But it is a fine story.

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THE GRAVES OF KILMORNA. *Canon P. A. Sheehan. A Story of '67.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

A sad story of a Fenian uprising revealing the late Canon Sheehan at his best. He certainly was strongest when among his own people, and especially the poor. His books will always have that characteristic of true literature, that they reveal the people true to life—their dress, manners, customs, ambitions, virtues and vices. Some of the gifted author's critics claim that his pictures are too sombre; that there is too much shadow and not enough light; too much vice and too little virtue.

It cannot be denied that in some of his Irish stories, and perhaps in all of them, the author does tend to the sad, the gloomy, the pathetic, to failure rather than to success. But no doubt his defense would be, this is true to life. It is certainly not pleasant, and very likely the author's personality had much to do with his tendency to view life through serious eyes, but that would not affect at all the truth of the pictures which he drew.

It has been noticed, too, that this tendency increased after the publication of "My New Curate." But, as some one has well remarked, is it not typical of the Irish people, like the Irish climate, quick transition from sunshine to shadow, and very deep shadow. This is an unusually sad story, a story of failure from the beginning to end, but at the same time an interesting story, because it reveals to us the very essence of a movement in Irish history little understood except by those who were near to it or a part of it.

The picture of a handful of visionaries in a little country town drilling secretly in preparation for the general uprising which is to take place in every county at a given signal; their faith in the meek but courageous schoolmaster who hopes to see the glory of the nation restored; their confidence in the arrival of the great foreign leaders who will point the way to victory; their belief in the stories that are told of the shipment of arms and ammunition from across the sea to equip the army, and finally the puny effort of the small local band with a few guns and pikes against the armed.



trained force of English soldiers, warned by the inevitable traitor

Then comes the saddest feature. The schoolmaster is killed and the hero is sentenced to death, which is afterwards changed to penal servitude for life. After ten years of punishment and persecution he is pardoned and returns to his country, prematurely aged and broken in health, to find that he is practically forgotten and that the sacrifices which he and his companions made and which they believed would foster patriotism and beget patriots, even though they failed, were all in vain. But the end is worst of all. After living a respectable, virtuous life in his old home for many years, abstaining entirely from politics, when he finally mounts a platform to address a public meeting in favor of a candidate for Parliament, he is insulted, and mocked, and stoned and wounded unto death.

A horrible picture! Yes, but if true——

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COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. Psalms I.-L. By *Rev. E. S. Berry*. 8vo. pp. 377. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

The present work has been undertaken for the purpose of supplying an explanation of the Psalms sufficiently complete for practical purposes, yet free from the technicalities of Hebrew grammar that frequently render such works distasteful to many readers. Consequently all reference to Hebrew words and constructions has been omitted except when really necessary to bring out the correct meaning.

The text of the Latin Vulgate has been taken as a basis because it is the official text of the Church, and because it is the text most familiar to those accustomed to the divine office. The text of the Douay version is also given for the benefit of those who do not know Latin. Whenever the Hebrew text differs from the Latin due note of it is made in the explanation, and reference to the Hebrew text is often made to get the true sense of the Latin.

A synopsis of each Psalm is given, showing at a glance its purpose and general meaning. This is followed by an explanation in which the meaning is usually brought out by means of a paraphrase. With few exceptions, only the literal sense of the Psalm is given because this is the foundation of all other interpretations, and without it they are likely to be forced and fanciful. A thorough insight into the literal meaning of these spiritual canticles is an essential prerequisite for the due understanding of their liturgical use and of their prophetic foreshadowings, as well as of their inexhaustible wealth of mystical lore. Having the literal sense for a

guide, each one can apply the words of the Psalmist to his own needs, for these inspired songs express sentiments that are universal in their application.

In an introductory chapter the author gives the information which ordinarily a Scriptural student would get from a regular course in introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, with the intention of supplying the need for those who have not had such a course. The book is most attractive in its arrangement, the plan is faithfully followed and the meaning is so clearly brought out that the student may grasp it easily.

Although the author does not say so, we presume he will comment on the other Psalms also, for we notice that this volume is marked "one."

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**EMMANUEL.** Arranged in five chapters according to Emmanuel's Councils. By Archbishop John Joseph Keane. 12mo., maroon silk cloth, pp. 230. \$1.00 net. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey.

The announcement says: "Emmanuel" is the title of a remarkable and striking book which Archbishop John Joseph Keane, the first rector of the Catholic University, has just issued. It is a very successful attempt to place before the reader what the Archbishop believes would be Our Lord's judgment on the tendencies in the world and in the Church at the present day. Archbishop Keane takes the principles enunciated by Our Divine Lord in the New Testament quite literally, and he applies these principles to our present-day conditions. It is needless to say that the world appears very far from what it should be after eighteen centuries of Christianity. His Grace supposes Our Lord to hold five councils, one at Bethlehem, one at Nazareth, one at Calvary, one at Rome and one on Mount Olivet.

This book is the fruit of years of meditation upon the words of the Gospel. Although quasi-Scriptural in concept and style, the author assures us that it does not make any claim to Inspiration. It is the outcome of lifelong, prayerful meditation on the teachings of Our Divine Lord, on the example of His life, on the spirit of His Sacred Heart, on the history and present condition of His Holy Church. Those who know Archbishop Keane, and especially those who knew him more intimately as rector of the Catholic University and who remember the eloquent and impressive manner in which he could make the Gospel characters live and speak and act, will need no assurance that this book is worthy of their atten-

tion. Rather, they will rise up as witnesses to its worth, even before reading it, so firm is their confidence in the learning, skill and piety of the author. They will rejoice, too, that the good Archbishop is able to speak to them again even from his retirement and to leave to them this memorial of his long and fruitful service for religion.

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**LE SATIRE DI JACOPONE DA TODI:** Recostituite Nella Loro Più Probabile Lezione Originaria Con Le Varianti Dei Mss. Più Importanti E Precedute Da Un Saggio Sulle Stampe E Sui Codici Jacoponici Per Cura di *Biordo Brugnoli*. In 8vo., pp. cix.-428. (Florence, Olschki, 1914.)

Jacopone da Todi seems to be coming into his own at last, this being the third detailed study dealing with his works published during the past few months. In default of a complete and critical edition of Jacopone's writings, such volumes as the one before us are a distinct asset. For it should be remembered that the chief interest attaching to this remarkable man is derived from his literary work. This fact has been somewhat overlooked up to a comparatively recent date. Indeed, there has hitherto been a very general disposition amongst writers on Jacopone to dwell at length on his strange life-story, owing mainly to the supposition that he composed the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa," and to pass over in silence the works of which he is undoubtedly the author and upon which his fame really rests.

In addition to his Lauds and mystical love-songs, Jacopone composed a number of Satires, and it is with these latter writings that the present volume is more particularly concerned. It contains some thirty of Jacopone's poems, selected from amongst the hundred or so generally accepted as authentic. Professor Brugnoli has chosen by preference those compositions which tend to throw some light on the biography of the poet. Most of Jacopone's Satires are written in his native Umbrian dialect, and they contain many of the crude expressions and phrases then in popular use. The poet's finer style, which he employed for his Lauds and Canticles, was laid aside in these Satires to the end that his invectives might appeal more forcibly to the people. Unhappily for Jacopone, some of his Satires were used with effect by the enemies of Pope Boniface VIII. for their own purpose, and it is this fact, more, perhaps, than anything else, that has tended to retard the process of the poet's beatification.

Modern research has by no means said the last word as to the

authenticity of all the writings which different editors have attributed to Jacopone, but the present volume comes very near being a definitive edition of the texts of the poems here presented, which are reconstructed according to the more probable original reading, all the variants found in the principal manuscripts being carefully noted. The volume before us is rendered the more useful by a scholarly introduction of considerable length on the early MS. collections and on the printed editions of Jacopone's works. For the love and diligence which Professor Brugnoli has expended on this important contribution to the study of Jacopone he deserves the gratitude of all those who are interested in Italian literature before Dante, and we hope that his book may receive the serious and sympathetic welcome it so richly merits. The form of the volume reflects the greatest credit on the well-known Florentine publishing house of Olschki.

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WALTER MAP, *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*. Edited by *M. R. James, Litt. D.*, Provost of Kings College, Cambridge. 4to., pp. xxxix.-287. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1914.)

This volume forms Part XIV. of the "Anecdota Oxoniensia" (Mediaeval and Modern Series) and contains a critical edition of the treatise "De Nugis Curialium" of Walter Map, which is preserved in a single MS. of the fourteenth century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Its author, who lived between 1143 and 1210, was perhaps the most brilliant writer and literary antiquarian of his day. He seems to have been an insatiable hunter among libraries and ancient MSS. and an ardent collector of legends and folklore. It was not uncommon at one time to attribute to Map the invention and compilation of the entire corpus of Arthurian romance. No doubt what Map really did was to introduce and perhaps to edit the MSS. relatively ancient to his own day. Apart from his interest in the Arthurian legends, Map is credited with the authorship of several works, amongst them the "De Nugis Curialium," here edited by Dr. James. The date of this treatise is placed between 1181 and 1193. Like most of Map's work, it is written in Latin and abounds in biting and satirical criticism of the churchmen of his time and in vivacious descriptions of its manners and customs. Beginning with an invective against court life, Map groups around that stories of Herla and of the King of Portugal. The idea of "making a good end" by retiring from the court to live in peace suggests some stories of monks who left the cloister. The news of the capture of Jerusalem leads him to a lament on the vices

of the age; he discusses whether there is hope that all the religious activities of the monastic orders can avail to palliate these. He then enters on a disquisition as to the origin and decline of all the orders of his day, including the military. Here he devotes most of his space to the Cistercians, and, after a single sentence about the Carthusians, exclaims: "After all, the many ways of following the simple life in externals seem ineffective. King Henry dresses splendidly, but is humble of heart." This mention of Henry II. suggests the topic of that King's zeal against heretics. Heretics are the subject of the next few pages. The Welsh are now quite suddenly introduced, and a Welsh folk-tale brings with it several other stories of the same kind, which are quite unconnected. Towards the close of his treatise he seeks to show that modern times have produced heroes as remarkable as those of antiquity, and then settles down into personal reminiscences of kings he has met. Such, in outline, are some of the topics touched on by Map in his remarkable work. It would have been difficult perhaps to find any one better fitted than Dr. James to undertake the task of editing the "*De Nugis Curialium*." His preface, which deals with the history of the text, the plan of the work, the authors used by Map, etc., is a most scholarly piece of work, and the notes of reference and explanation are extremely valuable. There is a very full and satisfactory index of noteworthy words and of proper names.

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**VENERABLE PHILIPPINE DUCHESNE.** By *G. R. M.* A Brief Sketch of the Life and Work of the Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart in America. 12mo., pp. 44. New York: The American Press.

If a casual reader should come across this little book of less than fifty pages without any previous knowledge of its subject he would be astonished at the story which it tells of heroism and sanctity. He would also be surprised that he had not met this heroine and saint before, and having met her, he would long to know more about her.

It is a simple tale, and yet sublime. So like the story of God's great saints in all ages, and so unlike the history of the children of the world. A young woman hears the Master calling her and inviting her, as He invited the Apostles to leave all and follow Him. She accepts the invitation. But a greater sacrifice is asked of her. Like Abraham, God bids her go forth from her own country into a distant land, and she goes. Here she devotes herself to the care of the sick, the orphaned, the ignorant, the uncivilized,

and in spite of crosses, and trials, and failures, and misunderstandings, she perseveres to the end.

Like the sower of the seed in the Parable, she scattered lavishly, even though she knew that some would fall by the wayside and be trampled down or eaten by the birds, and some would fall on rocky ground and die for want of moisture, and some would be choked by weeds and thorns. She thought only of the fourth part that would fall on good ground and bring forth fruit. How splendidly has the result justified the expenditure! It may be said of her labors, surely, that they brought forth fruit a hundredfold.

She would have said, I only tried to keep the two great commandments, the love of God and the love of my neighbor. Yes, but the Master has assured us that in these two is summed up the whole law and the prophets.

Truly it may be said that Venerable Philippine Duchesne died in the odor of sanctity. That odor pervades the pages of this simple biography.

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**THE JUVENILE LIBRARY.** A collection of Juvenile Stories for children by Well-Known Catholic authors. 12mo. 35 cents each. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We take pleasure in calling attention to a new group of Catholic stories for children, known as "Benziger's Thirty-five-cent Juvenile Library," as follows: "The Little Lady of the Hall," by Nora Ryeman; "In Quest of Adventure," by Mary E. Mannix; "The Ups and Downs of Marjorie," by Mary T. Waggaman; "An Everyday Girl," by Marion Ames Taggart; "The Little Apostle on Crutches," by Henriette E. Delamare; "The Little Girl From Back East," by Isabel J. Roberts. This is a continuation of the worthy efforts of these enterprising publishers to advance good Catholic literature.

The unprecedented success of "Benziger's Standard Fifty-cent Library" has induced them to bring out this new thirty-five-cent juvenile library, which is the first time that books of this class have been offered at such an extremely low price. They are not Sunday school books, nor pious books in disguise, but are entertaining while correct in faith and morals. Most of the books are by the best present-day Catholic authors. They are interesting as stories and will foster a taste for good reading in children, which will have a lasting effect on their whole lives. For this reason they are worthy of commendation and patronage. Even juveniles are very often poisoned wells at the present day.

The books are well printed on good paper in large and readable type and are neatly and substantially bound in cloth. The volumes all have an illustrated jacket, which makes them particularly attractive. The Library should be in every Catholic home and in every school library.

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THE NEW LAITY AND THE OLD STANDARDS. Hints and Suggestions for those who would be Doers of the Word. By *Humphrey J. Desmond*. 12mo., pp. 95. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey.

The author says: "For some thirty years the writer of these pages has dealt editorially, week in and week out, with Catholic question and Catholic interests. His conviction deepens that the welfare of Catholicity, and more especially its wider influence in this age of democracy, depend very largely upon the cultivation and growth of an intelligent, an efficient and a loyal Catholic laity."

In the following chapters he endeavors to suggest ways and means to this end, the style and method of appeal being adapted to the popular audience he hopes to influence. This is a very interesting and instructive book. The author not only thinks clearly and writes well, but he is most happy in quotation and illustration, using both to the best advantage in teaching the lessons which he wishes to inculcate. It ought to accomplish the purpose for which it is intended, because it is brief, bright and informing.

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ST. CLARE OF ASSISI: Her Life and Legislation. By *Ernest Gillla Smith*. 8vo., pp. 300. London: J. M. Dent & Sons. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

We are told that in this volume the author has gathered together all the available evidence, both of contemporary witnesses and the later mediæval writers, and presents a vivid and interesting, as well as a complete record of the life of St. Clare of Assisi in all its different phases. It is a most inviting field for the student and historian. The subject, her contemporaries, the period, all combine to furnish a wealth of material that is simply irresistible. Any one who has read even the briefest biography of this great saint and first spiritual daughter of St. Francis will welcome this opportunity to follow her history in complete detail.

It is well to remember that it is rather history than biography or hagiology. We do not mean this in an exclusive sense, because, of course, that would be contradictory, but we mean that the

author's purpose has been rather to gather together all historical evidence bearing on the life of St. Clare and her work than to excite devotion to her. And it is a storehouse of such evidence. Its more than three hundred closely printed pages teem with quotations, especially from contemporaneous documents. It will have a permanent value which will hardly be lessened by future publications.

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**THE WIT AND WISDOM OF JOHN AYS COUGH.** Chosen and edited by *Seannell O'Neill*. 18mo., cloth. 50 cents net. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The compiler tells us that he feels certain that the selections which he has made from the works of John Ayscough will show the greatness of the well-known author's power—his originality, his thought (his insight, his range of experience, observation and sympathy, and, above all, his never-failing elevation of spiritual feeling and judgment, speaking in language brilliant and forcible, rising often to splendor and magnificence.

Probably no author of modern times lends himself better to quotation than John Ayscough. Throughout his works we find jewels of thought, of various size and cutting, precious and semi-precious, sparkling, dazzling, brilliant or shining with a softer, soothing light, like the jewels of the mineral kingdom.

We have not noticed that the compiler follows any order in his quotations. Some persons might desire to have an arrangement according to time or subject matter for easier reference. This difficulty might be overcome by an index. A biographical sketch of John Ayscough in the beginning of the book adds much to its value, and its form contributes much to its charm.

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**THE ELDER MISS AINSBOROUGH.** By *Marion Ames Taggart*. 12mo., cloth, with colored jacket and frontispiece. \$1.25. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Two sisters of distinct physical and moral types—"all that was left of the solid New England family, with roots reaching back to the beginning of the Massachusetts Bay colony"—are the centre about which Miss Taggart weaves a serious, but pleasant and interesting story. It is a study of sister love—the love of an older for a younger sister, who in return for constant and affectionate devotion visits upon her benefactress dissimulation, contempt and finally the cruelest of ingratitude. The various characters contribute



to the making of an excellent novel. The spirit of days and loved ones that are dead—the haunting melancholy that is the chief charm of Hawthorne—is found here and there through the story like the faint fragrance of a pressed flower that breathes a world of memories—but, unlike Hawthorne, Miss Taggart breaks the spell with hearty humor, keen comment and unfailing manifestations of her steadfast hope in a blessed hereafter, the only meet reward for the patient self-sacrifice of her heroine, who, nevertheless, is not denied heart comfort here.

**THE FRIAR PREACHER YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.** Translated from the French by Père Jacquin, O. P. By *Father Hugh Pope, O. P.* 16mo., cloth, pp. 152. 75 cents net. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This book undertakes to set forth in brief form the origins, the objects, the ideals of the Dominican Order. After a preliminary chapter on the work actually accomplished by St. Dominic, the author passes to the definite organization of the Order. He then treats of the Dominican ideal, of the place occupied by the Order in the long series of religious bodies in the Church. There then follows a chapter devoted to the religious formation which a Friar Preacher receives, to a sketch of the system of government which is so characteristic of the Order, and finally to the part played in the Order by the lay brethren.

**POPULAR SERMONS ON THE CATECHISM.** From the German of Rev. A. Hubert Bamberg. Edited by *Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J.* Vol. II. The Commandments. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Volume I. treated of the Creed; Volume III. will deal with the Sacraments. It is so short a time since Volume I. appeared and the criticisms were so flattering that it is hardly necessary to say more on this occasion than that the second volume is as excellent as the first.

Perhaps we might notice in passing, for the information of probable purchasers, that the chapters are really catechetical sermons rather than catechetical instructions or treatises. Some persons who wish to instruct a congregation may prefer a formal and exhaustive commentary on the Catechism, which follows the order of the smaller book step by step, as for instance Gaumes' Catechism of Perseverance or Powers' Catechism.

It would be a mistake to confuse the two books. In the former

instance Father Bamberg has done for the preacher what in the latter instance the preacher does for himself. If the preacher have the time and the ability, the latter method is certainly better, because then the application of the truth to the particular circumstances, such as time, place, persons and conditions, will be much more exact and fruitful, while the illustrations should be also more enlightening.

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**HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.** By *Dr. F. X. Funk*. Translated by Dr. Perciballi, edited and with additional notes by Father W. H. Kent, O. S. C. Demy 8vo., 2 vols. \$5.50 net. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The late Professor Funk's "Manual of Church History" was a standard book in Germany, France, Italy and Spain before it became known to the English-speaking world. It cannot be denied that there is a wide field for such a work in this country. The enemies of the Church were never more active than they are now, and although they confine themselves generally to modern calumnies, all the old lies about the history, theology, discipline and liturgy of the Church are periodically brought forth from their graves, where they have been buried for years, and, clad in new skin, are made to move across the scene like living creatures.

It is necessary for the Catholic who would defend his faith to have at hand a reliable manual of Church history to which he can turn for the truth. Such a weapon of offense and defense may be found in Professor Funk's book. His great ability as an historian is well known and beyond question. The practical value of that ability is shown in this work. Of course, a detailed history of the Church in every country and every age is not to be expected in a book of this size, but the general history of the Church and her councils, with a clear account of the attacks made on her by the leading heresiarchs, are here found skilfully set forth. The Bibliography, the Chronological Tables and the Index are worthy of special notice.

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**HOW TO HELP THE DEAD.** A translation of St. Augustine's *De Cura Gerenda Pro Mortuis*, A. D. 411. By *Mary H. Allies*. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In the Preface to this volume the translator says: "This Treatise is St. Augustine's answer to St. Paulinus of Nola, who had asked his opinion as to whether burial at the altars or shrines of the

Martyrs profited to the dead. He shows first of all that the dead are not affected even by their bodies remaining unburied. The place of burial helps them only indirectly by reminding the living to pray for them, and for the dead generally. Anxiety about funeral is a natural instinct, which the holy Martyrs disregarded."

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**THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.** Their Founders, Histories and Development. By *Rev. James Luke Meagher, D. D.* 12mo., pp. 646. New York: Christian Press Association.

This book is a wonderful compilation of the histories of the sects. It brings together a vast fund of information which the general reader would have trouble gathering from other sources, and it furnishes in compact form about all the average man would care about knowing concerning them.

The book does not pretend to literary style, and the author is sometimes rather plain-spoken and vigorous, but he has done a useful work.

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**MEDITATIONS.** By *Very Rev. L. Branchereau, S. S.* Vol. iv. Liturgical Year. 16mo., pp. 252. \$1.00 net. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Father Branchereau's meditations for seminarians and priests have been and are to-day widely used in all English-speaking countries, and are classed among the foremost in meditative literature. This new volume will be found worthy of its famous author. The same vivid conception of the life and works of Our Lord that popularized his former works pervades this, envisaging as it does that Life of lives in photographic detail and with divine appeal.

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**THE SOUVENIR OF CANON SHEEHAN.** Being Extracts from His Writings made by a Sister of the Presentation Convent, Doneraile. 16mo., pp. 167. 75 cents net. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here are culled extracts from the works of the great Irish author, patriot and saintly priest. There is one for each day of the year. They were gathered together as a labor of love to keep the memory of Father Sheehan alive in the hearts of his readers all over the world, and they have been so judiciously selected that this laudable object will be attained.

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**THE HOLY VIATICUM OF LIFE AS OF DEATH.** By *Rev. Daniel A. Dever, D. D.* 12mo., paper. 25 cents net; \$17.00 per 100. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Those who have already made the acquaintance of this excellent book, which breathes intense, burning love of a personal nature in

every line for the Blessed Sacrament, will be glad to know that it is now made accessible to a very largely increased public that will be drawn by it nearer and nearer to the sacrament of love.

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**THE HAND OF MERCY.** By *Rev. Richard W. Alexander*, author of "A Missionary's Note-Book." 12mo., pp. 288. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

A collection of stories of conversions, which appeared—for the most part—in the "Missionary" magazine. All true and all interesting, showing how the Spirit breathes where He will and as He will. No two alike. There can be no stronger proof that Faith is a Divine Infused Virtue than the various ways, sometimes simple, often apparently inadequate, occasionally almost ludicrous, in which it comes to man.

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(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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## RELIGIOUS CUBA, PAST AND PRESENT

A FEW years ago the name of Cuba was on every tongue. The large island to the south of us, at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, was in the throes of a revolution that drenched it with blood and finally drew us into a war with Spain that culminated in Cuban independence. Since then the world has moved rapidly; wars and rumors of wars have filled the air; great and stirring events have taken place, and Cuba is almost forgotten by the general public unless something happens—like a prizefight in Havana.

Yet Cuba has been going along the even tenor of its way in spite of many difficulties that have opposed its progress, especially in the economic order. A small but very efficient army, with a fine system of rural guards, keeps the peace and prevents any attempt at further revolution, while the quasi-protectorate exercised by the United States hangs like a sword of Damocles over the young Republic.

Religion, too, in spite of many drawbacks, has not been inactive—that religion which for 400 years has had its opportunities in Cuba.

When Diego Velasquez, in 1511, began the colonization of the island, missionaries accompanied him. Throughout the whole colonial period the conversion of the natives to Christianity was the great object of the Spanish sovereigns, but their good intentions and the zeal of the missionaries were neutralized by the cupidity of the men that were coming to America. In Cuba, as in Santo Domingo, there is nothing to show the results of any missionary activ-

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1915, by J. P. Turner, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

ity whatsoever, for the native race has practically disappeared. There is hardly anything more pathetic than the complete destruction of the Indian races in the West Indies, in spite of the protests of such men as Las Casas and his Dominican brethren.

It is true that a very few years after the conquest a diocese was erected in Cuba that embraced both Florida and Jamaica, but the Bishops were subjects of the Crown and of its representatives and hemmed in by many restrictions. The population increased slowly and towns grew up by degrees over the island. Parishes were formed, though they were few in number. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century there were only two parishes in Havana, with two auxiliary parishes, though there existed a considerable number of other churches and chapels, with religious orders like the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Mercedarians, Bethlehemites, Jesuits and Oratorians, besides the convents of nuns of Santa Clara, Santa Catalina and the Discalced Carmelites of Santa Teresa.

The population outside of the important centres lay scattered over the island far from communication with the rest of the world. For a large number of people it was very difficult to perform their religious duties, as they dwelt from fifteen to 200 miles from the nearest church. Yet it would seem that the performance of the Easter duty was general, as we glean from the synod held in 1684 that parish priests were obliged to take a yearly census of their parishioners and denounce those who did not comply with this obligation.

The law of fasting and abstinence was very strict, nor did there exist until the beginning of the nineteenth century anything like the dispensations that prevail to-day which have rendered this ecclesiastical law almost obsolete.

The faithful were also obliged to contribute to the support of the Church by tithes and the contribution of first fruits—a law which to-day is a dead letter.

If we accept a statement found in the synod held in 1684, and a later one of the historian, Arrate, who wrote in 1762, the clergy was a good living and respectable body of men.

Until the end of the eighteenth century there was only one diocese in Cuba—that of Santiago—though a few of the later Bishops had their auxiliaries. From the seventeenth century down to the division of the diocese the Bishops of Cuba resided at Havana, which was also the seat of civil and military authority. When Havana was erected into a diocese, the Bishop of Santiago, who thus far had been suffragan to Santo Domingo, became the metropolitan of the island, with the Bishop of Havana as his suffragan.

This arrangement lasted until the period of independence, after



the Spanish-American war, when two new dioceses were created in Cienfuegos and Pinar del Rio. The Dioceses of Matanzas and Camaguey are of recent creation. At the present time there are thus five suffragan dioceses to that of the Metropolitan See of Santiago, the ecclesiastical division agreeing with its political division, the six provinces of Santiago, or Oriente, Camaguey, Cienfuegos, Matanzas, Havana and Pinar del Rio, each forming a diocese. Until the period of independence the Bishops were nearly all natives of Spain. When the Pearl of the Antilles had finally been wrested from the Crown that for centuries it had served to adorn, a Cuban, Monsignor Barnada, was appointed Archbishop of Santiago, and for a brief period an Italian, Monsignor Sbarretti, occupied the See of Havana. At the present moment, of the five Bishops in Cuba, the See of Santiago being vacant, four are native Cubans and one, the Bishop of Camaguey, is a Spaniard.

From the earliest period religious orders have been strongly represented in the Cuban hierarchy, and we find among the Bishops of Cuba members of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Carthusian, Mercedarian and Cistercian Orders. To-day the Bishops of Cienfuegos and Camaguey are both Discalced Carmelites.

Some few of the Archbishops of Santiago were exalted to the Cardinalate after their promotion to dioceses at home. Several of the Cuban Bishops have been men of distinguished merit, and the cause of canonization of one Archbishop of Santiago, Monsignor Claret, who lived in the nineteenth century, has been introduced.

The first of the very few synods that have been held in the Island of Cuba took place in 1684 under Bishop Juan Garcia de Palacios. At a much later period Monsignor Santander, the last Spanish Bishop of Havana, held a synod in his episcopal city, and one was convened this year in the city of Matanzas.

The year after the celebration of the synod in the seventeenth century Cuba received as Bishop Don Diego Evelino de Compostela, one of the most distinguished of all the Cuban Bishops, a man of great learning, disinterested zeal and exalted virtue. He established numerous foundations of religion and charity and greatly increased the number of rural parishes, thus meeting a growing necessity. To Bishop Evelino the parish of San Carlos, in Matanzas, owes its origin. The original church no longer exists, the present edifice being the Cathedral. Bishop Evelino de Compostela lies buried in the Church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Havana, whose monastery owes its origin to him.

Bishop Espada y Landa, who governed the Diocese of Havana for a long time, was a man of great learning and of very liberal views for his day, so that in some quarters he was regarded with

suspicion. He must be considered one of the most eminent of Cuban Bishops.

The youthful Bishop Serrano, with the angelic countenance, whose beautiful monument in the Cathedral of Havana perpetuates his memory, lived too short a time. A man of wonderful activity and apostolic zeal, he gave an immense impetus to religion. Like the apostles of old and like the Franciscans of the thirteenth century, he is said to have preached in the streets—a custom not unknown in Spain. His career of six brief months was cut short by the yellow fever, but his memory is that of a saint.

Another Bishop who has left his impress on the island and who is remembered for what he suffered is Jacinto Maria Martinez y Saez, at one time parish priest of San Carlos, Matanzas. He was a great builder. The beautiful Church of San Pedro de Versalles in Matanzas, was put up under his supervision. Doña Josefa Santa Cruz de Oviedo had left 100,000 pesos for the purpose. The churches of Bainoa, Cienfuegos, Santa Isabel de las Lajas, Trinidad, one of the largest in the island, and the beautiful Church of El Angel, in Havana, are monuments of his great activity.

In his day the ten years' war had broken out and he saw with deepest grief how some of the best citizens of Cuba, among them several priests, were deported to Fernando Po, which meant death. His letters addressed to the authorities in their behalf deserve to be written in golden characters in the history of the island. Whether it was this action in favor of those whom he regarded as his children or whether there were other reasons, he incurred the enmity of evil-minded persons, who caused him to be suspected of favoring the revolution and brought about his exile. On his return from the Vatican Council in 1870 he was not permitted to land in Havana and was forced to return to New York, whence he directed a remarkable pastoral to his people on the sufferings of the Church and of the Holy Father.

The last Spanish prelates of Cuba were the Franciscan, Monsignor Saenz de Uturi, who had been Bishop of Badajoz, in Spain, before his promotion to the Archiepiscopal See of Santiago, and Monsignor Santander y Frutos, Bishop of Havana. Both these prelates resigned their sees and returned to Europe after the American occupation of the island.

The history of the latter is especially pathetic. As Bishop of Matanzas the writer of this article has again and again met the memory of good Bishop Santander on episcopal visitations. During the revolution his sympathies were, of course, manifested in favor of the lawful authority, and he thus incurred the displeasure of the patriot element. After the war I am told that he did not wish to

abandon his flock, being morally forced to resign. By not at once returning to Spain when Cuba was no longer a Spanish colony, he fell into disgrace with the powers at home. It was only by the kind offices of the Holy See that, after spending some time in Rome, he was finally permitted to return to his native land, where he died in great poverty, abandoned even by those who were near to him and who in the days of his prosperity he had financially befriended.

With Monsignor Santander the last vestige of Spanish rule in the Island of Cuba disappeared. Since then a change has come over the Church in Cuba. Through the efforts of its Bishops the standard of the clergy, at least in the western part of the island, the portion with which I am best acquainted, has been raised. In the old Spanish days many undesirables were sent to Cuba and upheld by influence. Some, counterbalancing their open contempt for the canons of the Church by certain natural and civic virtues, were upheld, respected and in some cases loved by the people, who were quite willing to ignore and overlook their faults in other respects. The Bishop frequently could do nothing, and it was often morally impossible for him to remove an ecclesiastic whose life was not in harmony with his sacred calling. He might easily be overruled by the civil and military authorities, who hemmed him in by countless restrictions, for the Bishop himself was a salaried officer of the Crown.

The effect of this state of affairs did, of course, not conduce to the advancement of religion. Other causes had also been operating to produce a sad deterioration and a widespread indifference in religious matters. The principles of the French Revolution, together with the most pernicious French literature, had spread over Latin America, poisoning the minds of the educated classes, while the mass of the people, a considerable proportion of which was in slavery in Cuba, remained in ignorance. Religious instruction was scarce, though grandiloquent sermons were delivered by renowned preachers on the occasion of great festivals. Human respect, too, was and it still is the bane of religion in Latin America. This is one of the reasons why there is such a lack of religious practice, especially among the men of Latin America, while in a large proportion there is no faith at all.

A slight improvement is noticeable since the beginning of independence, and with increase of zeal on the part of the clergy the improvement will continue, as may be seen, for instance, in the work of the Dominican Fathers in the Vedado and of the American Augustinians in the Church of Santo Cristo. The institution of the Knights of Columbus has been of great assistance to the latter.

When the Spanish régime ended in Cuba the Church possessed a magnificent opportunity, but the devil was also at hand to sow his

tares. That was the time to send a corps of efficient missionaries from parish to parish all over the land. It is not too late yet, but unfortunately the means to support this body of missionaries is not forthcoming. When the American public school system was introduced with the banishment of religion from the schools, it is a pity that men were not found in Cuba and in the United States to move heaven and earth in order to prevent this complete secularization of education, to my mind the greatest evil that has befallen the Church in that country. I know that if these lines are read by the masses of the Cuban people, they will applaud them, though they will not increase love for me in the minds of certain enemies of the Church, for whose love or hatred I care not a farthing.

As Monsignor Sbarretti, by effort, succeeded in restoring the validity of the religious marriage, it is possible that had he been on the spot in the beginning, he might have exercised more influence in favor of the religious part of education. I cannot refrain from saying a word here in favor of that good and just man, General Leonard Wood, to whom Cuba is indebted for so much and to whom the Cubans feel so grateful. They always speak of him in the highest terms.

If one beholds the exhibition of Catholicity on certain occasions—for instance, when the Bishop visits a parish—one would think that Cuba is the most Catholic country in the world. The greatest respect is manifested by the people for the Bishop, who is everywhere treated like a prince. At his pastoral visits the church is filled, and all, from the highest to the lowest, welcome him with the greatest manifestations of love and veneration. It is impossible for the Bishop not to feel himself drawn to such a people. I know no country outside of the old colonies of Spain where the Bishop would be received with such an exuberance of joy. The impression made upon him, however, is apt to mislead him, and he may send abroad glowing accounts of the Catholicity of the people of Cuba.

Let him, however, sit down coolly in his study, laying aside the emotions of the heart, and gather facts and figures, and his conclusions will be different. What I write here is not intended to wound, for I love the people of Cuba, and above all I am deeply attached to the people of the province of Matanzas; but we do not heal wounds by covering them up. The fact is that the practice of religion in Cuba leaves much to be desired. The number of priests is not sufficient, while the parishes are too large, much too large. The Church as a body has not a sufficient income, and, speaking for Matanzas, I can say that the diocese is exceedingly poor. It is morally impossible to divide some of the parishes for want of funds. The people as a whole contribute little or nothing to the support of

the Church, there being no income save the stipends for Masses and the gifts for baptisms and marriages.

It is indeed a sad thing to behold that in a parish of, say, 10,000 souls, there will be no more than forty to fifty going to Mass on Sunday, and perhaps not thirty that make their Easter duty; or, still worse, that out of a population of 250,000, one can hardly gather more than about 5,000 Easter Communions. The saddest of all is to contemplate the large number of those who die without the sacraments and to think that in a country in which the Church has been active for four centuries about four-fifths of the people depart this life without the ministrations of religion. There is a widespread antipathy toward summoning the priest when one of the family is dangerously ill, as though the advent of the minister of religion were a harbinger of death. This state of affairs did not always exist. There was a time when there was more religion in Cuba, but there has been a marked decline, apparently during the last century. One of the worst features is to be found in the neglect of the religious training of children at home. In fact, there are parents who actually prevent their children from receiving the sacraments.

It is clear that such a condition is not conducive to public morality. Although the women of the better families are very respectable and a lapse from virtue is never condoned, nothing washing away the stain but marriage, there is widespread concubinage among the lower strata of the population. The Colored girls for whom no respectable marriage is in prospect are especially to be pitied. It must be said, however, to the credit of the Colored race in Cuba that the better elements are opposing this state of things, and they have even formed societies for the promotion of marriage.

The great mass of the Negro population offers a tremendous religious problem. Of great ignorance, with no religious instruction, they are still devoted to the African fetichism and witchcraft they have inherited from their ancestors. Their periodical dances, to the accompaniment of the monotonous African drum, are said to be of a religious character, in which African superstition is mingled with elements of Christianity.

I have found a similar thing among the Chinese population, the shrine of Confucius, with its lights and sandalwood existing almost side by side with that of St. Ann, the object of a like veneration.

And is there positive hostility to religion? Generally speaking, no; in certain quarters, yes. From the civil and military authorities of the province of Matanzas I have received nothing but the greatest consideration and kindness, and I think that is the general attitude of the authorities throughout the island toward the Church. Hostile elements are not wanting, however, that would excite a bit-

ter religious persecution if they had a free hand. Of late there has been an agitation in Congress looking toward a divorce law and the invalidation of the religious marriage, and, in fact, such a law passed the Lower House last year; but thus far no positive action against the Church has been taken.

Protestants were particularly active in Cuba shortly after the American occupation began, but, seeing the slight progress they made, they for a time calmed their efforts while still conducting churches in the principal centres. The greatest harm is, of course, done in their schools, to which they draw a certain number of boys and girls. It is said that Havana will soon be an important centre of the Y. M. C. A., while the Protestant propaganda is carried on by means of frequent discourses against the Catholic Church, as well as by pamphlets that are everywhere distributed.

There is very little to offset all this—no school, no distinctively Catholic press, no centres of Catholic action worth talking about, no efficient service of the priesthood, no coming in contact with the people. There are large parishes of 20,000, 40,000, 70,000 souls with one or two priests and no school, no means of instructing or reaching the people.

When we behold the state of affairs existing in Cuba, we are apt to be discouraged. To us American Catholics whose methods are so different it comes as a shock; for the ecclesiastic who is accustomed to the West Indies and Latin America the impression is less painful. He can more easily reconcile himself to conditions that he has known from childhood, while the externals of religion may appeal to him more strongly than to us, whose temperament inclines us to look for the substantial and for that which lies beneath the surface.

Do the Cubans prefer priests and Bishops of their own nationality? Of course they do; so do we, so do the Germans and the Irish, so do all the nations. It is natural. Yet it must be said to the credit of the Cubans that they accept foreign ecclesiastics with a good grace if one comes with the proper authority. Not only do they accept him, but they are friendly to him if he understands them, sympathizes with them and enters into their life. They could not have treated me better had I been one of their own. Never, never shall I forget the kindness, the invariable courtesy of my good people of Matanzas, from the highest officials down to the Negro children in the streets. Only their climate, to which I could not accustom myself, forced me to leave them. If one understands the Cuban people, wonders can be done with them. You can lead them, but you cannot drive them. As Bishop Martinez remarks, the hand that governs them must be covered with a silken glove. As for docility,

willingness, kindness, you will not find a better people on earth. Their religious indifference is the result of a most unfortunate series of circumstances. Time and patience will overcome it.

I have seen the possibilities there are in that island. Bishop Martinez tells us how much they helped him in building his churches, even the ladies contributing their share of manual labor with the greatest enthusiasm. Our young ladies of the Catholic Youth Society went throughout the city of Matanzas to collect funds for the painting of the Cathedral, and those of the parish of Agramonte went out into the heat of tropical days, out to the *bohios*, the huts of the laborers, to collect for the upbuilding of their parish church. Unfortunately, the people are poor and cannot do much.

I was told that years ago a mission was given at the Cathedral of Matanzas, with one penitent as the result. This year the good Dominican Fathers from Vedado, Havana, gave us a mission. They had over 300 confessions. It was my happiest moment in Matanzas when I gave the general Communion to about 200 persons, among whom were a goodly number of young men.

Yes, there is a change for the better coming over Cuba, slowly, but surely. If the people could be taught to contribute toward the support of religion, so much would be gained. Schools might be established, priests and parishes increased. If each sugar plantation in the province of Havana and Matanzas and elsewhere could have a chapel, a nucleus might be formed whence the spirit of religion might radiate.

The greatest desideratum is the education of poor children, but here again we are confronted by the great difficulty—want of the necessary funds. The same thing must be said of missions. Frequent missions are undoubtedly one of the most important means of exciting and keeping alive religious fervor among the people of Cuba. Let us trust that Divine Providence will smooth the way, that the machinations of the enemies of the Church will come to naught, and that the light of religious fervor will soon shine with renewed brilliancy upon the beautiful Pearl of the Antilles and its lovable people.

CHARLES WARREN CURRIER.

Washington, D. C.

## HOW THEY LIVED IN OLD POMPEII.

“**V**IDI Napoli e poi Mori” has long been a favorite saying of the Neapolitans, and it is as expressive to-day as when it was first uttered. Compliance with it, however, depends very materially upon how it is translated. If it means “See Naples and then die,” I prefer never to see Naples; but if it means see Naples *and then Mori*, a little town not far from Naples, and whose inhabitants regard it as even more beautiful than the far-famed capital of Southern Italy, I must heartily advise the tourist to go to Mori, as it is well worth a visit. It was this latter translation that we accepted one summer vacation, and we have had no reason to regret it. Making Naples our headquarters, we made daily excursions to a city nearby which was destroyed by a volcanic eruption more than 1,800 years ago.

Pompeii! What memories are awakened by that name! The mind wanders back to that fatal day when Vesuvius, angered against the people that dwelt along its slope and around its base, poured out death and destruction among them. And, as if this calamity were not enough, the rapid succession of important events which marked the history of Rome at that time, so engrossed the public mind as to drive the fate of unhappy Pompeii out of the memory of man, and the city soon disappeared beneath vineyard and orchard and garden until it was swallowed up in that oblivion that buries all things. Pompeii was no more; its very site, like those of Nineveh and Babylon, the buried cities of the East, faded from the recollection of even the few learned men who had at some time or other known it by name.

At last, in the sixteenth century, Domenico Fontana, the architect and engineer, the same who set up the great obelisk in the piazza in front of St. Peter's, in Rome, undertook the work of constructing a subterranean canal to lead the waters of the Sarno to Torre dell' Annunziata. During the progress of this work the excavations for the pipes unearthed statue and pillar, palace and fountain, theatre, temple and forum, and research, slow and long drawn, finally revealed to the eyes of the astonished workmen the ruins of a long buried city that proved to be Pompeii.

There is scarcely a boy or girl, much less an adult, who has not been delighted in reading descriptions of the various buildings and art treasures which spade and pick have brought to light, through the years, along the course of which these excavations have been made.

It is not our purpose to go over the ground so often traversed by



other writers and tourists and dwell upon descriptions of these art treasures, except in so far as they shall aid us in studying the home life of a people whose sudden and ruthless "taking off" has awakened the deepest interest.

The drive from Naples to Pompeii occupies from one to two hours, according to the mode of transit you select. You pass through a beautiful and picturesque section of country. Many objects of interest are to be met with in the way, and to the classical scholar none more so than the so-called tomb of Virgil. As we approached Pompeii we find that it was a walled city entered by several gates. We pass through one of these and find a succession of narrow streets paved with lava, and in some places deeply rutted. On either side of us are low-terraced houses of one story; the shops with the ancient signs cut in the stone over the doors, still plainly visible, tell us the nature of the business carried on in them centuries ago. As we proceed we come to mansions of a superior order, telling that, as to-day, wealth and poverty dwelt side by side and that labor and capital played their part in the great drama of life with no less hostility than they do in our day. A *chalcidicum*, or market place, showed us where the truck gardener of 2,000 years ago sold the fruit of his labor for the sustenance of the townspeople, while theatres, temples and baths reminded us that amusements, religious exercises and cleanliness, which is "next to godliness," when resorted to, occupied the minds of the once happy inhabitants. As we wend our way through the habitable portions of the city, we came across statues, medals and jewels, and even a variety of household furniture, some of which is almost intact. We examine these articles, one after another, and we ask ourselves how did these people live? What were their occupations and amusements? Did they carry on any trade with neighboring nations?

Pompeii was to the larger cities of Southern Italy what Coney Island and Long Branch are to New York and Atlantic City to Philadelphia. It was situated near the sea. Like in any seaside places, it had its harbor at a distance. In times long gone by it was the *entrepot* of the trade of Nola, Nocera and Atilla. Its port was large enough to receive a naval armament, for it shattered the fleet of P. Correlius. The Romans were fond of living here, and we find that Cicero had a residence here, to which he frequently refers in his letters. The Emperor Claudius, too, had a villa at Pompeii, and while on a visit to this villa lost one of his children, who, though a prince, perished in a very commonplace manner. Imperial boys are very much like other boys and take to vulgar amusements just as naturally as any other *enfant terrible*. In place of the beanshooter of our day the ancient Pompeian boy had a mania for throwing

pears up in the air and catching them in his mouth as they fell. Our young Crown Prince was one day amusing himself in this way when the fruit choked him by falling too far in his throat. The boys of to-day use figs instead of pears, which renders the feat infinitely less dangerous. By the way, Crown Princes to-day do not appear to be oversolicitous as to the manner in which they shock their royal sires, for we hear that one angered his imperial *pater* by criticizing his strategic movements, while the other is said to have shocked his royal *mater* by using "a great big H."

We have said that Pompeii was a great resort of wealthy Romans and others at certain seasons of the year, and we might add that the Pompeians were not above making money out of their visitors—a custom unfortunately still in vogue at watering places. The population, we learn, was composed of nobles and slaves; the latter had a monthly allowance of a bushel of corn, a pint of oil and a little wine. The pauper population, like the Neapolitan *lazzaroni* of our day, were content to live on the scantiest fare. In the middle of the second century, before the Christian era, the usual price of one day's board and lodging at an average Italian inn was about half a cent in our money. In the metropolis and at the seaside it was, of course, much more. In Cicero's day a laborer lived on \$44 a year, as some authors tell us, and under Augustus the yearly maintenance of a slave was \$57.50, or a little more than ten cents a day. The fare of the rich was as sumptuous as the food of the poor was inferior. Thousands of dollars were spent on costly dishes, while flowers, perfumes, ointments and dress swallowed up millions every year. We learn from good authority that marble and bronze statuary was lavishly distributed through the houses and gardens of the wealthy and a genuine Scopas or Praxeteles sometimes brought as much as \$20,000 to \$30,000. For furniture, especially for the famous tables of citrus-wood, prices were given that can be scarcely paralleled for extravagance. \$40,000 to \$50,000 for a single table was no unusual price in Cicero's time, and the elder Pliny tells us that Seneca, the philosopher and stoic, had 500 of such tables. We often wondered whether furniture of this kind was left at Pompeii after the season was over.

Having learned something about the furniture and decorations of the wealthy Pompeians, we are permitted (for a consideration) to enter one of their houses and get an idea of their inner life. These houses were very different from those of the present day, both in style of architecture as well as what we call "home comforts." The entrance hall, often paved with mosaic, was called the *ostium*. The four rooms in the front of the house we enter appear to have been shops entirely disconnected with the house. The *atrium* was the

inner court or hall, the sitting-room of the family, as our guide explained, and often in the houses of the humbler classes the kitchen. In the centre was the *impluvium*, or tank of water. Small rooms to the right and left of the *atrium* were called the *ala*, or wings. The *tridinium*, or dining-room, had couches on which the guests reclined and a central table. The family records or archives were kept in a recess or room called the *tablinum*, and the beautiful court, open to the sky and often surrounded by columns and statues, was the *peristylum*. In the centre was the *vividarium*, or garden, and the rooms for social purposes were the *exedra* and *oecus*.

Let us pass on to a larger house, which is in a bad state of preservation. The first thing that strikes our American eyes is the apparent disregard of the ancient Pompeiians for anything like the ventilation in the living portions of the houses about which we are so solicitous in our own country. The principal rooms are on the ground floor. The richest inhabitants built their houses fronting on four streets, thus occupying the whole block. When it was desired to practice economy, they cut off some strips from this plot of ground, which they rented out for a goodly sum, and, like the first house we described, we sometimes find shops occupying the whole exterior of the house. With us the front is always reserved for the best rooms; in Pompeii we find that when not given up to business purposes it was closed by a thick wall in which there was no opening. The whole of the domestic part of the house, instead of looking toward the street, as with us, faced the interior. The entrance door, which was always strictly guarded, was the only means of communication with the outer world. There were few windows, and these were only on the upper floors. It was the aim of families to live in private far removed from the indifferent and the stranger. With us home belongs to a great extent to the public. Our friends visit us in our houses, and when they do not come, we like to see them through our spacious windows as they pass along the street. Not so with ancient private life in these parts—it was almost strict seclusion. The head of the house had no desire to look into the streets and he was still more averse to having passersby peer into his home. Distinctions and divisions prevailed even within his mansion. He would never receive his visitors in the same part of the house to which he retired with his family, and it was no easy matter to penetrate into this sanctuary, separated as it was from every other part by a corridor closed by doors and hangings and guarded by porters. The owner was not required to “receive” unless inclined to do so, and (our guide added) if perchance some troublesome creditor or collector, more obstinate than usual, persisted in lingering in the vestibule to pounce upon him on his way out, there was always a

*posticum* or back door opening upon a narrow street which permitted his escape.

The Pompeiian house would appear rather narrow to the people of our day, but it must be borne in mind that the inmates spent a large portion of their time away from home, under the porticos of the Forum or in the theatres and public gardens. We must also bear in mind that if the rooms were not large they were numerous. No Pompeiian used his house as he did his slaves. He had different rooms for each event of the day, just as he had servants for every necessity of life. Each room in his house was made precisely for the use of which it was intended. He was not satisfied, as we are, with a single dining-room—he had them of different sizes and for different seasons of the year. He had one room for his siesta and another to which he retired at night, both of which were very small, admitting light and air only through the door; but it must be remembered that in his climate coolness is promoted by darkness. Besides, he occupied these rooms only while asleep, for the rest of his home time was largely spent in his *atrium* or *peristylum*. He was here with his wife and children and with his slaves, for, notwithstanding his fondness for seclusion and isolation, he did not shun the company of his servants. His family embraced, while recognizing their inferiority, the slave and the freedman, so that the master felt that he was living among his own people. The open and closed *atria*, where the family was wont to spend much of its time, were absolutely necessary to furnish light for the rest of the dwelling. Consequently all persons, even the poorer classes, took pleasure in ornamenting them with taste and often with profusion. Where the space permitted shrubs were planted and flowers were cultivated. The literary and fashionable world sometimes sneer at these “enclosed gardens” of their less wealthy neighbors who could not afford the luxury of magnificent villas and stately trees and with vine arbors hanging from beautiful columns, but every one ornamented as best he could.

The Pompeiians took great care that their eyes should always rest on pleasant objects. Hence their houses were ornamented with beautiful mosaics, brilliant stuccos and incrustations of marble. The dazzling brightness of the white stones was always softened by agreeable tints—the walks were painted in gray and black, the columns tinted with yellow and red and along the cornices ran graceful Arabesques composed of interlacing flowers, among which at intervals were represented birds that never existed and landscapes the like of which have never been seen in nature. These whims of the imagination that were utterly meaningless had the merit at least of pleasing the eye without trying the mind too much. Occasionally we find on a large panel some mythological scene painted without

pretension and with bold strokes which recalled to the easily satisfied owner a masterpiece of antique art and enabled him to enjoy it through this souvenir. It sometimes happened that the petty householder was fortunate enough to possess a bronze imitation of some of the most beautiful works of the Greek sculptors, such as he had seen in the homes of his more wealthy neighbors—a dancing satyr, an athlete in combat, a god, a goddess, a performer in the cithara and the like—many of the originals of which we have seen and admired in the Museum of Naples. The Pompeiian had taste; he knew and comprehended the beauty of these works of art and he placed them in the *atrium* or *peristylum*, that he might enjoy the sight of them whenever he entered or went out of his dwelling.

It would be an endless task to attempt a detailed description of the various objects of interest that meet the eye of the connoisseur as he wanders through the streets of Pompeii. Nowhere in the world, perhaps, will he find as many “sermons in stones” as here. The furniture, objects of art and household utensils we have referred to reveal to us the former mansion and its history. There is not a single panel which, if closely examined, has not some story to tell. Here a pillar still retains the inscription scratched upon it by the idle Pompeiians; there a piece of wall on the street, set apart for posters, presents in large letters the announcement which ages ago gathered thousands of people to witness some grand public spectacle or proclaimed the candidature of some citizen who, like those of our own day, was anxious to serve his country in public office. An enthusiastic elector does not hesitate to avow: *Sabinum adilem, Procul, fac et ille te faciet*. While the same promise might be made here in private, it would hardly be placarded in the public street.

As we wander through the Forum we come to what must have been the Merchants' Exchange, where transactions took place in the portico or in the crypt. In the *chalcidicum*, or smaller exchange, may still be seen the niches that must have been the stands of the auctioneers.

On July 3, 1875, there was discovered in a wooden chest several hundred little wooden tablets. They were originally tied together in twos or threes by strings passing through holes, the interior faces of which were slightly hollowed and protected from rubbing by a border or frame, and were covered with wax, into which letters were cut with some sharp instrument. Most of these tablets refer to auctions held by Jocundus as broker and contain receipts made to the banker.

There are traces of factories and industries wanting in our won-

derful city. It was truly a beehive of artisans and mechanics. Bakers, tailors, potters, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, dyers, tanners, masons, carvers and a host of others plied their trades and earned a modest living. The wonderful skill of many of these mechanics is known from the specimens of their art which have been preserved for us not only here in Pompeii, but also at Herculaneum. Nor is the idea of the subdivision of labor a thing of our day. If we take the tailor's art alone, we shall find, besides the tailoresses (*sarcinatrices*), the general tailors (*sartores*), shirtmakers (*indusarii*), breastband makers (*stropharii*), menders and slave tailors (*centorarii*). Shoemakers were divided into six varieties, and even the sculptor restricted himself to but one branch of his art. Tradesmen who were not slaves have their guilds or trade unions, with corporate rights. Their aim was not only to protect the business interests of their members, but also to provide them with congenial amusements. We have no records of their influence in business life.

We have spoken of the shops and their peculiar signs. They formed quite a feature along the streets of that quaint old city. The shops all opened out upon the street, offering to the eye of the passerby a broad marble counter and leaving only a small space free to the right or left to allow the vender to pass in and out. In these counters were hollow cavities, in which grocers and wine dealers kept their merchandise. Behind the counters and along the walls were stone shelves, upon which their stock was stored. Festoons of fruits and vegetables swung from pillars, dry goods were displayed to the best advantage and customers made their purchases from the sidewalk.

Paintings and carvings, still visible upon some of the pillars and walls, tell us what was sold on the adjoining counter. A goat, in terra cotta, indicates a milk depot; a mill, turned by an ass, tells us where the miller was wont to grind his grain, while the wine merchant was represented by two men carrying an amphora between them suspended from a stick. The serpent, one of the symbols of Æsculapius, indicated the abode of the "lean and slippered apothecary," while the comparatively recent discovery of a wooden case containing a complete set of surgical instruments, many of which are similar to those in use at the present day, tell us how the ancient Pompeiian, like the modern New Yorker, sought to alleviate the ills that flesh is heir to. This collection would lead us to believe that the ancients were quite skillful in surgery and had invented many instruments thought to be modern.

The painters of Pompeii and Herculaneum have very often reproduced the subject of the baker with his belongings. The most interesting of these is the one that represents the baker seated with his

loaves all around him. The loaves are round and marked off in sections of convenient size as required for table use. The loaves of bread made in Naples and Southern Italy to-day are the same in form and size. Some years ago eighty carbonized loaves were found very similar to those just mentioned. To make this market picture complete the artist has not forgotten the stubborn mule loaded with a pack-saddle that appeared to have been made quite recently. Another picture represents a group of men standing on a corner reading the *album* upon which are inscribed public laws and edicts; a little further on we see a group of bathers waiting to enter the public baths; they hold in their hands the *alabastron*, a small jar containing the perfumed oil with which their bodies are to be anointed after the bath. A little further on is a picture reproduced in some of our histories of education. It represents a pedagogue instructing a class. The "good boys" are seated on stools with their books on their laps, while the pedagogue is laying the rod on the back of the "bad boy," who is held by the hands and feet by two of his classmates. Another kindred piece of art represents a young man designing in *relievo* a statue in the Forum. He has not forgotten to include in his work the boys who are wrestling around the column nor the white-bearded, blind beggar led by his dog and receiving an alms from a lady passing by with her slave.

What strikes one in an especial manner is the fact that all the Pompeiians must have been engaged in some industry, either directly or through their freedmen or slaves, and we can appreciate the *naïve* exclamation of the citizen who had encrusted in mosaic in the slab over his door the inscription *Salve, Lucru*. Another slab not less familiar to modern eyes bears the warning, *Cave canem* (Beware of the dog). Our guide was always alert to point out these inscriptions and to translate them in a polite and joking manner so as to remove any suspicion on our part that he doubted our knowledge of Latin.

Among the hostelries we came upon one that had once been known as the Elephant. It was unearthed in 1861. It is situated near the residence of Siricus. The outer wall is decorated with the figure of an elephant, around which an enormous serpent is coiled. The elephant is led by what appears to have been a dwarf. An inscription tells us that Sittius either restored the painting or had it restored (*Sittius Restitvit Elephantum*—notice that the "h" has been dropped from the last word). It is not clear whether Sittius was the proprietor of the inn or the painter; it is most likely, however, that he was the proprietor, as the painters of that day rarely signed their works. Another inscription informed travelers that this hos-

pitiable inn was provided with all the comforts of home, including a dining-room with three beds in it: *Hospitium hic locavit triclinium cum tribus lectis et comm(odis)*". The interior of this house must have been very small and modest and without any decorations; only kitchen utensils, we are told, were found in the ruins.

We saw quite a number of fountains in different parts of the city, and from our reading we were led to believe that Pompeii was destitute of springs, being elevated above the river and receiving nothing in its cisterns but rainwater, so scantily shed beneath the relentless serenity of the southern sky. Our guide explained that the numberless conduits found, some of lead, others of masonry and earthenware, and, above all, the sporting fountains that leaped and sparkled in the courtyards of wealthy homes, have led to the supposition of the existence of an aqueduct, no longer visible, that must have supplied all parts of Campania with water. The fountains pointed out to us were very simple and seem to have consisted of large square basins, the water falling into them from fonts more or less ornamental and usually representing the muzzle of some animal, such as a lion's head, masks, an eagle holding a hare in its beak, with the stream flowing into a receptacle from the hare's mouth. This latter fountain has been described over and over again by tourists. One of the fountains we saw is surrounded by an iron railing to prevent the imprudent passerby from falling into it—a precaution entirely unnecessary, if we are to judge the old Pompeiians by the unwashed appearance of many of the native passersby of to-day. The coping around these fountains must have been frequented just as much as they are in our day in all Italian cities as lounging places by the lazzaroni, as we have seen them in Naples around the beautiful Medina fountain. Our guide tells us that the "carbonized" remain of a donkey were unearthed near one of the fountains.

From the fountains we naturally turn to the Thermæ. We find that Pompeii, so far as excavations tell us, had two public bathing establishments; the most important of these, the Stabian baths, was very large and contained all sorts of apartments—siderooms, round and square basins, ovens for heating water, porticoes, etc., etc., without mentioning the space devoted to physical exercises (*palæstra*), where young Pompeiians indulged in gymnastic exercises. This appears to have been a pretty complete water cure establishment. Pompeian thermæ were very much like those of Rome and other Italian cities, and have been described so often that we will not take up the reader's time with a description which may be found readily in other sources.

Before leaving the Thermæ our guide called our attention to a



"curious find" dug up among the ruins around the baths in the shape of a Berosian sun-dial, having an Oscan inscription stating that N. Antinius, son of Marius, the quæstor, had caused it to be executed by order of the decurions with funds obtained from public fines. Sun-dials were common in Pompeii and could be had in any shape and at any price. One was placed on an Ionic column of *cipollino* marble. These ancient timepieces were frequently offered by Roman Magistrates for the adornment of monuments, a fact that greatly displeased a certain parasite of whom Plautus tells us, and who expressed his indignation as follows: "May the gods exterminate the man who first invented the hours, who first placed a sun-dial in this city, the traitor who has cut the day to pieces for my ill luck. In childhood there was no other timepiece than the stomach, which is the best of all of them, the most accurate in giving notice, unless, indeed, there be nothing to eat. But nowadays, although the sideboard be full, nothing is served up until it shall please the sun. Thus, since the town has become full of sun-dials, you see nearly everybody crawling about half starved and emaciated."

Our ramble through ancient Pompeii did not fail to give us a glance at the education of that interesting people, and this, strangely enough, was gained when our guide, down on all fours, called our attention to marks along the lower part of some walls. By stooping a little we were able to discover alphabets scratched on the stone with sharp instruments by schoolboys. These alphabets were in triplicate; that is, in Oscan, Latin and Greek characters. If one were to measure mental culture by the large number of manuscripts found in Herculaneum and Pompeii he would be led to imagine that the inhabitants of the former city were very much given to letters, while the latter would appear to have been very illiterate, for while no less than 1,756 papyrus manuscripts were found in Herculaneum, not one was found in Pompeii, not even one of the bronze-bound boxes (*scribinium*) used for keeping the rolls of papyrus. The Pompeiians, however, could boast of a fairly broad education. They spoke and wrote Oscan, Latin and Greek, and Ennius used to boast that he had three tongues, because he could speak three languages. It is true that the Pompeiians, being mostly a commercial people, may have given their children an education of this kind merely for business purposes.

In describing the shops of Pompeii we neglected to call attention to that of the perfumer. From what we see here it must have been as great and as well patronized a resort as the department store in our great cities in our day. Even men were not above submitting to some of his wares, for when enjoying a daily bath in the thermæ

they were wont to go into the *elaethesium*, where they were anointed with oil and other perfumed unguents.

The toilet of the Pompeian lady was a matter of great importance, at least to herself. To the lady of wealth it was an affair of state and frequently occupied the whole morning. Perfumes, oils, unguents of various kinds and baths in asses' milk played their respective parts. Did the ladies wear much jewelry? The Neapolitan Museum has a collection of objects of this kind, consisting of serpents bent into rings and bracelets, circlets of gold with cut stones, earrings representing sets of scales and clusters of pearls, threads of gold skillfully twisted into necklaces, chains from which are hung amulets of more or less questionable designs intended as charms to ward off disease and misfortunes; pins with exquisitely wrought heads, rich clasps for holding tunic sleeves or mantle folds, with cameos in superrelief; in fine, all that luxury could desire and art invent. These were worn in the hair, the ears, on the neck, on the shoulders, the arms, the wrists, legs and ankles, while every finger except the middle one was covered with rings to the third joint. The Latins had a discourteous word to designate this collection of precious knickknackery—they called it the "woman's world," as though it were indeed all that there was in the world for women.

The manner of receiving visitors was "classical," to say the least. The ordinary guests, the friends of the house, the clients and the *shadowous* (such was the name applied to the supernumeraries, the humble drubbs whom the invited guests brought with them), awaited their hostess in the peristyle. *Nine* guests in all—the number of the Muses. It was forbidden to exceed that total at the suppers of the tricinium, where there were never more than nine nor less than *three*—the number of the Graces. Of course, there were more pretentious banquets; for instance, when a lord invited 6,000 Romans to his table, on which occasions couches were laid in the atrium; but these banquet were given in Rome, as there was not an atrium in Pompeii that could accommodate the hundredth part of that number.

The theatres of the Oscans were constructed very much after the fashion of those of the same period in other parts of Italy, and their general equipment is no doubt familiar to the reader, so that no detailed description will be necessary here. The Romans were not, indeed, without a sort of dramatic representation of the same nature with that which usually rises in an early period of society. The stages of the two theatres of Pompeii were the scenes of classical plays, gladiatorial exhibitions and the ever popular *Fabulae Atellanæ*, farces, for such they were, and which took their name from

Atella, a town belonging to the Osci, in Italy. These *Fabulae Atellae* were a species of satirical comedy exhibited at Rome after the subjugation of Campanias. They were performed by Roman youth who used to attack each other with satirical couplets during the intervals of some rude games, in which they seem to have represented characters of fabulous antiquity. The principal characters were Marcus, a fool with ass' ears; Bucco, a loquacious glutton; Peppus, an old simpleton, and Dossemus, a sharper. The comedy was originally of high repute, but was eventually suppressed by order of the Senate because of the indecencies introduced into it.

On entering the Pompeian theatre a ticket of admission was necessary. This ticket (a *tessera*, or domino), of bone, earthenware or bronze—a sort of counter cut in almond shape, sometimes also in the form of a ring—indicated exactly the *cavea*, the corner, the tier and the seat for the person holding it. *Tessaræ* of this kind have been found on which were Greek and Roman characters (showing that Greek would not have been understood without translation). Upon one of them is inscribed the name of *Æschylus*, in the genitive, and hence it has been inferred that his "Prometheus" or his "Persians" must have been played on the Pompeian stage. Other customs are said to have announced the representation of a piece by Plautus—the *Cassinae*. This latter counter is questioned by some historians. On entering the theatre the ticket was handed to the *designator*, or *locarius*, who pointed out or conducted the visitor to his seat.

There are many other subjects we might refer to as we wander among the ruins of Pompeii. We might go more fully into our descriptions of the baths, the dwellings of the poor, the social life, the amusements, the sports of different kinds, the theatres, the temples dedicated to *Venus Physica* and to the Egyptian goddess *Isis* and to *Neptune*. We might dwell more at length upon the inscriptions which disclose to us all the subjects that engaged the attention of the inhabitants of Pompeii, not only their excitements, but their language, ancient and modern, collegiate and common—the Oscan, the Greek, the Latin and the local dialect. All these things are eloquently described in the paintings still visible on the walls of private dwellings and public buildings. We might dwell, too, upon the horrors of the eruption and describe the agony of the stricken people when they realized the destruction that *Vesuvius* was pouring out upon them—when nothing was heard save the voices of children calling for their parents, wives for their husbands, fathers for their families; seeking one another, recognizing one another only by their cries; invoking death, breaking out in wild anguish, and

all believing that an eternal night had come upon them in which gods and men alike were rushing headlong to annihilation. But all these things have been described much more vividly than we could do it; and our task has been to tell how Pompeians lived, not how they died.

MARC F. VALLETTE.

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RUDOLF EUCKEN.

IT WAS whilst taking a prolonged holiday on the Mendips last year. One of my companions, whom I may describe as a Nonconformist Liberal, begged of me to read a certain book on Eucken. I was assured that he was a new spiritual force in the world, and that at least in the ranks of Nonconformity he was bringing about a great revival of spiritual thought and spiritual life. I knew that he had lately been lecturing in America before one of the universities. I had read that Mr. Campbell was disappointed with his views upon the war. Several times I had talked with Nonconformist students who were enthusiastic about him. But from no one could I get to know what precisely was the new message that was requickening modern thought. No one seemed to be able to tell me anything further than that it was a renewal of the spiritual life.

There was nothing for it then but to go direct to his works and to various articles written about him by his disciples. So the following article will be an attempt to answer the question which I have asked in vain of quite a number of Eucken's admirers.

Rudolf Eucken was born in 1846, at Aurich, in Germany, not far from the North Sea coast. In that town he had for his schoolmaster Wilhelm Reuter, a religious thinker who appears to have made a deep impression on his young disciple. From Aurich he went to the University of Göttingen. There he listened to the lectures of Lotze. He soon declared himself out of sympathy with his teacher, yet nevertheless accepted the central thesis of his teaching. This was a doctrine of "the whole man," a principle which seeks to minimize the function of the intellect under the supposition that it is with his whole being that a man seeks the truth. From Göttingen Eucken went to Berlin, where he came under the influence of Trendelburg. Through this teacher he received the impress of Aristotle and the Greeks.

Student days being over, he taught for a few years as master in a high school. Then, in 1871, he received his first university appointment, being made professor of philosophy at Bale. In 1874 he removed to the University of Jena. Here he has remained, still in the capacity of professor of philosophy, down to the present time. Thus he became the colleague of Ernst Haeckel, and thus the same university has enjoyed the possession at the same time of the most famous materialist and the most famous idealist of the day.

Whilst in Bale, Eucken distinguished himself as a student of Aristotle. When he came to Jena he began work on the history of philosophy, specializing rather in the early moderns of Germany. This, his earliest work, he has revised again and again, always, however, incorporating into it more of his own personal views. Now it appears as one of his most recent works, "Main Currents of Modern Thought," and may be taken as a summary of his own world-idea.

In 1888 he published "*Die Einheit des Geisteslebens in Bewusstsein und Tat der Menschheit*." It has not yet been translated into English. Its aim is to emphasize the unity of the spiritual life in the consciousness and action of mankind. Here at once we begin to detect that tendency to undervalue the power of intelligence under the cloak of preaching a doctrine of the whole man. Eucken rejects what he calls naturalism and intellectualism, and then proceeds to build up what he calls a doctrine of personal idealism. The note here sounded appears on nearly every page of his writings.

His next book has appeared in English under the title of "The Problem of Human Life." This was a return to the history of philosophy, being an attempt to show the worth of ancient philosophers to modern life. It is more subjective than objective, inasmuch as it persistently aims at an application of Eucken's idealism.

Henceforth Eucken devoted himself explicitly and almost exclusively to the application of idealist principles to religion. His subsequent works were "*Der Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt*" (1896, not translated); "*The Truth of Religion*" (1901, translated in 1912 by Dr. Tudor Jones); "*Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*" (1907, translated in 1911 by Alban Widgery); "*Christianity and the New Idealism*" (translated by Professor and Mrs. Boyce Gibson); "*The Meaning and Value of Life*" (1908); "*The Life of the Spirit*" (translated by F. L. Pogson); "*Can We Still be Christians?*" (1911, translated by Mrs. Boyce Gibson).

Recently he has given out two works explaining his epistemology, "*Knowledge and Life*" (translated by Dr. Tudor Jones) and "*The Theory of Knowledge*" (not yet translated). The former is a preparation for the latter.

Besides the above works by Eucken himself there is a large number of books and articles by his disciples. The dates show how very much he is a man of the moment. Indeed, so far as the English language is concerned he seems to be entering upon a new lease of life. New translations and new editions of his books are constantly being published.

Moreover, Eucken is said to be the living embodiment of his theories. He has an intense sympathy and strong personality. He is always seeking to be in touch with mankind. Yet over against this trait we must set the fact that the all-important subject of psychology is remarkably absent from his works. Also must we notice that he becomes quite irritable when the principles of idealism seem to clash with the principles of psychology.

Since Eucken makes idealism the basis of all his work, and since the word has several different meanings, we shall do well to have a clear notion of the various contents of the term.

Idealism is a system of philosophy which posits that we cannot know anything which is not an idea. Thus the chair on which I am sitting does not exist outside my mind; or, at least, I have no means of knowing that it does. The pen which I hold in my hand never really existed in the stationer's shop, nor did I really ever pay for it. I simply created it with my mind, even as I created the stationer's shop and the five shillings which I presume I paid for the pen. Whatever exists is but a mere product of mental activity. Everything, according to the theory of idealism, is idea.

Eucken's philosophy is frequently spoken of as "personal idealism." And since Eucken is also known as a religious thinker and leader, many people are apt to suppose that "personal idealism" indicates some system of high and noble ideals. It does not mean that. It does not mean merely the best in any given order, as when we say, "He was an ideal ruler" or "It was an ideal day."

Nor yet again does it mean some system of finalism. It does not mean merely that our life and conduct or the arrangement and movement of the universe are ordained according to a pre-conceived plan. In this sense the scholastic is an idealist. But at the same time the scholastic is also a realist.

Nor again does the idealism of which we now treat mean that created things have their original types (*causa exemplaris*) in ideas, whether in the mind of God or outside it.

No. Eucken's idealism is essentially that which was latent in Descartes (1596-1650), which developed through Berkeley and Hume, and which culminated in Kant (1724-1804). Eucken does not give an unconditional assent to Kant. But he is perfectly convinced of this, that the onslaught of Kant, Fichte and Hegel on

the older realism has established the fact that truth and reality exist in the subject rather than in the object, in the soul rather than in the world. To perceive is the same thing as to be a subject; to be perceived is the same thing as to be an object.

As regards his fundamental teaching then, Eucken has to be met on that common battle-ground which is gradually becoming more defined and more generally recognized alike by idealists and realists. This is the principle that the faculties of man, together with their respective objects, are essentially the same for all men.

In the next step, however, Eucken can not be treated as a strict idealist. In the ordinary course of discussion idealists and realists would agree that one of the primary facts of consciousness is the perception of a distinct dualism, of at least an apparent difference between the ego and the non-ego. But the idealist would deny the validity of this perception. Modern science, he tells us, all tends to show that the phenomena of light, heat and sound do not really exist outside us, nor even in our various senses, but only in the modifications of the brain. Moreover, he argues *a priori*, perception is a fact of consciousness and therefore internal. We cannot get the outside world, as it is in itself, into us; nor can we get out of ourselves. Consequently the outside thing, as it is in itself, is essentially unattainable. Thus man is quite shut up in himself. Philosophically we are landed right in the middle of subjectivism.

Eucken, however, does not follow the idealist so far in his very logical course. At the expense of being inconsistent with himself he comes down from his platform of strict idealism and enters, for the time being, into the arena of realism. When he has to deal with ethical problems, that is, when he comes into contact with human nature as he finds it, then he is professedly an enemy of solipsism. He holds to his idealism when he wants to fight against materialism, when he wants to preach a spiritual life over and above naturalism and when he wants to propound a monist universe. But he has to have recourse to a dualism whenever he wants to teach of man's struggle towards a higher life.

The manner in which he steals away from monism to dualism is curious. Man's deepest life, he says, is not merely human. It has a cosmic character. The individual life is in communication with the cosmic life. It receives certain realities and values from the cosmic life. This intercommunication of the individual with the cosmic life causes him to perceive the dualism within himself. It makes him recognize that his lonely self, his merely natural self, can never be satisfied. It must have communion with cosmic and spiritual life.

Thus the dualism is within the monism. It is at this point that we

again join issue with Professor Eucken and his disciples. We invite them to show that the dualism within the monism is not a contradiction in terms. We ask them to explain precisely the difference between monism and solipsism.

Inquiry further into the details of the new idealism, we find that the central concept is that of the Spiritual Life. This Spiritual Life is not the same thing as religion. Religion is but a species of it. Art and science are also species of the Spiritual Life.

What is not at all clear is whether this Spiritual Life is God or not. Idealistic principles hinder the philosopher from recognizing a clear distinction of subjects. Thus he seems to have grasped true Catholic doctrine when he writes:—"The infinite distance between the perfect spirit and wholly imperfect man does not prevent an intimate relation and a communication of the fulness of divine life. Such a communication from being to being gives rise to a new kind of life, a kingdom of love and faith, a transformation of existence into pure inwardness, a new world of spiritual goods."<sup>1</sup>

But on the other hand he leaves us hopelessly confused as to his meaning when he writes: "The pathway which leads to the conception of God leads us at the same time to the content which the conception can have for us. It signifies to us nothing other than an Absolute Spiritual Life in its majestic superiority to all the limitations of man and the world of experience—a Spiritual Life that has attained to a complete subsistence in itself, and, at the same time, to an encompassing of all reality. . . .

"The idea of God signifies to us nothing other than an Absolute Spiritual Life—a Life freed from the limits and entanglements of our experience, a Life in possession of a complete existence for itself, and constituting the substance of reality. It is thus alone that the idea of God can possess a content, that the characteristics of the Spiritual Life can long for a purer formation, and that these characteristics, uniting among one another what appeared previously as merely external qualities, can now set these very qualities in the nature itself. Through such a turn from effects to causes, from surface to foundation, the unity of the total-life raises itself to a more complete clearness; the timelessness of all spiritual content leads to the idea of a Divine Order; the truthful and the worthwhile now desire a full union, and the good becomes the governing power of all life. *Thus the Spiritual Life, through such an ascent to the Absolute, reaches a full development of its own nature, and, at the same time, obtains an incomparably greater power and superiority over against the merely human powers.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Problem of Life," p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> "The Truth of Religion," pp. 208 and 214. Italics are ours.



Here again we join issue and ask: Is this Spiritual Life something relative or something absolute? It cannot be both. Is it God Himself or is it the created grace of God? It cannot be both.

Let us, however, take the more intelligible interpretation and suppose that, as Eucken says in another place, "all genuine Spiritual Life is the effect of a Higher Power."<sup>3</sup> Even then it is a reality which transcends man, and which is not wholly assimilated by him. And once again we join issue, for we have arrived at the crux of nearly all Eucken's critics, sympathetic and unsympathetic, orthodox and unorthodox. How is man to appropriate this Spiritual Life? If this Spiritual Life is to be a guide to the natural life, how shall we know what it intends us to do? Where shall we look for a norm of conduct? Who shall interpret the Spiritual Life for us?

The difficulty is all the greater because no clear definition is given of the Spiritual Life. It is offered to us as a sort of intuition or first principle. We know of its existence, so we are told, first because life is meaningless without it, and secondly because when we assent to it, uplifts us. "The corner-stone of all philosophical thought and the axiom of axioms is the fact of a world-embracing Spiritual Life."

Now if this huge complexity is axiomatic, then the intelligence must have a comparatively small role to play in the working out of man's destiny. Hence we find that Eucken has much in common with the modernists who undervalue the intellect. He has maimed the intellect with his idealism, denying it the power to perceive reality. He therefore falls back on that vague entity, the Spiritual Life. He does not feel called upon to give an intelligible account of it. The intellect is only a portion of life. Therefore the Spiritual Life cannot be explained by any intellectual process, because the intellectual process depends for its validity on being in harmony with the parent energy.

The principle by which man does battle with the natural in order to enter into the Spiritual Life is that known as *Activism*. This principle, so we are told, differentiates the system from pantheism, inasmuch as it substitutes individual activity for a calm unfolding of the spirit. "The whole develops through the agency of the antithesis of subject and object, of power and resistance, but it remains superior to it, and holds both sides together even while they are divided."<sup>4</sup>

This would seem to look like pragmatism. Eucken, however, differs from the pragmatists in this, that he holds truth to be absolute and unchanging. Man knows the truth in proportion as he

<sup>3</sup> "The Truth of Religion," p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> "Main Currents," p. 58.

risks above the natural life and participates in the spiritual life. Truth is not an equation between the mind and the thing, for the mind cannot know the thing. It is something more fluid, for it lies in the spiritual life, which can never be fully known by man. We can progress in truth, but we can never grasp it.

Once again there is confusion. This time it is a confusion of objective truth with subjective truth. And the result is a medley of pragmatism, realism and idealism. Eucken wants the individual to work out his own salvation, yet begins by casting individuality into the melting-pot. Instead of making intellect the guide of life, he chooses instead the life-process itself. So keen is he on the visional value of this life-force that he rejects Hegel, who would see in pure thought the only reality. "All real knowledge," he says, "involves a spiritual creation, an advance, and a self-formation of life as a whole."

Here and there, however, he stumbles across a right form of words in which he allows the intellect to perform its own proper function, and to act according to its own proper nature, as an integral part of the whole human vital process. Thus: "Intellectual work itself does not become positive and productive until it becomes an integral portion of *an inclusive spiritual life*, both receiving from that life and contributing to its advancement, until it is guided by the resultant drift of great spiritual organizations and impelled by the energies which originate from these sources."<sup>6</sup>

In any case there are only two alternative ways of coming out of the confusion caused by the attempt to be at the same time both an idealist and a realist, both a monist and a dualist. Either we follow the natural reason and the revealed word of God, in which case we are on the old-fashioned track; or we follow the blind groping of sense, in which case we are on the new-fashioned track. And if we are on the new-fashioned track our task is not made any the easier by cloaking our sense impulses with such terms as activism and "spiritual life."

I have insisted on the vagueness of Eucken's phraseology. Consequently the judgment here offered cannot amount to more than an opinion, albeit an opinion fairly well documented. It may be further confirmed by an examination of the practical effects which follow from the idealistic teaching.

First, the old objective norms of conduct disappear whilst merely subjective impulse or animal instinct takes their place. The Spiritual Life, for instance, sets to work to distinguish what is eternal and what is transient in Christianity. It finds, for example, that the Divinity of Christ can no longer be held.

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<sup>6</sup> "Main Currents," p. 85.

"And if we have thus to protest against the position accorded to Jesus by the traditional form of Christianity, so that we have to part company with a Christocentric configuration on account of the breach with the old mode of thinking, yet we cling to an essential content and a metaphysical depth in the human image of Jesus, and seek in this the sole standard of the religious life. One had good ground for doing this so long as Jesus Christ in his humanity was considered as very God, as the second person in the Trinity. But where this belief has been abandoned, the exclusive linking of life to Jesus becomes an inadmissible contraction and diminution of religion. . . . The Christianity which occupies itself solely with Jesus, and which to many to-day seems an exit from all entanglements, is not yet a match for the mighty problems, and does not carry within itself the energy to overcome the world."<sup>6</sup>

When Our Lord has been set aside, the next step is to set aside the Church and the whole sacramental system. The following passage, typical of Eucken's teaching, serves to show the connection between idealistic philosophy and some of the chief errors of modernistic religion, of which Eucken was a fruitful source:

"The Spiritual Life has, upon the ground of modern times, succeeded in obtaining an independence over against sensuous existence in all its forms. It has succeeded in obtaining this through a more energetic excitation and exertion of self-activity—an activity which does not tolerate a passive immersion of man into the environment, but which precedes and measures the material that is presented to it from without, and even weaves the meaning of the fundamental construction of the world from within. On account of this, the sensuous is no longer able to remain an essentially integral part of the mental construction. Sensuous nature extends to the domain of religion: we find this first in the senile character of waning antiquity as well as in the simple-minded way in which the middle ages made the sensuous an essential part of religion. But to the greater activity of awakened modern times such a mixing of external signs with the inner life has become something magical and an intolerable hindrance to freedom. This mingling of the sensuous and the spiritual is represented in the main by Roman Catholicism, and it is largely to this that the strength of Catholicism in former times was due; but since the initiation of the movement towards greater self-activity and purer spirituality of humanity, the situation suitable to former times has given way to an inward and higher stage of life."<sup>7</sup>

With relentless logic Eucken pushes his principles against the old-fashioned Protestantism also. "But Protestantism also," he

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<sup>6</sup> "The Truth of Religion," pp. 566 and 567.

says, "which has protested against the magic of Catholicism, has by no means excluded it; it holds a sensuous miracle in high estimation; it preserves a sacramental mode in all its tendencies, and this shows itself in its doctrine of salvation through the 'blood' of Christ. The sacraments are products of an age of deep weariness and spiritual twilight. . . . The fresher life of modern times has scattered this twilight and has reduced an alleged piety to magic."<sup>7</sup>

Obviously then the fundamental apologetic to be applied to Eucken's teaching is a criticism of his idealistic prepossessions. The day has gone by when the idealist could be disposed of with the argument "Drop a brick on his head." That begs the whole question. From the very nature of the case no direct argument can be used, for it is the middle term of the syllogism which is in question.

There are, however, indirect arguments, and there is, as we have already seen, a common battle-ground. Both sides admit that the faculties of man, together with their respective objects, are essentially the same for all men. Moreover, there is this advantage in dealing with Eucken as distinguished from the older idealists: he admits that the dualism which is perceived in consciousness is a real one, that there is a real difference between the ego and the non-ego. This admission can easily be pushed as an *argumentum ad hominem* to destroy his idealistic foundations.

First, then, the very validity of the thought process depends upon the admitted reality of the dualism which is present to consciousness. If the mind is deceived when it thinks it knows of an objective or material world, why may it not also be deceived when it thinks it knows only an ideal world?

Secondly, our consciousness announces to us two distinct entities which are necessary for our knowledge, namely, the person who knows and the thing which is known. But if, as Eucken seems to declare, this dualism is so wrapped up in monism that the person who knows is identified with the thing which is known, then there is no need for him to attempt to acquire any knowledge at all. He himself, under the supposition, is all knowledge. And if he is identified with all knowledge, what is the use of the thought process?

Thirdly—and this must be urged with all emphasis against Eucken considered as a religious teacher—the idealism which he makes the basis of his teaching is subversive of all true religion. Religion, by universal consent and practice, is the bond which reunites man to God. But if all is idea and if there is no distinction

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<sup>7</sup> "The Truth of Religion," pp. 542 and 543.

<sup>8</sup> "The Truth of Religion," pp. 543 and 544.

of subject, then there is an end to all relationship of creature to Creator. And indeed Eucken has the consistency to go very far towards the admission of this. For instance, he has no room in his system for either adoration or prayer. But surely the whole world-long history of religion is but a record of the various forms of adoration and prayer. Eucken's neglect of psychology has led him to mistake the real nature of man, a being essentially composed of spirit and body. Eucken's mistake as to the real nature of man has led him to mistake the real nature of religion, namely, something sacramental, something essentially composed of the spiritual and the material.

We conclude then that the new religious movement associated with Eucken's name is but a swing of the pendulum, a reaction from one extreme to another. Doubtless it is carrying with it many souls which had once been almost petrified in gross materialism. Our interest in the movement is therefore a pastoral one, a hope of meeting a wandering sheep and of leading it towards the safe middle way.

As for ourselves Eucken has no significance whatever. We have nothing to learn from him. The goodness which we admit to be in **his teaching** is already possessed by us, but in a much more intelligible and spiritually forceful way. Compare the quotations on the Spiritual Life which we have set forth in this article with the teaching of the catechism. "God is the supreme Spirit, who alone exists of Himself, and is infinite in all perfections. . . . God is called Creator of heaven and earth because He made heaven and earth, and all things, out of nothing by His word. . . . God made me to know Him, love Him and serve Him in this world, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next."

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## THE MEDIÆVAL FURNISHING OF AN ENGLISH CHURCH

TO THOSE who are interested in as well as reverence all that appertains to God's house this book<sup>1</sup> will always be extremely fascinating; besides the fact that from its source these pages are almost entirely drawn, it is to its author that this writer is greatly indebted.

We all know that the great object to which every eye turned as a matter of course in the mediæval Church was the altar; it was the very integral part of the worship, the actual essential, harking back to the earliest Christian worship, when the faithful used always to turn to the burial places of the martyrs—for they had changed the slabs into altars, the Holy Sacrifice being offered upon them. Those who visit the Catacombs in Rome and read the symbols written upon them, see this for themselves. The first ministers of the Christian worship celebrated the mysteries of our faith in the time of persecution,<sup>2</sup> "in the midst of these venerable symbols," upon a large slab of marble which completely covered the sarcophagus of the martyr.

It has been for so long ruled by Church discipline that altars are to be of stone, consecrated by a Bishop, that we find but few spoken of in wills of ancient days as being made of wood, though those were used in the first four or five centuries, being even found at the end of the eleventh century. In the well-known homily of Ælfric—twelfth century—he speaks of "Godes borde," and "Godes table"; in the "*Vertue of the Masse*," by Lydgate, he writes of the "altar called God's board."

It was in the eleventh century that all altars were ordered to be made of stone. St. Wulstan having destroyed many wooden altars through his diocese, caused others of stone to be constructed and consecrated. The exact symbolism of the altar is that it is significant of our Lord Jesus Christ. "They drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ," as St. Paul says in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. The altar is the body of Christ, so says Venerable Bede, or else, "or all the saints in whom a divine fire ever burnt, combining all that is flesh."

The great majority of all altars is, as I have said, of stone and very plain. A beveled slab of freestone or marble, marked with five crosses, was in England generally supported on a stone pedestal which had been built up. Less common was it resting on four or

<sup>1</sup> "English Church Furniture," by Charles Cox and Alfred Harvey.

<sup>2</sup> D'Agincourt, Vol. II., p. 86.

five legs, while in the case of small altars, a bracket, one or more was used as support; instance, the Lady Chapels of Shotteswell, Warmington, Warwick and others, while at Yorks a little altar is seen resting upon a window sill, and needless to say that relics were enclosed in the mensa, or, as in the case of very numerous relics, "embedded in the substance of the altar itself." Super-altars which belonged to very important churches were most likely used at festivals on the high altar already consecrated for the purpose of dignity and increased reverence, these being generally made of costly stone or set in valuable metal and jeweled. In the sixteenth century there was a precious super-altar of jasper set in copper-gilt and two super-altars of red marble adorned with silver.

As you go up and down England you will remark on altar slabs being found in the pavings of churches, in some cases on the very site of the stone altar, the incised crosses being more or less visible.

With the reign of Elizabeth came the desire to sweep away stone altars, substituting wooden tables; this injunction being not in the shape of an order, many of the former remained in the chapels royal as well as in many of the Cathedrals. Where the churches were not under Puritanical influence, altar tables were carved in really very beautiful workmanship in Elizabeth's reign, having legs with rich work on the bultons bosses, the rails uniting them to the base, also having much ornament in sculpture.

When chancel screens were of universal use altar rails were not needed. Most probably kneeling benches for the use of aged or infirm communicants at the time of Mass were placed, on them being the houseling cloth, as will still be seen in Wimborne, Dorset, rails being only found where rood screens or their gates had been removed.

The reredos, which arrests one's attention, is of comparatively late date, the earliest existing in England being the wall paintings on the west faces of the piers at St. Alban's, which are of the Norman period, besides two stone reliefs at Chichester, of the same date. Nearly all the existent altar screens are of late fourteenth century date. The reredos, or altar screen, is placed behind the altar when there is no hanging of drapery, paintings on wall or panel, this being carried out in stone, alabaster, wood or other material—wood being less used than the others named.

Mr. Cox tells us, "The panel painted Norwich reredos, c.1380, is of remarkable interest as of undoubted English workmanship, it being 8 feet 6 and one-half inches long by 2 feet ten and one-half inches in length. It was found in the Cathedral Church in 1850, having been long in use, in a reversed position, as a table-top. The paintings represent five scenes in the life of Our Lord, namely: the

Scouraging, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension, with raised ground of gessa work. The frame is decorated with some banners of the possible donors or in commemoration of some more substantial offering made by them. The banners include those of Bishop Henry, the Dispenser, Stephen Hales, Sir Thomas Morieux and others who were concerned in suppressing the great insurrection of 1381. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the reredos was a thank offering. There is a facsimile of this in the Victoria and Albert Museum."

In England the reredos is not often seen. At Worstead, Norfolk, are seen two large pedestals for images. A shelf is sometimes found behind the altar, as over the chantry altar at the tomb of Henry VII. in his chapel at Westminster, but otherwise there is no special peculiarity about this part of the church worth naming.

It was in the mind of the Church to have all connected with the worship of God as rich and costly as means would allow, old inventories clearly showing how opulent were cathedrals and the larger parish churches, both in the number and quality of all that was used in this respect. At the time of the Reformation no church was so poor, says Mr. Cox, as not to possess at least one chalice and paten of silver or silver-gilt, with a seemly provision of other instrumenta. Quite apart from royal confiscations, the Reformation was the indirect means of the loss of very much church plate. Vicars and wardens sold a great deal to pay for repairs, while others sold to make money for themselves.

Chalices have been made of glass when that material was rare, those of wood only till the ninth century, when it, as well as tin, glass or copper were forbidden; in the thirteenth century tin or pewter were not allowed. To the fact that at a burial of a priest a chalice was interred with him accounts for the sepulchral or coffin chalices "preserved and now seen, these being made of tatten or pewter, though in the dignatories the sacramental chalice was sometimes used."

Paten, a small flat circular shallow dish, always accompanied the chalice, belonging to the latter and of the same material, the workmanship being the same, intended to form the cover—all having a central design, either the "*Agnus Dei*" or "*Marius Dei*," the depression being circular quatrefoil, but very rarely octofoil.

It is very sad to reflect how seriously altar plate suffered at the time of the Reformation. Termed by the Crown "monuments of superstition," it was by it embezzled or seized, and in the earlier part of the reign of Edward VI. it decreed that:—"Forasmuch as the King's Masjestie had neede presently of a Masse of mooney therefore commissions should be addressed into all shires of Eng-



lande to take into the Kinges hands such church plate as henceforth to be employed unto His Highness's use," and as Mr. Cox adds: "This commission swept everything, save a chalice and paten, bells, a surplice or two into the royal coffers; and where Puritanism was rampant even the old mediæval chalice, with all its beauty, was melted down to make the unsightly Edwardian cup." Only seventeen have been traced as belonging to this time.

In mediæval days—both early and late—prayers for the souls of the departed donors were asked for on altar plate. The spoliation of plate is seen in the fact that only four examples of pre-Reformation plate thus inscribed are left in English churches. Of special inscriptions on vessels no longer extant it is recorded that, amongst others, at Lincoln Minster was a chalice which William of Wykeham had given to that church, on it being inscribed: "*Memoriale donimi Wilhelm Kikehm*," besides one which, in 1498, Anne, Lady Serope of Harling, left in legacy "To the priory of Chacombe a chalis of iiij," and my husbandes name Robert and myn upon the foote, for a remembrance to pray for us."

The pyx, as a receptacle for the reservation of the most holy Sacrament, has in England varied as to shape, material as well as place a location, a box of metal, wood, or ivory being suspended in front of the altar or placed in a receptacle usually called the tabernacle, sometimes, indeed, only the canopy. The directions for the shape of the tabernacle inform us that it may be square, hexagonal, heptagonal or any other suitable form, that it must be crowned with any "profane devices," or be made so that any but its sacred purpose should be intended; that a cross should surmount the top, and, if possible, its exterior should be finished with gold. "As wood is less likely to contract dampness than any other material, it is advisable to have the tabernacle made of it, but if made of marble, metal or any kind of stone, its inside at least should be lined with wood, out of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament. No matter what its material be, the interior must always be covered over with silk, and a clean corporal must lie under the vessel in which the Blessed Sacrament is enclosed. The crane or pulley, so arranged over the altar to allow of the pyx being raised or lowered easily, has obtained in France as well as in England. The pyx canopy was the object for much decoration, making it in all ways very beautiful, as evidenced by pre-Reformation wills. In 1500 a bequest to the Suffolk church of Walberswick was as follows: "A canopy over the hygh awter welle done with our Lady and iiij aungelys and the Holy Ghost (i. e., the dove) goyng upp and down with a cheque." Faversham church, in Kent, in the sixteenth century owned a canopy for the Sacrament of "crymson sarsenett, with

kuoppis of golde and tacellys of sylke," and the following is found in a number of bequests in Northamptonshire: "To mendynge the canopye and Blessed Sacrament of the aulter, xiid." (Holcot), "towards the maintenance of a canopye over the hie aulter, iikd" (Daventry), "To the Sacrament of the aulter to by a canopye xs" (Great Billing), etc., etc.

Repairs of the pyx pulley and the pyx rope occur in the records of St. Mary-at-hill, besides that of the pyx plum, which formed the counterpoise to the suspended pyx, while in several churches a rude kind of lever balance of wood is to be seen, as well as rude pulleys in the apex of the nave roof just in front of the chancel arch, these latter not being sacrament pulleys, but served for the suspension of lights before the rood—Rowell lights, as they are called. In the churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill is an entry, 1529-3, of the payment of 2d. for "washyng and starchyng of the pix clothe," which was a cloth of white linen or lawn, the central hole of which was for the passage of the chain and ring. A very interesting survival of a pyx cloth is kept in the church of Hessett, in Suffolk. This has a colored silk fringe, with a gilt wooden ball and tassel of silk, etc. More common in France is the pyx in the form of a dove—in many cases made of gold or silver, richly ornamented. Bishop Cautilupe, of Worcester, in 1240, ordered that the Blessed Sacrament should be reserved in a pyx of Limoges enamel "*de opere Lenovidico*," and each pyx was always provided with a single lock and key, being one of the three articles of church furniture always to be kept locked—the pyx, the chrisamatory and the font.

Cruets and flagons—pewter, lead, or tin—were the materials of which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cruets were made in the smaller parish churches, very seldom of glass in mediæval times, while in important churches they were of gold or silver, always in those days of a small size.

A spoon has been used in the Greek Church since the tenth century for administering the elements to the laity, but Dr. Rock says the only spoon used by the Catholic Church for Eucharistic purpose was only for spilling a few drops of water into the chalice before the act of consecration.

The pax, or osculatorium, was introduced into England by Archbishop Walter, of York, in 1250 A. D. It took the form of a plate, round or oblong, made of a precious metal—ivory, brass or other, on its face being engraved a representation of the Crucifixion, Agnus Dei, Virgin and Child, etc., and for convenience of passing, a handle was placed at the back, the size being usually five and one-half inches by three inches. It was used instead of the "ceremonial

kiss of mutual salutation and affection" at the celebration of Mass, kissed by the celebrant after the *Agnus Dei*, was then offered by the server or parish clerk to those in the choir, and then in order to the congregation.

Incense vessels of mediæval origin are often formed of bronze, though many churches used to have these vessels made of silver or silver gilt.

A very rare class of *instrumenta ecclesiastica* are chrismatories, at one time found in all parish churches of England, being the receptacles for the three holy oils which are blessed on Maunday Thursday, viz., the *oleum infirmorum* for the sick, the *oleum sanctum*, or *oleum catechum errorum*, used at baptism and for several other purposes, and the *chrism*, or balm, used in confirmation, ordination and other consecrations.

It proves how much many of these things had fallen into disuse when we read of a chrismatory found in St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, exhibited before the British Archæological Association in 1844 being taken for an inkstand!

A cross was not essentially an ornament for the altars of mediæval churches, though it was not infrequently found on them. In later times it was always a crucifix, and in the more important churches was often of gold, with rich jewels. The cross that the parishioners were always bound to provide was for processional use, and when fitted with a foot, served for the altar as well. In the wardens' accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill, an entry in 1840 is found for "mending of the crosse that is borne about every day." Some five or six of these mediæval crosses for processional use, of English workmanship, are still to be seen, while not a single altar cross remains.

Crozier and mitres are often found enumerated under the heading church plate, and are best studied on the monuments of ecclesiastical dignitaries. Of the three fine English examples extant, the very earliest discovered in a stone coffin at Wells is Romanesque in character, belonging apparently to the end of the twelfth century. Adorned with turquoises besides other good though not precious stones, it has a pretty curve, in the hollow of which is a statuette of St. Michael treading down the dragon; the shaft, which was wooden, has completely perished. Bronze, copper, silver, gilt, ivory and jet are all materials used for crozier heads.

A mitre was formerly of some textile fabric until the thirteenth century, when Bishops and abbots had mitres made of gold or silver plates adorned with pearls and jewels.

In mediæval times donors had sometimes, but not often, their arms engraved on church plate. We read: "By the will of Sir John Foxley, 1378, he left a chalice to his parish church, *cum armis meis*."

Lady Margaret Hungerford, who died in 1477, left two pairs of silver-gilt candlesticks to her charity chapel in Salisbury Cathedral, which bore her quartered arms. In the inventory of the jewel house of Henry VIII. is found "Item a chalice, with the prince's arms on paten," and other instances might be recorded.

Valuable church plate not infrequently had embossed or stamped leather cases, some few of which are existing in these days, among the most interesting of which is the mitre case called *cuir-bouilli*, or boiled leather, of William of Wykeham, 1367-1404, preserved at New College, Oxford. *Fleur-de-lys* are stamped upon it, and it is bound with iron straps, but only a few small pieces of its jeweled contents are still existant.

It is strange to find that pewter was used in the middle ages, more especially for cruets, flagons or plates, but never for the chalice or paten, though after the so-called Reformation pewter was and is used for chalices and flagons, while in the Diocese of Hereford there are three parish churches where chalices and patens for the communion service are made of pewter.

The water drain usually placed near the altar is usually called the *piscina*, being a shallow basin made of stone, the hole in the bottom serving to carry off the water into the ground. Pope Leo IV. in the fourteenth century gave orders that this should always be found in the building of a church, in which the vessels, as well as the priest's hands, were to be washed after Mass. In the thirteenth century before the Canon of the Mass, but in the fourteenth century the priest was directed to drink the ablutions. In the floor near the altars of English conventual churches *piscinæ* or drains have been found as well as at the Cistercian abbeys of Rievaulx, Furness, Fountains, the ruins of the churches of the Austin house of Kirkham, etc., and Mr. John Hope gives it as his opinion that these floor drains were also common in parish churches at an early date, but afterwards disappeared through constant repaving. It is supposed that these floor *piscinæ* were for the purpose of pouring out a little of the contents of the altar cruets before using them, with the intention of removing any possible dust or impurity. Durandus gives a symbolical turn to this custom by explaining that it was done to typify that the blood and water from the side of Christ flowed out upon the ground.

Norman *piscinas* are very uncommon. They vary in kind; a shaft sometimes projecting from the wall carried off the drain, the capital being ornamented much or little. In the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds, as many as seven are found in the great conventual church. In the thirteenth century a stone shelf was often found over the *piscina* drain, intended for the placing on it the cruets and possibly

the ciborium used at Mass, this being the beginning of what later on was termed the "credence table," being not infrequently of wood.

Three stone seats or recessed stalls with a canopy are sometimes found near the altar in the south chancel wall, this being much more usual in England than on the Continent, being intended for the use of the priest, deacon and sub-deacon at High Mass. Of these, many varied examples are to be seen. In the earlier sedilia the seats are graduated in height, the one for the priest being nearest the east. In Mr. Prior's book on Gothic art he speaks of the "lordly graces of the cathedral as it were," found in the beautiful fourteenth century tracery and lead carving seen in some of the specimens of sedilia in England, and in Parker's "Glossary" are many illustrated instances.

The Easter Sepulchre, found in every church, was a movable chest or small receptacle known as the Holy Sepulchre or Easter Sepulchre, in which on Maunday Thursday was deposited a consecrated wafer, shut up in a pyx together with a cross. Placed on the north side of the chancel, it used to be watched until an early hour on Easter Sunday, when it was removed and put upon the altar. The actual receptacle was usually made of wood; sometimes a temporary structure of the same material, adorned with hangings, supported the sepulchre. Many of the permanent structural recesses now remain, and are always known as Easter Sepulchres, but these do not date before the thirteenth century, and are usually found on the north side of the chancel. The loveliest of these, though not the most ornate, is that at Lincoln Cathedral.

We read that in several cases extracted from wills that an enriched tomb on the north side of the chancel was especially designed for the twofold purpose. Thus Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre, directed that his tomb should be prepared on the north side of Hurstmonceaux chapel, "to be there made for the placing of the Sepulchre of our Lord, with all fitting furniture thereto, in honor of the most Blessed Sacrament."

In West Somerset another form of Easter Sepulchre obtained, this being in the form of a chest tomb, panel work occurring on the front and west end, these generally bearing symbols of the Passion. Those of the fifteenth century stood at one end of the chancel, the unsculptured end against the wall.

In the middle ages a desk or lectern, from which the Gospel was read, harks back to the ambones of ancient churches, such as that of the San Clemente, Rome, and others, the simple desk being in England the earlier form.

There is a brass lecturn at Oxburgh, Norfolk, on which is in-

scribed, "*Orate pro anima Thome kypping quandam pectoris de Narburgh.*"

In the "Victorian History of Northants" Mr. Peers describes the remains of an early lecturn:—"The lecturn is a rare and interesting example of the first half of the fourteenth century. The old revolving desk is unfortunately lost, but the wooden stem, composed of light slender filleted shafts with moulded capital and base, is in fairly good condition, and stands on an original moulded stone base, an octagon set diagonally on a square. Traces of red paint remain on the wood."

Part of the furniture of a church in the middle ages was most assuredly the screen and rood loft. The examples now surviving are infinitely more beautiful as well as numerous than they are in other lands. One partition was always screened off from the western part of the church, more especially belonging to the congregation, and a curtain or veil usually closed it off in the simple churches of the earlier Saxon days. The Lenten veil was of very general use in English churches of mediæval days, the high altar and its surroundings being completely shut off by a great curtain or sheet of stained (painted) linen or other material during the whole of the forty days." This was just a continuation of the custom of early days for the mysterious shrouding of the Sacramental Presence throughout the year, the usage that had at one time occurred only at that special season being now relegated to the time of special solemnity.

Soon after King Alfred triumphed over the Danes in 878, he commanded that a fine of one hundred and twenty shillings should be paid by the offender who should tear down the Lenten veil. As time went on, the more open view prevailed in England, the desire being to gain a better sight of the chief altar, from hence originating the triple chancel arches or a piercing of the western wall in several places. One of the walls pierced in this way is seen in the Norman village church of N. Y. Yorks, where, facing the nave occur two cesses pierced at the back by small square squints.

To enumerate the various kinds of chancel screens and roof lofts would be beyond my province, or to decide the precise date when the huge crucifix was placed at the entrance to the chancel. That, however, is believed to have been introduced in the thirteenth century, though probably occurring at an earlier date before then.

"Of all dates," says Mr. Cox, "is the screen formed of a plain wall, ten to fifteen feet in height, pierced by one central or two lateral doorways, the former at Malmesbury, the latter at Box-

grove, Croyland and Waltham. This was an occasional Cistercian method.

The finest example is Priot d'Estria's beautiful screen at Canterbury. Here his actual choir screen, pierced by a central doorway, is now concealed by a later addition, but the lateral portions remain unaltered. This screen is fourteen feet in height, and is quite plain and solid for about ten feet, forming a backing for the stalls; above there is a graceful open arcade of fourteenth century tracery. The date of this screen is 1307.

"The structural screen more often, however, took the form of a more or less large mass of masonry of considerable depth, pierced by a central vaulted passage (exceptionally, two lateral, as at St. Albans) and supporting a gallery of some size to which access was obtained by a staircase within the screen. To screens of this form the name *pulpitum* was applied, and they are sometimes also called *jubes*, from the first word of the sentence '*Tube Domine benedicere*,' 'Sir, give me a blessing,' as benedictions were sometimes pronounced from this elevation."

Access to the rood-loft in ancient days was necessary for cleansing and lighting, besides the reading of the Gospel—but the latter use is rare, though archæologists have proved the existence of altars on the *pulpitum* in several cathedral or minster churches. In the case of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield an interesting application was made about the close of the fifteenth century for a dispensation to move an altar of some celebrity from the loft to the ground floor, "because there was some danger of a fall for both celebrant and worshippers if old and infirm." A rood-loft altar in the parish church of Grantham is recorded in 1340. It tells of a covenant made by the Abbot of Vaudry to pay £4 yearly in three equal portions to three perpetual secular chaplains to say Mass daily at different hours and different altars for the souls of two rich wool staplers, benefactors of the abbey. The first of these refers to John Moire and his successors, who were to celebrate at the altar in *solaro*, that is, the rood-loft gallery, before the great rood in the midst of the church after the first stroke of the bell called "day belle," which seems to have first rung at 4 A. M.

From a very early date pulpits were used in monasteries, but not until the fourteenth century have they been traced to English churches, where all those existing belong to the perpendicular period, and are always made of stone or wood, though on the Continent and in earlier days in England metal was employed. The following is from the "*Rites of Durham*": "Adjoynings unto the lower parte of the great Wyndow in the weste end of the gallerie, was a faire iron Pulpitt with barres of iron for one to hould them

by going up the steps unto the pulpitt, where one of the Mouncks did cume every holyday and Sunday to preach, at one of the clock in the afternoon."

Fine grained stone, which is white and easily worked, is that usually employed, and for shape, the best examples are polygonal, often attached to a pier, with faces adorned with tracery. Some are like refectory pulpits, projecting from a niche in the wall, which contained in its thickness the staircase by which they are entered, while pre-Reformation wooden pulpits are usually hexagonal or octogonal, having paneled sides and supported by a slender staff with miniature buttresses and paneling. This we learn from Mr. Cox's researches, which are as exhaustive as they are accurate.

According to this antiquarian, hour-glass stands did exist in mediæval times, for he says: "In *'Allen's History of Lambeth'* it is stated that a new pulpit was placed in the parish church in 1522, and in it was fixed an hour-glass. In the churchwardens' accounts of this parish there are two entries of later date respecting this hour-glass."

Those who desire to study the question of "*Baptism and Christian Archaeology*" are referred to a book of this name.<sup>3</sup> In England it was never the custom to have a baptistery separate from the church, but as a rule seldom broken, the font was in the body of the church. Wooden fonts, though used in mediæval times, were always considered as uncanonical. Those extant in the middle of the last century have disappeared. A leaden bowl of thirteenth century date is at Wyching, Kent; another of the same date at Brundall, Suffolk. The covers of fonts were for the purpose of cleanliness. In the thirteenth century the Bishop of Exeter ordered that each parish church was to be furnished with a *baptisterium lapideum bare seratum*, and Archbishop Winchelsea, making a visitation in 1305, asked if there was a *fontem cum serura*, and a provided English Synod of the thirteenth century arranged that the water was to be changed every week. The shapes of Norman fonts are three in number—tub fonts, with no supports or base; the cup form, consisting of base shaft and bowl, and a bowl supported on several shafts—generally one central one, besides one at each angle.

Inscriptions on fonts are very numerous: Sagittarius, Adam and Eve; the names of the months and signs of the zodiac, names of the twelve Apostles, signs of the vices and virtues, the entire alphabet, prayers for the repose of the soul of maker or founder. At Adderrey, Suffolk, a twelfth century sculpture:

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<sup>3</sup> By Mr. Clement F. Rogers. Clarendon Press, 1903.



*"Hic mare primus homo  
Fruitur cum conjuge pomo."*

(Here wickedly the man enjoys the apple with his wife) and many others may be cited. The subject of font covers is also ably treated by the writer, Mr. Cox. In this interesting book from which I here quote is one description worth noting: "The highly remarkable early sixteenth century font cover at Radbourne, Derbyshire, came from the neighbouring Premontensian Abbey of Dale, the name of whose conventual church had been used for parochial purposes. The cover is of octagonal pyramidal design and richly carved; four of the medallions on the sides bear the evangelic symbols. The lower part of the cover is not open, but has a handsomely carved panel. On the shield in the centre of this is a cross bearing the crown of thorns and pierced heart, and it is flanked by the four wounds on hands and feet."

We have touched upon many articles of church furnishing in our article, and now come to that which holds the holy water used ere crossing the threshold of the church, viz.: the holy water stoup, divided into two kinds, stationary and portable. In the latter case the parish clerk himself carried the metal stoup; the former, a basin made of stone, was not moved. The mystic meaning of the use of holy water on entering the church was that it was a "symbol of the purity of soul with which they ought to approach the place where His Majesty dwelt," and as being more convenient, it is usually found on the right hand side of the church. It is seldom found on the left side, though occasionally trefoil headed stoup niches are found on each side of the west door. A sprinkler or aspersorium was in some cases fastened to the stoup. Near Boston, Lincolnshire, the church wardens bought a chain of iron with a holy water stick for use at the side door. With reference to the idea so readily jumped at that all vessels of certain shapes were in olden times employed for sacred purposes, I may quote Mr. Cox: "Every homestead in mediæval and later days used to possess its mortar or mortars of some hard stone, usually ribbed at the angles, wherein vegetables, etc., were pounded for domestic use or meal for the pigs. It would be unkind to give the names, but there are various churches, particularly in the west of England, where domestic mortars have been discovered of recent years in different parts of the parish and have found their way into the house of God and are placed at the foot of font or elsewhere under the fond belief that they were discarded water stoups. One stance may be cited without giving offense, as the stoups in this case are in the churchyard and absurdly numerous. In the churchyard of the sand-buried

church of St. Ednock, on the eastern shore of the Padstow estuary, Cornwall, is a double row of mediæval stone mortars of various sizes and dates, mounted on pedestals, flanking one path to the porch. They have been found in the neighboring sandhills and placed here under the idea that they were all holy water stoups. At Paveley a large farmyard mortar for the brazing of grain, etc., has actually been placed on a pedestal in the church and is now used as a font."

Very few alms-boxes have been traced as belonging to mediæval times. These are of iron or wood and are treated of in "*English church furniture*," but really there is not much to say of them, nor even of offertory boxes, much used in ancient days. When the object of piety was important enough to be worthy of a pilgrimage, a receptacle for the reception of the money offered by the faithful was placed at the foot of the particular reliquary object, image or what not, and very particular account was kept of the money received and the particular purpose to which it was devoted. At Norwich, among the unpublished sacrists' rolls of the Benedictine cathedral church, there are many entries as to the collection boxes standing about the church. "In 1343 the box *ad crinan* obtained £21, 19s., 7d., the box *ad reliquies*, £—, the one at the image of St. Osyth, £3., 6s., 4½d., and at the image of St. Hippolytus, 11s., 7d., whilst the lowest of the offerings before several other images were those of St. Catharine, 1¾d., and St. Anne, 1d." All these wooden boxes vanished at the Reformation, the only examples remaining were of stone, the most interesting of these being an offertory box, with an adjoining bracket intended for an image, placed on the southeast pier of the nave of Bridlington church, E. R. Yorks. It seems there are traces of its having at one time a wooden inner casing.<sup>4</sup>

A throne for the Bishop was part of the furnishing of all cathedrals, and in one monastic one, the earliest, a plain, simple one, in distinction to those which had lofty canopies. The most important one is a magnificent example of fourteenth century joinery, rising pyramidically to fifty-seven feet in height, dated 1308-27. There are several others of different dates, shape and material, but the most interesting of all in England is the large important stone chair in Canterbury Cathedral, formed of Purbeck marble and known as St. Augustine's chair, and sometimes St. Ethelbert's chair, in accordance with an old tradition which declared that it was not merely used by St. Augustine, but that the old kings of Kent were crowned in it; that Ethelbert on his conversion gave it to St. Augustine. Its date is supposed to be the twelfth century. Other stone

<sup>4</sup> "Journal of the Associated Architectural Societies," iv., 9.

chairs are indicated here, of more or less antiquarian interest. A movable chair in a church in Wiltshire consists of an upright panel, with fifteenth century mouldings at the top and sides; against this is a seat, flooring middle height back, a door which shelters the panel, besides a desk, which slopes facing the seat. This has been erroneously called a "confessional chair," but the opinion of able antiquaries decides that it is an interesting example of an English monastic "carrel" or stall, usually placed in religious houses to secure some "degree of privacy and convenience and shelter for the older monks when at study." The *"Rites of Durham,"* where we are told that on the north side of the cloister "in every window there were iij pewes, or carrells, where every one of the old monks had his carrell several by himself, that when they had dyed they dyd resort to that place of cloister and there studyed upon their books, every one in his carrell, all the afternoon unto evensong tyme. All these pews of carrells were wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved worke that gave light in at their carrell doures of waynscott. And in every carrell was a desk to lye there books on."<sup>5</sup>

When Anglo-Norman churches were built the old custom still obtained of placing the Bishop or abbot in the central part of the apse, with his clergy in seats or stalls on each side of him. This was an uncommon plan, quite upset by the Gothic period, which placed the clergy on the western side of the choir. Each stall was separated off by carved back with elbows and was furnished with a hinged seat, the bracket under which had a "misericord"—otherwise, a seat intended to give support during the long times of standing. These "misericords" furnish excellent examples of mediæval wood carving. The subject depicted thus were grotesque, domestic, Scriptural, etc., and they are themselves often earlier than the canopies placed over them or even the stalls themselves. The old stalls at Exeter and other places are only the portions of the ancient stalls which are now to be seen. The earliest complete set is at Winchester, of thirteenth century date, this also being one of the finest. The carvings cover a vast range of subjects, among them "a fox being hanged by geese, a group of rats hanging a cat; in many churches a fox preaching to geese, a cat and kittens, a pig and litter, a rabbit at play, a pig playing bagpipes, a rabbit riding a hound, a fox riding a cock, etc., etc., while serious or Scriptural subjects were also found, besides cooking, spinning, threshing, etc., and a fine set of misericords at Boston gives a realistic view of the birching of a boy by a schoolmaster whilst three of his school-fellows look on, book in hand, enjoying the scene."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Wiltsh. "Archæological Society's Magazine" for 1889, vi., 147-149.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Cox, "English Church Furniture."

In England, as in other lands, the people stood kneeling, the stone benches or tables round the walls being intended for the aged and infirm and were fairly numerous. These seats were very differently placed—against the walls, going round the bases of piers, etc., while wooden seats for the general congregation, beginning with seats for within chantry parcloes or guild chapels, spread gradually to the body of the church. In the fifteenth century many churches were fitted up with wooden seats, the earliest examples being generally rude benches with "simple terminals." These are found generally in the Midlands, the carving being of every design, the various symbols of the Passion predominating.

The meaning of the word "pew," or "pue," really meant a seat which was elevated, being originally applied to the seats or enclosures for officials or persons of dignity; it being only of recent times that the word is employed for strictly ecclesiastical purposes. The Smithfield sheep pens were described by Milton as "pews," so was a theatre box by Pepys. The earliest use of the word for church purposes came into the famed poem of *Pier's ploughman*, 1360, and in the same century it came into the reports of the Synod of Exeter. John Russell in his book of "Nature," 1459, says that the chamberlain is instructed before his lord goes to church "to procure all things for his pewe," and that it be prepared both with cossyn, carpet and curtains, bedes and boke." Some of these pews were beautifully carved, some with canopies, others not.

The fine old chests or coffer frequent in domestic and common use in mediæval times soon became in churches the receptacles for the storing and keeping of vestments, documents and other valuables. These had usually single panel fronts, but the most ancient had no panel, being formed out of solid timber. These latter were called early candles, dugout, but the scientific name is *monoxylon*. A chest at Rugby church of thirteenth century date has a central panel beautifully ornamented with scroll work, the wide sides of which are left plain, while it is raised a little from the floor by four wheels or discs of wood, besides which, carrying chains at the ends furnished with rings to permit of the carrying of the chest by passing a pole through them. Much interesting matter can be obtained in "*Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*," published in 1902, and "*Old Chests*," an excellent paper published in 1904 by the Archæological Section of the Birmingham and Midland Institute by Colonel C. H. Dart.

For convenience the chest cupboard was often found in English churches, used for the same purpose as the chests, more or less beautifully carved and dating from 1297—*armariolum cum serura*, as called in a visitation made at Belchamp in Essex.

In chancel and other walls there are often found small squared recesses or niches, used for keeping altar books and vessels, linen, etc., and indicated as almeries or "aumbries." There is no doubt that these almeries were often used for the safeguarding of sacred relics. There was a celebrated great almry for this purpose at Salby Abbey, which perished in the great fire of 1906.

Lamps and candles were the means by which the English parish church was illuminated in ancient times, but it was quite unknown then to have such practical methods as would enable the worshipper to follow what was going on. The offices were usually said by daylight, excepting at the early Mass in winter. Cups hollowed in stone, filled with grease or oil and having a floating wick, were put near doorways and other points so as to serve for lighting purposes, these being called cressets or cresset stones. In the "*Rites of Durham*" we read: "There is standynge on the South pillar of the Quire doore of the Lanthorne in a corner of the same pillar, a foure-squared stoun, which hath been finely wrcought in every square a large fine image, whereon did stand a foure-squared stoun above that, which had twelve cressets wrought in that stoun, which was filled with tallow, and every night one of them was lighted when the day was gone, and did burne to give light to the monks at midnight, when they came to mattins."

As a rule, a lamp burned day and night before the high altar, excepting in very poor churches, as early as the thirteenth century. Lamps in chapels or before special images or altars were often changed to candles, as being less expensive and giving steadier light. Church wardens' accounts showed that these items were entered: "At Gatton, 7d. was paid in 1518 for hanging up ye lamp in ye chancel, and 2d. for a lyne to ye lampe."

The usual number of altar candlesticks was two, coming into use about the beginning of the thirteenth century; sconces of latten came in later. Gifts of a pair of candlesticks are often found in mediæval wills.

Rood lights were next in importance to the light before the Blessed Sacrament, and in church accounts as well as in countless wills they were named—prickets in the midst of bowls being the commonest form, and beside the row of lights along the beam or gallery front, a special light or lamp burning before the rood to be burnt always or at special times. One testator bequeathed "a pound of wax, to be made thereof a taper perpetually every year, to be made to burn in the rood-loft before the rood, and the said taper every year against the Eve of the Nativity."

Chandeliers burning before the rood were very often in the form of a crown, on which from twelve to twenty candles burnt, these

being known as rowells, often bequeathed, and lighted or lowered by pulleys. Chandeliers or branched candlesticks are often found in wills, etc. In the sixteenth century there was bequeathed to a Northamptonshire church a "candylstick of V flowers and V tapers of V ponde waxe, to be sete before Our Lady."

The dispersion of the monasteries involved in many cases the destruction of most valuable libraries, deplored by students, throughout England, but in some fortunate cases there were some established, which were connected with the parish or cathedral. Books other than those used in the service of the church were kept in churches or cathedrals at a very much earlier date. We read of "Belinus Nansmaan, a Bristol merchant, left by his will of 1410, to the Church of St. Mary, Redcliffe, the Sixth Book of the Decretals, and the Constitutions of Pope Clement V., to be shut up in that church, so that the vicar and chaplains might study them when they pleased." Even before printing had begun, books were often fastened by chains for security. A canon of Salisbury who died in 1452 bequeathed some books to the library, in two of which was found in a fifteenth century hand, written on the inside of the cover, a note that they were to be chained in the new library, and Mr. Cox gives a long list of chained books in church libraries of the present day, some volumes of which date from mediæval times.

Church embroidery holds a large place in church furniture. The reputation for needlework in England dates from very early times, the exemption of the art of embroidery being in advent only a subject of instruction in convents, but it was a business or profession, besides being almost the only accomplishment of the ladies of Saxon and Anglo-Norman laity. There were schools for that purpose, one near Ely existing almost about the seventh century.

English embroidery as an art ranked with painting and sculpture and was known at an early date as *opus Anglicanum*, because of very great value, and can be studied by itself.<sup>7</sup>

Those who think royal arms were not to be found in church in mediæval days are mistaken, as they frequently occur on altar cloths, stained glass and on priestly vestments, but they were used very markedly and noticeably since those days. The royal arms of Savoy might be seen at the west end of the Catholic church in Sardinia street until a few years ago, but the exceptions are few and far between.

L. E. DOBREE.

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<sup>7</sup> *English Mediæval Embroidery*, by Mr. Hartshorne, and *Old English Embroidery, Its Technic and Symbolism*, 1894, by F. and H. Marchall.

## JOHN TAULER AND THE FRIENDS OF GOD.

THE "Friends of God" were not a sect, nor even a society; much less were they any political association, for they had nothing to do with politics, but were simply a band of holy men and women—a group of mystics united for the purpose of advancing their own sanctification and that of others.

Meister Eckhart was undoubtedly the leader and the most learned member of the group, but both he and they were greatly influenced by the writings of the great mystical prophetesses of the preceding century in Germany, namely, St. Hildegarde, St. Elizabeth of Schönau and St. Machtilde of Magdeburg.

The period in which the "Friends of God" lived was catastrophic, for part of the century the black death was raging and ravaging half Europe; the Babylonian captivity of the Church, in other words, the removal of the Papal See from Rome to Avignon, lasted from 1309 to 1377, and was followed by the Great Schism, which lasted well into the fifteenth century. Men's hearts were failing them for fear of what was coming upon them, and many thought that the end of the world was imminent.

The revival of interest in mysticism in our own days has also coincided with catastrophic times, for the greatest war the world has ever seen, which is now devastating Europe and raging on land, on sea, under the earth, under the sea and in the air, can be called nothing else than a gigantic catastrophe. The output of mystical literature, both Catholic and non-Catholic, has been abnormal during the second lustre of the present century, although the interest roused in it seems to be speculative and intellectual rather than spiritual and practical, as it was in the fourteenth century, when the "Friends of God" lived, although it must be granted that an element of speculation entered also into their mysticism.

It is for psychologists to determine what is the cause of this coincidence, but with the individuals, as with groups of men and women, or with nations, this is frequently observed, namely, that times of great grief or of bodily sickness or physical pain are frequently preludes to mystical experiences, such as raptures, ecstasies, visions, revelations and the like phenomena.

After Meister Eckhart, Dr. John Tauler was perhaps the most important of the "Friends of God," and his influence has been greater even than his master's, for he, like B. Henry Suso, was a pupil of Eckhart's. He was born at Strasburg in 1290, and was the son of one Nicholas Tauler, a wealthy Senator. He entered the Order of Preachers at Strasburg, and had a sister a Dominican nun

at Grautenu. He went to Paris to study at the Dominican College of St. Jacques, and it was there that he met Meister Eckhart and studied under him.

At St. Jacques he read Aristotle and Proclus and the Neo-Platonists, and for his ecclesiastical studies his masters were St. Thomas Aquinas, Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite; the Victorines, St. Bernard and St. Augustine, by all of whose works he was greatly influenced.

The history of Tauler's life and conversion was written by the mysterious personage, who until very modern times was known as Nicolas of Basle, or the "Friend of God from the Oberland."<sup>1</sup> This Nicolas of Basle is an historical puzzle which will probably never be solved. If he ever existed, which the latest critics doubt, he was certainly a layman, and as such he describes himself in the "History of John Tauler," in which he also records his own conversion. But although a layman, he acted as director to Tauler and other "Friends of God," whom he is said to have visited from time to time, no one knowing from whence he came or whither he went.

He is described in most accounts of him, save the latest, as rich and of good family and as having been born about 1310; after his conversion he is said to have lived in great seclusion at the head of a community called the "Friends of God in the Oberland," but he was not affiliated to any religious order. He used to visit Tauler and other "Friends of God," and he is especially associated with Rulman Merswin, the rich banker, who became a "Friend of God" and to whom with this Nicolas of Basle are ascribed a large number of mystical works.

The latest theory with regard to him is that he never existed at all, but was either a creation of the brain of Rulman Merswin<sup>2</sup> or his double, or a third hypothesis is suggested by Karl Rieder,<sup>3</sup> that Merswin's secretary, one Nicolas von Löwen, invented him after Merswin's death and edited writings left by Merswin and ostensibly by this mysterious "Friend of God from the Oberland," and passed them off as autobiographies of them both. Leaving for the present the vexed question of the identity of the "Friend of God from the Oberland" with Nicolas of Basle, who was burnt at Vienna as a heretic and a Beghard, we can safely say that whoever he was, he was not a priest, and that when Tauler was at the height of his popularity as a great preacher, he visited him and convinced him of sin and persuaded him to give up preaching for two years, and, further, to submit to him as his spiritual director. All of which is

<sup>1</sup> See Denifle. *Der Gottesfreund in Oberland and Nikolas von Basel*, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> A. Frendt. *Kulman Merswin et l'Ami de Dieu*. Paris, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Rieker. *Der Gottesfreund von Oberland*, 1905.



circumstantially related in the "History of John Tauler" (translated by Sussannah Winkworth).

One of the characteristics of the "Friends of God" was that to a certain extent it was a layman's movement and many of the members submitted to lay direction, even though priests and religious themselves, and this "Friend from the Oberland" seems to have acted in this capacity to several of them. In one of his sermons Tauler thus speaks on this subject: "For such as desire to live for the truth, it is a great assistance to have a 'Friend of God,' to whom they can submit themselves and who can guide them by the Spirit of God. It were well worth their while to go a hundred leagues to seek out an experienced 'Friend of God' who knows the right path and can direct them in it."<sup>4</sup>

Tauler's sermons were intended mostly for religious and for small communities of men and women, possibly for Dominican and Franciscan tertiaries, who lived together apart from the world. He aimed and labored at the reformation of the clergy, who stood in great need of it, and also at the restoration of monastic discipline among both monks and nuns, which had become very lax, and through Tauler many priests and religious were converted to a better life.

He was an active mystic after the two years of seclusion which he passed under obedience to the "Friend of God from the Oberland;" he preached that works of love were more acceptable to God than lofty contemplation, and said that it was better to carry broth to a sick brother than to be engaged in the most devout prayer.

One of the terrible troubles of the time in which Tauler lived was that the kingdom was laid under an interdict, while the people were dying by thousands of the black death, and some Protestant writers have tried to make out that Tauler disobeyed the interdict and administered the sacraments to the dying, but there is no authentic evidence to support this idea; on the contrary, from the following passage from one of his sermons, it seems more probable that he obeyed the interdict:

"I received the privilege of belonging to my order from the grace of God and from the Holy Church. It is from both that I have this hat, this coat, my dignity as priest, my right to preach and to hear confessions. If the Pope and the Holy Church from whom I have received these privileges wish to take them from me, I ought to obey them without reply; to put on another coat, if I have one; to leave the convent; to cease to be a priest and to stop preaching and hearing confessions. I should have no right to ask the wherefore of such a decision. If Holy Church wishes to deprive us of the external sacrament, we must submit; but no one can deprive us

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<sup>4</sup> Tauler's Sermons.

of the privilege of spiritual Communion, and we ought to obey the Church without a murmur." (Sermon LXXI.)

During the interdict Tauler appears to have retired to the Carthusian monastery, where his friend, Ludolph of Saxony, was prior for some time and subsequently went to live in the Dominican house at Cologne. He composed his principal book, "The Imitation of Christ's Life of Poverty," either at Cologne or in the Carthusian monastery. In it he taught that the essence of poverty is poverty of spirit, which consists not in the deprivation of all earthly things, but in hanging loosely to them.

In 1391 he went back to Strasburg suffering from a very painful and lingering disease. During his illness he moved to his sister's convent, that she might nurse him, for which he has been blamed by some writers. After he had been there enduring great pain for five months, he sent for the "Friend of God from the Oberland" and gave him a little manuscript, in which he had written down their conversations held years before, and asked him to make it into a little book and not to mention any names, but to call the speakers Master and Man, he being himself the Master and the "Friend of God" the Man, and he added that it was not to be published in his lifetime. This is the "History of John Tauler" before alluded to. This mysterious "Friend of God" stayed eleven days with Tauler, who died after intense suffering on the 16th of June, 1361, and was buried in his own convent.

Among Tauler's friends who were also "Friends of God" were the two nuns, Margaret and Christina Ebner. Margaret was a Dominican nun in the convent of Maria Medingen, in the Diocese of Augsburg, and Christina was the abbess of Eugentha, near Nuremberg; both were very pious and intellectual women and both were subject to visions; they were partisans of the Emperor Louis, as was Tauler also.<sup>5</sup>

Tauler corresponded with Margaret and urged her to write down what was revealed to her concerning the "Friends of God." Both these sisters venerated their "dear Father Tauler" very greatly, and it was revealed to Christina in one of her visions "that he was the holiest of God's children then living."

In one of Christina's visions she saw the Catholic Church in the image of a large cathedral, with the doors closed by the interdict, and a man in a Dominican habit stood in the pulpit and preached, and it was revealed to her that He was Christ.

Christina, who was the head of the circle of "Friends of God" at Engelthal, as her sister Margaret was at Medingen, in Bavaria, frequently heard a voice saying that Tauler was of all men the one

<sup>5</sup> See "Studies in Mystical Religion," by Rufus Jones, 1909.

whom God most loved, and that God dwelt in him like melodious music.

Tauler was the spiritual director of Rulman Merswin, another "Friend of God," and counseled him to moderate the austerities which he practiced at the beginning of his career as a "Friend of God" after he had left the world.

In his teaching Tauler was much less speculative than Eckhart; nor was he so logical as his master, nor so poetical and rich in images as his friend, Henry Suso; but it has been pointed out by the Swedish theologian, Dr. Martensen,<sup>6</sup> that he makes a connecting link between these two "Friends of God" through the inner harmony of his mind and through the Rest of contemplation.

This writer also says that this phase of German mysticism was a return of the West to the speculation of Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite. Dr. Tauler, like all true mystics, was very practical. In speaking of the works of Christ, he says: "There are two kinds of works in Christ—one kind belongs to His Godhead, as when He walks on the sea and works miracles, fasts for forty days and such like; these works we should not take upon ourselves to attempt, for they are God's works and do not belong to us. The other works which were Christ's belong to His Humanity—as to be poor, miserable and despised, to hunger and thirst, to suffer pain, to be humble, patient and meek, to have all the virtues—in all these works should we be one with Christ."

This passage or words to the same effect occurs also in the "Theologia Germanica," which is sometimes attributed to Tauler, but the author is unknown.

Like other mystics, Tauler frequently interpreted the scenes and sayings of Our Lord mystically and saw in them the image of some mystical process, as for example in his sermon "On the Finding of Jesus in the Temple" he brings out how we should seek our spiritual birth, Christ, in us. "His parents sought Him in vain among their relations and acquaintances, but found Him in His Father's house. So must we leave creatures and enter into ourselves our origin. We must leave all which is our own—our own thoughts, our own reason, our own will. Those are the many acquaintances which disturb us." (Pred. I., 153.)

Like other Christian mystics, Tauler taught that contemplation must always go back to the Death and Passion of Our Lord. "As the rose yields itself most gloriously in its scent, so does the nature of Christ in His Passion and Death. If a man would be free from

<sup>6</sup> Meister Eckhart von Dr. Martensen. Hamburg, 1842.

<sup>7</sup> Martensen. From whom all the translations are made unless otherwise stated.

all earthly desires, if the vanity of the world and the chances and accidents of nature should lose their power over him, then must he sink himself in the Passion of Our Lord. There all which enters between God and the soul and hinders union fall to the ground; there is nothing so great but it is borne in the sufferings of Our Lord; it must then vanish and be annihilated, for it is a burning fire in which all unlikeness disappears. But the fire which Christ brought to earth is the fire of love. In this true lovers offer all bodily things to God; yes, they offer their own lives in God, their minds are raised above all created things and penetrate into the uncreated good, which is God Himself, and lose themselves in the hidden darkness of the unknown God." (Martensen, page 92.)

Again, in his celebrated sermon on the Nativity, Tauler taught that "the Son of God is born, not only of Mary, but also daily in every believing soul; that Mary was obliged to hear Him spiritually before she could bear Him corporally, and that she was much more blessed through the spiritual than through the corporal birth."

In a sermon for Easter on the words "It is expedient for you that I go hence, for if I go not, the Spirit will not come to you," he says "that even the bodily image of Our Lord and His true, fatherly, fruitful presence was hurtful to His disciples and hindered their sanctification, for they loved Him as a Man Who was still mortal." He went on to say "that it may be that the soul can be raised and carried above all created things and yet the Holy Spirit may not come into it, and that all the Divine works which God works He works not in time and space, but in the Spirit." (Pred. III., 94.)

On discussing the question which has exercised so many mystics as to whether it is better to meditate on the Life and Passion of Christ without images than to consider them with the help of them, Tauler says:

"Which is better—that I should go out of all my own works, will, thoughts and hold myself free of all images, or that I should think of the sufferings of Our Lord, of His Life and His Image, that God created me, bore my sins and gave me eternal life? All this is good and should reasonably rouse your love and bring you to great thankfulness. But where these images penetrate and have room, other images might also crowd in. Therefore must we hold ourselves bare of all images, that the naked essence of truth may shine on us and enlighten us. Not that we should disdain the pain of Our Lord and His Image and flee away from it, but who so can should out of great love and gratitude consider these things without images. This is as if any one owed me five shillings and should give me five marks, he would not have sinned. Many good men are hindered in their perfection because they adhere with too great

pleasure to the humanity of Christ. For if we also contemplate the Divine truth in Christ, so are we nevertheless not perfectly blessed, for while we are in the act of contemplation we are not one with that which we contemplate, and as long as something is in our attention or understanding, we are not one with the One. One cannot see God with blindness nor know Him with ignorance." (Pred. I., 109.)

Tauler opposed the errors of false mystics who taught that the spiritual nature must be destroyed and become as though it were not; that is, as if it were uncreated and one with God. But he says: "If this were possible, then the creature would be neither holy nor blessed, no more than a stone or a piece of wood. Without our own works, without love and without knowledge of God, could we not be blessed, but God would still be blessed, as He is blessed and always was blessed, and this does not help us to improve. Therein is this emptiness always a deception, and the false spirits that live and lie in it are so subtle that man cannot conquer them. Yes, they are not unlike the lost spirits, for these have neither pleasure nor love, nor knowledge, nor worship, nor thanksgiving, nor praise, for they are eternally damned." (Pred. I., 215.)

Tauler and several of his school taught that the contemplation of exterior nature was inimical to spiritual contemplation and hindered perfection. He praises in one place the example of a monk who as he walked through the garden of his monastery drew up his cappa over his eyes so as not to be disturbed in his contemplation by the accidental forms of the flowers.

On the other hand, the poetical Suso greets the spring, but he attaches a mystical meaning to all the works of nature. On the May tree he sees the wood of the cross on which grew the fruit of eternal life. When he sees red roses he offers to His Saviour love from his heart; when he sees violets he offers Him a humble bow; for all delicate lilies he tenders Him a pure, sincere embrace; for all beautiful, colored and brilliant flowers, heath and hedge, wood and meadow bring forth, he offers a spiritual kiss, but for the song of all well-minded birds, he offers his Saviour unending praise." (From Suso's "How I Begin May.")

The "Friends of God" looked upon Tauler as one of their greatest men, and he for his part had the highest opinion of them. He says in one of his sermons, "If it were not for the 'Friends of God' who are in the world we should indeed be badly off." And in another place he says, "Without the help of the 'Friends of God,' God could give no blessing to sinners, for His justice demands satisfaction, and here is precisely the service of the 'Friends of God'—they intercede in favor of Christendom, and their prayer is heard"<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Studies. Rufus Jones.

In fact, he thought, as did the other "Friends of God," that they were the elect, for whose sake God would spare the world from the destruction with which they all believed it was then threatened; in one place Tauler says, "If they were not in Christendom it would not last an hour."

The people loved his preaching and flocked to hear him, because he spoke so simply to them and his words brought them comfort and hope and spiritual joy. Here is a short example of his style:

"Children, you should not ask after great and high things. Go simply into the ground of your heart and learn to know yourself in spirit and in nature, and inquire not after the hidden things of God, of His flowing-out and flowing-in from the Ego to the Nothing, from the Spark of the Soul to pure Being (Istigkeit), for Christ has said, 'It is not necessary to you to know the secrets of God. Therefore should we hold one true, whole, simple faith.' (Pred. II., 73.)

In another sermon he elaborates this theme into a little story, thus: "There was once a learned man who desired for eight years that God would show him a man who would direct him in the way of truth. And as he was desiring this greatly, there came a voice from God to him and said, 'Go in front of the church; there you will find a man who will show you the way of salvation.' And he went thither and found a poor man whose feet were sore and full of dust and dirt and all his clothes were hardly worth three halfpence. He greeted him and said:

"'God give thee a good morning.'

"The man answered, 'I have never had a bad morning.'

"'Then God give thee happiness.'

"'I have never been unhappy,' he answered.

"'May you be blessed. What answer will you make to that?'

"'I have never been anything but blessed.'

"'Explain this to me, for I cannot understand it.'

"'Gladly. You wished me good morning. I have never had an evil morning; for if I was hungry, I praised God; if I was cold or it rained or hailed or snowed, whether the weather was good or bad, I praised God; if I am miserable and despised, I praise God, and therefore have I never had a bad morning. You wish that God should give me a good fortune. But I have never had bad fortune, for I know how to live with God and what He does that is best, and what God gives me or whatever hangs over me, be it love or suffering, that I take cheerfully from God as the very best, and therefore have I never had bad fortune. Thou wishest that God should bless me. I was never anything but blessed, for I desire only to be as God wills, and I have placed my will in God's will so entirely that what He wills I also will.'

"'But if God should cast you into hell, what would you do then?' said the learned man.

"'Cast me into hell? His goodness will keep me from that. Still, should He cast me into hell, if I had two arms I would embrace Him therewith. The one arm is true humility; that I lay under Him, and with it I am so united to His Godhead that I embrace Him, and so will He be obliged to go into hell with me. And so I would rather be in hell and have God than in heaven and not have Him.'

"Then this master understood that true resignation with fundamental humility is the true way to heaven." (Martensen, p. 107.)\*

We have already noticed the great similarity there is in the doctrine and writings of this group of mystics, so that it is often difficult to tell who is the author of certain passages, and one such puzzle occurs in one of Tauler's sermons, which is believed by some critics to be by Eckhart, although as will be seen it is very similar in style to the dialogue above quoted from Tauler.

He is describing a vision in which a spirit appears to him, and he thus addresses it:

"From whence dost thou come?"

"From God."

"Where hast thou found God?"

"Where I left all creatures."

"Where hast thou left God?"

"In a pure heart and in men of good will."

"What kind of man art thou?"

"I am a king."

"Where is thy kingdom?"

"It is my soul, for I can so rule my interior and exterior senses that all my desires and powers are subject to my soul. And this kingdom is greater than any kingdom upon earth."

"What has brought you to this perfection?"

"My silence, my high thoughts and my union with God. For I could rest in nothing that was less than God. Now have I found God and I have eternal rest and peace in Him."<sup>10</sup> (Martensen, 113.)

This might well be either by Tauler or his master, Eckhart, for it is an epitome of the teaching of both. Union with God was the goal at which they both aimed, as it is the end of all true mysticism.

We have said that the "Friends of God" was a layman's movement, and in one of Tauler's sermons he says that the greatest Friend of God he had ever known was not a priest nor a learned man, but a simple cobbler without any learning. In another sermon he says, "Great doctors of Paris read ponderous books and turn

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\* Meister Eckhart von Dr. Martensen, pp. 107-109.

<sup>10</sup> Meister Eckhart von Dr. Martensen.

over many pages, but the 'Friends of God' read the living Book, where everything is life."

The annihilation not only of self-will and self-love, but of everything pertaining to self was a cardinal tenet of the "Friends of God," and in one of his sermons Tauler gives a beautiful instance of how perfect this self-sacrifice must be.

"One day the Lord offered to kiss a 'Friend of God' with a kiss of Divine love. The 'Friend' replied, 'I do not want to have it, for the joy of it would flood my heart so that I should lose consciousness, and then I could no longer serve Thee.'" (Pred. XXXIV.)

Tauler believed in the inner light which illuminates the souls "of those divine and supernatural men," with whom he especially associates the "Friends of God" of his day, and he speaks frequently in his sermons of this Light.

"These Divine men enjoy an enlightened understanding. The vision of the eternal light makes their souls so luminous that they could teach all men if the occasion for it came." "They gain an inward peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." "The Divine illumination gives a man a marvelous discernment, more perfect than he is able to acquire on earth in any other manner." "God illumines His true friends and shines within them with power and purity and truth, so that such men become divine and supernatural persons."<sup>11</sup>

Many more passages might be quoted from his writings to the same effect. Though less speculative than his master, Eckhart, there are passages like the following in his sermons wherein he leads his hearers into that "quiet wilderness" of Eckhart which seems to be the portal which leads to quietism:

"God is a pure Being (that is, a Being with no attributes—a waste of calm seclusion, as Isaias says). He is a hidden God. He is much nearer than anything is to itself in the depth of the heart, but He is hidden from all our senses. He is far above every outward thing and every thought, and is found only where thou hidest thyself in the secret place of thy heart, in the quiet solitude where no word is spoken, where is neither creature nor image nor fancy. This is the quiet Resort of the Godhead, the Divine Darkness—dark from His own surpassing brightness, as the shining of the sun is darkness to weak eyes, for in the presence of its brightness our eyes are like the swallow in the bright sunlight; this abyss is our salvation."<sup>12</sup>

If we compare this passage with the following extract translated from Delacroix's "*Essai sur le Mysticisme Spéculatif en Allemagne*," which contains a summary of the system of Meister Eckhart, it will be seen that Tauler's mysticism was not only less speculative, but also more experimental than his master Eckhart's was.

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<sup>11</sup> *Studies in Mystical Religion.* Rufus Jones.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*



"All the system of Eckhart was only a long effort to put life and movement into Being, and to expand Being first through the multiplicity of acts, the synthesis of which alone can constitute It. Hardly has he affirmed the absolute Reality of Being than he occupies himself in penetrating its depths and in discovering the richness of it. His God is not an immovable God, but the living God. He is not the abstract Being, but the Being of Being. Abstract He would be nothing, and would vanish away in the non-being of logic. If He is the absolute and supreme Reality, He is so not only in Himself, but of Himself and by Himself; that is to say, His Own Author and His Own Creator. The reality of God, that is His work, and His work is before the genesis of things, His Own genesis."<sup>18</sup> Tauler constantly insists upon the experimental knowledge of the Presence of God in the soul; he does not leave his hearers in the barren wilderness, though he does talk about the necessity of "withdrawing into the bosom of the Divine Dark" and says "that we shall never find God so perfectly anywhere, or so truly or so fruitfully as in retirement and the wilderness."

Again and again he says that the knowledge of God can only come from experience, from actually feeling His Presence in the soul. "The man who truly experiences the Presence of God in His own soul, knows very well that there can be no doubt about it." This knowledge, he says, cannot be learned; it must be experienced; the masters of Paris cannot teach it; but it is easier to experience than to describe. All that I have said of it is as poor and unlike it as the point of a needle is to the heaven above us."

In another sermon he says that we must enter in and dwell in the Inner Kingdom of God, where pure truth and the sweetness of God are found. He describes the soul as a temple, where God eternally reveals His Father-heart and begets His Son, and where is the true pure presence of God, in Whom all things live and move and have their being, and where all suffering is done away.

He taught emphatically that the only way to God was the way of mortification, the leaving of all creatures, the road of self-renunciation and death to self, and he divided the process of dying to self into the three stages which correspond with the three ways of the interior life—the purgative way, the illuminative way and the unitive way.

"Those who wish to be 'Friends of God' must rid themselves of all that pertains to the creature, must free themselves of all that is called 'necessary,' must not be blinded by transitory things, and must look alone to the source and Origin."

Compare this with Eckhart: "There is a power in the soul, and

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<sup>18</sup> Delacroix. Vol. I., p. 173. Paris, 1900.

not only a power, more, a being; and not only a being, more, this releases from being; and this is so pure and high and so noble in itself that no creature can come there, but God alone dwells there. Yes, He dwells there by truth, and God even cannot come there with a form. God can only come there with His simple Divine nature." (Delacroix, 196.)

He was less fond of paradox than Eckhart, though he sometimes indulged in it as a device for illuminating his subject and when he wanted to say something startling to arrest the attention of his audience, as in the following passage from one of his sermons:

"One man can spin, another can make shoes, and all these are gifts of the Holy Ghost. I tell you, if I were not a priest I should esteem it a great gift that I was able to make shoes, and I should labor to make them so well as to be a pattern to all."

Both Eckhart and Tauler were fond of using familiar similes to illustrate spiritual things, and in this way, as in many other ways, they followed the steps of one of their masters—Dionysius the "Areopagite," who in describing the way in which prayer leads to mystical union with God, the goal of all mystics, says:

"Our prayers raise us to the high ascent, as if a luminous chain were suspended from the celestial heights, and we, by ever clutching this, first with one hand and then with the other, seem to draw it down, but in reality we are ourselves carried upwards to the high splendors of the luminous rays. Or as if, after we have embarked on a ship and are holding on to the cable reaching to some rock, we do not draw the rock to us, but draw, in fact, ourselves and the ship to the rock."

All learned mystics, not only the "Friends of God," have been greatly influenced by the writings of Dionysius, since John Scotus Erigena, an Irishman, translated them from the original Greek into Latin in the ninth century by the royal command of Charles the Bald. Some modern scholars have said that the "*Summa Theologiæ*" of St. Thomas Aquinas "is but a hive in which various cells he duly stored the honey which he gathered thence," a point which Catholic writers would dispute, for St. Thomas himself tells us that he gathered most of his wisdom from the foot of the cross in prayer, and not from books in study. In the French edition of the works of Dionysius, edited by Dulac, he says that "if the works of Dionysius were lost they could be almost reconstructed from the works of St. Thomas Aquinas."

In the days of Eckhart and Tauler, as has been said, the "*Summa Theologiæ*" was one of the text-books used by the Dominicans at St. Jacques, in Paris, so that it is no wonder that the "Friends of God," several of whom were Dominicans, were influenced either

directly or indirectly through St. Thomas by Dionysius, whose works they also studied.

Dionysius, like Eckhart and Tauler, taught emphatically that although God, Whom he calls the Hidden Darkness, cannot be known intellectually, yet He can be felt experimentally. Dionysius compares mystical theology to Jacob's Ladder, with angels ascending from earth to heaven and descending from heaven to earth upon it, and he interprets it mystically by comparing the ascending angels to the negative way and the descending angels to the affirmative way of the soul in its search for God.

The negative way, which both Eckhart and Tauler followed, was the more mystical and, in the opinion of Dionysius, the higher way; the affirmative way was the more ordinary path. In the affirmative way the soul follows meditation and discursive prayer and ponders on the great truths of Christianity and the doctrines of the Church; in the negative way she transcends all acquired knowledge by going out of herself beyond knowledge to union with God. The knowledge she then has it infused and requires no effort on her part, and when the union is complete it results in ecstasy, which is thus defined by Dionysius: "By ecstasy thou wilt be carried to the super-essential ray of Divine Darkness."

It was from Dionysius that Eckhart and Tauler learned to penetrate into the "Still Wilderness," the "Divine Darkness," the "Quiet Desert of the Godhead" and Eckhart to talk so wisely to the Dominican nuns at Strasburg about "Nothingness" and to others about "the Hidden Darkness of the Eternal Godhead" and the "Nameless Nothing" and the "Inner Rest of the Naked Godhead." Eckhart went too far in defining the closeness of the union with God of the soul, and one of his condensed propositions was "that that which is proper to the Divine nature is proper to the good and just man." He retracted these and all other condemned propositions before his death and explained away the passages in which they occur.

Tauler, though teaching that those who would enter into this union with God must put away all images and symbols in prayer, was careful in preaching as he did to lay congregations to safeguard this advice by warning his hearers that they must not do this too soon, before they were ready to advance to this degree of prayer. One passage in which he does so is quoted in the "Theologia Germanica," so often attributed to him. The chapter on "How a Man May Cast Away Images Too Soon" opens thus: "Tauler saith, 'there be some men at the present time who take leave of types and symbols too soon—before they have drawn out all the truth and instruction contained therein. Such men,' continues the unknown author, 'follow no one and lean unto their own understandings and desire to fly before they are fledged. They would fain mount up to heaven

in one flight, albeit Christ did not do so, for after His resurrection He remained full forty days with His beloved disciples. No one can be made perfect in a day.' " (*"Theologia Germanica,"* p. 50.)

This work, *"Theologia Germanica,"* has been extravagantly praised by Protestants. One Anglican dignitary<sup>14</sup> says, "It is in some ways superior to the famous treatise of a'Kempis on the 'Imitation of Christ.'" Charles Kingsley also admired it very much and wrote a preface to the first English translation by Miss Winkworth of it, and Luther ranked it next to the Bible and St. Augustine.

The unknown author was evidently reared in the same school of thought as Tauler and Eckhart and the other "Friends of God," and many of his ideas occur over and over again in Tauler's sermons. Like all Catholic mystics, he had for his goal union with God, which union he said "belongeth unto such as are perfect, and also is brought to pass in three ways, to wit: By pureness and singleness of heart, by love and by the contemplation of God, the Creator of all things."

He never lapsed into Pantheism, but he describes the union of God with the perfect man as so close that God and man become one, as in the following passage:

"Moreover, there are yet other ways to the lovely Life of Christ besides those we have spoken of, to wit: That God and man should be wholly united, so that it can be said of a truth that God and man are one. This cometh to pass on this wise. Where the truth always reigneth, so that true perfect God and true perfect man are at one, and man so giveth place to God that God Himself is there, and yet the man, too, and this same unity worketh continually, and doeth and leaveth undone without any I and Me and Mine and the like, behold there is Christ and nowhere else."<sup>15</sup>

Baron Bunsen said that the fundamental truth of this book was "that there is no sin but selfishness, and all selfishness is sin."<sup>16</sup>

In the preface to the Wurzburg edition of the German version it is said that "the author was a member of the Teutonic Order—a priest and a warden in the House of the Teutonic Order in Frankfurt." Whoever he was, he desired to remain unknown, which is in accordance with the principles of his little book, this brief description of which we have included in this account of Tauler, because it has sometimes been attributed to him.

DARLEY DALE.

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<sup>14</sup> Dean Inge.

<sup>15</sup> *"Theologia Germanica."*

<sup>16</sup> Preface to same.

## IS "BEING" ANALOGOUS OR UNIVOCAL?

## I.

THE question whether Being is analogous or univocal has been discussed so thoroughly by the great masters of Scholasticism that it would be almost presumptuous to attempt to add another word upon it. But the present paper does not pretend to put forth anything new; it merely proposes to look at the subject from a slightly different point of view from that of many modern text-books of philosophy and to throw together a few observations which have been suggested mainly by the treatment of Suarez.

Every one must have noticed, in reading scholastic authors, that there is a good deal of diversity in their mode of handling this question, and not a little confusion has arisen from the fact that they do not always make it clear whether they are speaking of the term "Being" or of the idea of Being or of the material or the formal object of that idea. It is obvious that unless the parties in the dispute agree at the start which one of these four they are speaking about, and unless their discussion throughout refers definitely to this one and not to any of the other three, they can easily come to contradictory conclusions from what are apparently the same premises.

St. Thomas maintains that Being is analogous; Scotus, that it is univocal. But whatever be the disagreement between the various schools as to the possibility of having an analogous idea, all are agreed that a term may be analogous. Let us, then, for the sake of clearness, commence by stating what we mean by an analogous term, omitting for the present the consideration of the idea.

In order not to begin by begging the question, we may, at least provisionally, define univocal term as a common term which expresses one idea; for example, "surgeon," "giraffe." Equivocal term is a common term which expresses two or more ideas which have no connection with each other; thus, "page" denotes a part of a book and also an attendant. Analogous term, in the sense allowed by Scotus, is a common term which expresses two or more ideas which have some connection with each other, for instance, "generous" with reference to a person and to a gift, "heroic" with reference to a person and to a deed, "infallible" with reference to the Pope and to a dogmatic definition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the expression, "partly the same and partly different," has been called in question, it cannot be used here, and it is therefore reserved for comment in a later paragraph.

The term "generous" is analogous when referring to a person and to a gift, but it is univocal when referring to persons only or to gifts only. Hence, in order to determine whether a term is univocal or analogous, it is not enough to contemplate the term by itself; we have to find out what relation it bears to the objects denoted by it. If it has **the same relation to the objects**, it is univocal; if it has a different relation, it is analogous. This sameness or diversity of relation we discover by comparing the term with the objects which it denotes. However, this description holds true only in case our choice lies between calling a term univocal or analogous; it has not taken into account the equivocal term. The equivocal term, too, has a different relation to the objects denoted by it. Hence, difference of relation is not sufficient by itself to make a term analogous.

It is a coincidence that two ideas are expressed by an equivocal term; but it is not a coincidence that two ideas are expressed by an analogous term; these latter have one term to express them, because the objects of the ideas are related to each other. "Generous" is applied to a gift, because the gift is a manifestation of generosity in the man. The form of "generosity," represented by the idea and directly signified by the term, is found only in the man; but the term "generous" is applied also to the gift, because the gift has a relation to the form of "generosity" in the man—that is, it reveals his generosity. It is owing to this relation between the objects of the two ideas that the term expressing them is called analogous. There is an analogy between the objects, and therefore the term is analogous. When there is such an analogy between the two objects, one of the objects gets its name from some form in the other object—that is, it depends for its name upon the form existing in the other object (or, at least, found in the other object, when it exists at all).

In order, then, to make a term analogous there must be something over and above mere difference of relation between the term and the various objects denoted by it; there must also be an analogy between the objects—that is, one of the objects must depend for its name upon that form in the other object which is directly signified by the term. We may sum this up by defining analogous term as a term which has a different but cognate relation to the various objects denoted by it (or, more briefly, a term which has a cognate relation to the various objects denoted by it). The word "cognate" in the definition indicates that the difference of relation is due to an analogy between the objects. The insertion of this word in the definition is necessary only in order to distinguish analogous from equivocal term. If there were no equivocal terms, but all terms

were either univocal or analogous, it would be sufficient to say that an analogous term is a term which has a different relation to the various objects denoted by it; for then we should know that the difference of relation arose from an analogy between the objects.

Let us now come to the idea. Having seen that St. Thomas and Scotus are agreed that there are univocal and analogous terms, and having determined the meaning of "analogous" and "univocal" from an analysis of their application to the term, we are in a position to define univocal and analogous idea. A univocal idea, then, is an idea which has the same relation to its inferiors; an analogous idea, if such there be, is an idea which has a different relation to its various inferiors. There is no need to insert the word "cognate" in the definition of analogous idea, for all schools agree that there is no such thing as an equivocal idea from which to discriminate it; and we shall know that if there is an analogy between two inferiors of an idea and the analogy exists in virtue of the *form* represented by the idea, the idea will have different relations to its inferiors.

We have now to inquire whether the idea of Being is univocal or analogous with reference to its immediate inferiors, viz., the Infinite and the finite, substance and accident. All these inferiors are represented by the one idea "Being." We have seen that a gift depends for its *name* of "generous" upon that form in the man which is directly signified by the term "generous," and that this is the reason why the *term* is called analogous. Hence, if we can show that the finite depends for its *form* of "Being" upon that form in the Infinite which is represented by the idea of Being, we shall prove that the *idea* is analogous. The gift is generous, because the man is *generous*, not because he is humble or learned. In like manner, if the idea of Being is analogous, the finite must be a being because the Infinite is *Being*, not because He is Omnipotent or All-wise or endowed with any other attribute; it must be a *being*, not merely an existing thing, by virtue of the form of Being in the Infinite.

In the Infinite the form of Being exists *par excellence*; it is realized in Him in all its fulness. He is essentially the Fountainhead of all Being; and the form of Being is in the finite only by participation or derivation from the Infinite Fountainhead. The finite is a being, even independently of its actual existence, only in so far as it is an imitation, a reflection, of the Being of the Infinite, and hence it is a being by virtue of a relation with the form of Being in the Infinite. The form of Being is in the Infinite primarily and absolutely; it is in the finite only by reason of an essential dependence upon the Infinite. There is therefore an analogy be-

tween the Infinite and the finite, and this analogy exists in virtue of the very form of Being. Hence the idea of Being has a different relation to the Infinite from what it has to the finite, and therefore it is an analogous idea.

We might draw the same conclusion as regards substance and accident, by reasoning from the essential dependence of the Being of accident upon the Being of substance.

Thus, we have the same reason for calling the idea of Being analogous that we have for calling the term "generous" analogous; and if Being is not an analogous idea, "generous" is not an analogous term.

Is Being also an analogous *term*? It is commonly so accounted in our text-books. "Generous," they say, is analogous by analogy of "extrinsic" attribution, and Being is analogous by analogy of "intrinsic" attribution. The term "generous" is the expression of two related ideas, and since these ideas are related because they represent two related objects, we may say that "generous" is a term which denotes two related objects. The term "Being" is the expression of one idea, and since this idea represents two related objects, we may say that "Being" is a term which denotes two related objects. Hence the general definition of analogous term would be a term which denotes two or more related objects. The related objects are called the primary and secondary analogues, the secondary being dependent on the primary analogue. "Generous" is said to be "extrinsically" analogous, because the form of "generosity," directly signified by the term "generous," is extrinsic to the secondary analogue and found only in the primary. "Being" is said to be "intrinsically" analogous, because the form of Being signified by the term "Being" is intrinsic to both analogues.

## II.

St. Thomas was right, then, in laying down that the idea of Being is analogous. But still there is something to be said for Scotus' side of the question. St. Thomas and Scotus were looking at the subject from different points of view. Scotus was viewing it from the standpoint of the term, and St. Thomas from the standpoint of the idea. Scotus maintained that Being is univocal, because the term "Being" is univocal; St. Thomas that Being is analogous, because the idea is analogous. In a word, Scotus was consulting the requirements of Logic, and St. Thomas, the requirements of Metaphysics.

Logic recognizes only a dichotomous division of the term, viz., the term which can be employed in argument and the term which cannot be so employed—that is, the unambiguous and the ambiguous



term; the former it calls univocal and the latter equivocal. What is designated the "intrinsically" analogous term it puts down as univocal; for the "intrinsically" analogous term, for instance "Being," is certainly unambiguous. What is called the "extrinsically" analogous term it places under the heading of equivocal; for the "extrinsically" analogous term is ambiguous; for example: "The generous deserve the esteem and love of their fellows; this gift is generous; therefore this gift deserves the esteem and love of its fellows."

We have seen that such a term as "generous" is analogous, because it has a different relation to the various objects denoted by it. From this one might be led to argue that the term "Being" is as strictly analogous as the term "generous," because it has a different relation to the various objects which it denotes. But this is not the case; the term "Being" has not this difference of relation. The term "generous" has different relations to its objects, because the gift depends for its *name* (that is, the *term*) of "generous" upon the form of "generosity" in the man; whereas the finite does not depend for its *name* of "Being" upon the form of Being in the Infinite: the finite is *termed* "Being" from the form of Being intrinsic to itself. Hence the term "Being" has the same relation to the objects denoted by it, and therefore is a univocal term. Thus, the provision definition of univocal term, set down at the beginning of this paper, is a correct one, viz., that it is a common term which expresses one idea.

If the term "Being" is to be denominated analogous, then the word "analogous" is itself analogous by analogy of "extrinsic" attribution; for in that case the term "Being" would depend for its *name* of "analogous" upon the analogy of the *idea* of Being. But if we call the term "Being" analogous, because the idea is analogous, what is to hinder a person from saying that he has as good a right to call the idea of Being univocal because the term is univocal? If we wish to avoid confusion in the matter, the only thing to do is to keep the term and the idea distinct, and give to each the designation which properly belongs to it, calling the term univocal and the idea analogous.

Perhaps the foregoing remarks may help to explain a number of expressions which have been alternately employed and challenged by the opposite parties in the controversy. Such expressions as "analogous predication," "univocal predication" and the like are not inappropriate when we are speaking about a term; but as applied to an idea, they have no meaning. We can say that a *term* is predicated univocally of several things, because this means that the idea expressed by the term is the same in each predication. When we say that a *term* is predicated of several

things analogously or equivocally, we mean that there is a different idea underlying the term at each successive predication. But we cannot speak of predicating an *idea* univocally or analogously. The univocalness or analogy of an idea has nothing to do with the predication of that idea of any of its inferiors. Just as the universality of an idea is recognized by the mind only in the reflex idea, that is, when the mind by a reflex act has compared the direct idea with its inferiors, so the analogy or univocalness of an idea is recognized only in the reflex idea; and it is not the reflex idea which is predicated of the inferiors, but only the direct idea.<sup>2</sup> It is true, the direct idea is universal, even though it is not recognized as such by the mind; and the direct idea is univocal or analogous independently of its recognition by the mind. But the universal idea is not predicated as universal of any inferior, nor is a univocal or an analogous idea predicated as univocal or analogous of any inferior. In other words, it is a universal idea which is predicated of an inferior, but it is not predicated *universally*; in like manner, it is an analogous idea which is predicated of an inferior, but it is not predicated *analogously*. To speak of predicating the idea of Being analogously of the Infinite and the finite is like speaking of predicating "man" universally of Cæsar and Napoleon. It is the direct idea which is predicated, not the reflex; and what we predicate of a subject is what we *know* in the direct idea; and the univocalness or analogy of an idea is not *known* in the direct idea. What is predicated of an inferior is the *idea*, not its relation to the inferior; and it is in its *relation* to its inferiors that the univocalness or analogy of an idea consists. Hence, "univocal predication" and "analogous predication," as applied to an idea, are meaningless expressions.

As a matter of fact, we predicate the idea of Being of the Infinite and the finite before we know that it is analogous. We must know what the inferiors of an idea are before we know what relation it bears to them, and we cannot know the inferiors of an idea without predicating the idea of them. The very act of judging that certain objects are inferiors of a certain idea is an act of predication; and we must judge that those objects are inferiors of that idea before we can tell how the idea is related to them, that is, before we can tell whether the idea is univocal or analogous.

Perhaps the following objection might occur to the mind against the foregoing explanation: "If the analogy of the idea consists in the relation it bears to its inferiors, the analogy of the term, too, consists in the relation it bears to the objects denoted by it; and if it is wrong to speak of predicating an idea analogously, because its relation to its inferiors is not predicated along with the idea, how

<sup>2</sup> That is, of course, "*secundum id quod*," not "*secundum modum quo*."

can it be right to speak of predicating a term analogously? For surely the relation of the term to its objects is not predicated along with the term." In answer, we say that we speak of predicating a term analogously not because the term itself is analogous, not because it has different relations to its objects; our reason for so speaking is the reason which *gave rise* to the analogy of the term (that is, the *foundation* of the relations) and which led us to call the term analogous, viz., that the term has two meanings, and these *meanings* are analogous to each other. It is because these meanings or ideas are analogous to each other that we transfer the word "analogous" to the term which expresses them both. When we say that "generous" is predicated analogously of the man and the gift, we do not mean that the *term* "generous" is analogous to the *term* "generous" in the two predications, but that the sense of the term in one predication is analogous to its sense in the other. Predicating analogously means predicating in an analogous sense. But we cannot speak of predicating an *idea* in an analogous sense; for an idea cannot have two senses. In fact, it is incorrect to speak of the sense or meaning of an idea. A term has a meaning, but an idea has not. The meaning of a term is the idea behind it, and to give the meaning of a term is to give the comprehension of the idea. To speak of two senses of an idea is like speaking of two comprehensions of an idea. Where there are two comprehensions, there are no ideas.

This leads us to consider the expression "partly the same and partly different." If we were splitting hairs, we should say that it ought to read "partly alike and partly different." When referring to a term, the phrase means that the sense of the term, when applied to one object, is not so utterly unlike the sense it has, when applied to another, that there is no connection between them.<sup>8</sup> It does not mean that the analogous term itself is partly the same and partly different. But the phrase has no meaning when we are speaking of an idea. If the phrase read "partly alike and partly different," its ineptness would be manifest. An idea cannot be "partly the same and partly different;" partly different from what? Does it mean that when the idea of Being is predicated of the Infinite, it is partly

<sup>8</sup> In matter of fact, it is difficult to defend the expression even in reference to a term. We know that the generosity of the gift is different from the generosity of the man; we know that there is a connection between the two; but in what precisely does their sameness or resemblance to each other consist? If the generosity of the man and the generosity of the gift are partly the same, there must be some aspect in which they agree; and if there is a common aspect, that aspect can be represented by an idea. Is there any aspect under which the generosity of the man resembles the generosity of the gift besides the aspect of "Being?" But under that aspect the generosity of the man also resembles a tree and a sitting posture. The generosity of the man is a quality; the generosity of the gift is a relation.

different from the idea of Being when it is predicated of the finite? If so, then we ought in consistency to say that when the term "generous" is predicated of the man, it is partly different from the term "generous" when it is predicated of the gift. If this is the meaning of the statement, we have not predicated the transcendental idea of Being in both cases; we have predicated not one idea, but two separate ideas, for one idea cannot be partly different from itself. When we predicate the idea of Being of the infinite, it cannot be different in any way whatever from what it is when we predicate it of the finite. In a judgment or a proposition it is the function of the predicate to tell us something about the subject, and the only thing we learn about the subject from the proposition is what the predicate tells us—the proposition gives us absolutely no other information. The subject does not give us any information about the predicate. It is the function of the predicate to enlighten us about the subject, not of the subject to enlighten about the predicate. If the predicate of a proposition changed its meaning according to the subject, we should first have to know the meaning of the subject in order to determine the meaning of the predicate, and thus the predicate could give us no information about the subject. When we say "The finite is a being," all we know about the finite from this proposition is that it is a *being*; the proposition tells us absolutely nothing about the *mode* in which Being is realized in the finite. It would be unmeaning to say that, when the term "generous" is predicated of a man, it becomes "generous-hearted," and that it becomes "generously-bestowed" when predicated of a gift; for if such were the case, the term "*generous*" would not be predicated at all, but two other terms would be predicated. As we cannot say that the term itself is partly the same and partly different, neither can we say it of the idea. The *inferiors* of the idea of Being are partly alike and partly different: alike, because the form of Being is found in them; different, because the mode of one differs from the mode of the other. But it is only the *form* of Being which is represented by the idea of Being; the particular mode of an inferior, as such, is not represented by it at all. If, when we say "The Infinite is a being," the meaning is "The Infinite is Infinite Being," then all predication is worthless and become mere tautology.

However, there is one sense in which we can speak of sameness and diversity. There is absolute sameness in the idea of Being itself, that is, in its comprehension; and there is diversity in its relations to its immediate inferiors. But this diversity is seen only in the reflex idea of Being; it is *not* seen, because it does not exist, in the *predication* of the idea of Being, for the relations are not predicated along with the idea.

The passage from the term to the object is not immediate, as it is in the case of the idea. There are two steps from the term to the object: first, the term and the object comes the idea or meaning expressed by the object: from the idea to the object there is only one. Between the term; but nothing of this sort comes between the idea and the object. If we lose sight of this, we are apt to think that what can be said of the term can also be said of the idea—that as a term can have two meanings, so can an idea also. A term has a meaning, but an idea has not: an idea *is* a meaning; and to say that an idea has two meanings is equivalent to saying that a meaning has two meanings.

If, then, we are asked, "Is Being predicated univocally or analogously of its immediate inferiors?" we answer: If you mean the *term*, it is predicated univocally; if you mean the *idea*, we deny the *suppositum* that an idea can be predicated univocally or analogously.

### III.

Sometimes we see the proof of the Analogy of Being stated somewhat as follows: "The various differences of Being are not adequately distinct from Being, and hence the inferiors do not differ from each other by one part of their comprehension, while the other and if Being is not an analogous idea, "generous" analogous; and part remains in all in the same way; but they differ by their whole comprehension and hence in Being itself; hence Being exists in its inferiors in a different way, and therefore it is an analogous idea." But this does not prove that the idea of Being is analogous: all it succeeds in establishing is that the idea of Being is non-generic and non-specific. The argument, if valid, would prove that there is an analogy between two men. To show that an idea is non-generic and non-specific is not *ipso facto* to show that it is analogous. To prove the latter point, we must begin by showing that there is an analogy between the inferiors by reason of the form represented by the idea.

Some authors hold that Being, if viewed in its most abstract form without reference to its inferiors, is a univocal idea—they call it a "logical" univocal—and that it is analogous only when viewed in reference to its inferiors. But this is a mistake. The idea of Being, in its most transcendental state, is analogous, whether we view it in reference to its inferiors or not. It is not our viewing it in a particular way that makes it analogous; it is analogous independently of our way of viewing it. The idea of Being, considered transcendently, as absolutely prescinded from all its inferiors is analogous; it has different relations to its inferiors even before we compare it with them. It is necessary to compare it with its immediate

inferiors, in order that we may *know* that it is analogous. Our comparing it with its inferiors does not confer the analogy, but *discovers* it.

An objection to the analogy of the idea of Being is sometimes urged as follows: "Analogy requires that the idea should be partly the same and partly different. But the idea of Being, when prescinded from its inferiors, is perfectly the same. For in the abstract idea of Being the different modes of Being either appear or they do not. If they appear, the idea does not prescind from them. If they do not appear, there is no diversity, but perfect unity and sameness." We have already seen that it is a mistake to suppose that an analogous idea must be partly the same and partly different; and we have seen that the idea of Being, when prescinded from its inferiors, is perfectly the same. The objection says that, if the modes do not appear in the transcendental idea, there is no diversity. But there is diversity, not indeed in the transcendental idea itself, that is, in its comprehension, but in its relations to its immediate inferiors. And this diversity is there, even though it does not appear; it is there, though we do not see it. However, in the reflex idea of Being we do see it; and we could not see it there, unless it was there to be seen.

It may be objected that, since the idea of Being has different relations to its immediate inferiors, and since a relation implies a foundation, the foundations of these different relations must be in the idea of Being, and therefore there must be some diversity or at least the elements of diversity in the idea itself. But the foundations of these different relations are not in the idea of Being; they are in its immediate inferiors.<sup>4</sup> Now, should any one say that if this is so, the idea of Being has not different relations to its immediate inferiors, but those inferiors have different relations to it, there is no objection to this way of putting it. The doctrine remains intact, if any one prefers to define univocal idea as an idea to which its inferiors have the same relation, and an analogous idea as an idea to which its inferiors have different relations. But then, to be consistent, we must define univocal and analogous term, *mutatis mutandis*, in the same way.

Lossada maintained that Being is univocal, if regarded as pre-

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<sup>4</sup> It is scarcely necessary to say that it is one thing to ask where is the foundation of the relation between the idea of giraffe and a giraffe, and that it is quite another to ask where is the foundation of the "similarity of relations" between the idea and two giraffes. In like manner, it is one thing to ask where is the foundation of the relation between the idea of Being and the form of Being in the finite; it is quite another to ask where is the foundation of the "diversity of relations" between the idea of Being and the form of Being in the Infinite and in the finite.

scinded from its inferiors, but that it is analogous, if regarded as contracted in its inferiors. It is not likely that Lossada would have laid down such a doctrine, if, instead of speaking of Being, he had spoken throughout of the *idea* of Being. When the idea of Being is contracted to its inferiors, it is no longer the idea of Being, but there are several other ideas before the mind, each representing a different inferior. To contract the idea of Being means to substitute for it another idea containing a more distinct representation of one of the inferiors of the idea of Being. To say that Being is analogous, if viewed as it is in its inferiors, is like saying that "animal" is generic and universal, if viewed as existing in Napoleon and in a horse. Transcendental Being does not exist in its inferiors any more than universal "animal" exists in a horse. Transcendental Being is an idea, not an existing thing.

The following argument was formerly advanced against the analogy of the idea of Being: "When there is an analogy, the secondary analogue can be defined only by means of the primary analogue. Thus, 'generous,' as applied to a gift, must be defined by referring to the generosity of a man. But Being in the finite is defined absolutely and not by a reference to the Being of the Infinite." This argument applies only to the *term* "Being" and proves that the term is univocal. It has no application to the *idea* of Being; for we do not define an idea. To define is to give the meaning, and an idea has not a meaning. In any case, to define a term is to reveal the comprehension of the idea behind the term, and the analogy of the idea of Being is not in the comprehension of that idea.

#### IV.

Thus far we have seen that the idea of Being is analogous with reference to its immediate inferiors. What shall we say of it as regards its remote inferiors, or as regards the nine categories of accidents considered independently of substance? There is no doubt that the *term* "Being" is univocal with respect to them. It is equally certain that the *idea* of Being is non-generic in their regard. Moreover, the idea of Being is not analogous with reference to these inferiors; for none of them depends for its form of being upon the form of Being in any of the others. The only conclusion is that the idea of Being is univocal as regards its remote inferiors. Of course, we are speaking of these inferiors in so far as they are realities, that is, in so far as they can have formal existence independently of an act of the mind. "But," it may be said, "Being is realized in these inferiors in a different way." Yes; but so is "animal" realized in a man and a horse in a different way. This is

only another way of saying that one accident is a different kind of Being from another accident, just as a man is a different kind of animal from a horse. The *form* of Being is found in each one of the inferiors; but it is not different in one from what it is in another: it is distinct, but not different; otherwise, it could not be represented by one idea. And it is the *form* of Being, and that alone, which is represented by the idea of Being. If the particular mode of any inferior enters, as such, into the idea, we no longer have the idea of Being, but the idea of the inferior.

The following objections might be made to what has been said in the preceding paragraph: "First: a univocal idea, for instance, 'man,' represents only that in its inferiors in which the inferiors are alike, whereas the *differences* between the inferiors, for example, between two men, are represented by the idea of Being, not indeed as such, but in so far as they are *beings*; for the idea of Being can be predicated of them all; and since this is so, the idea of Being with reference to its remote inferiors is not univocal, but analogous. Secondly: analogous idea has been defined as an idea which has different relations to its inferiors. Now, a different foundation gives rise to a different relation; and since among the remote inferiors of the idea of Being there is a mode in one which is not in another, and these modes are all represented by the idea of Being, it follows that the idea of Being has different relations to its remote inferiors, and therefore is analogous with reference to them."

The first objection proves that the idea of Being with reference to its remote inferiors differs from other univocal ideas. But so does a specific idea differ from a generic idea, and yet they are both univocal. If the idea of Being is universal in spite of differing from all other universal ideas, is it an argument against its being univocal with reference to its remote inferiors, to say that it differs from all other univocal ideas?<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> There are, indeed, some authors who say that the idea of Being is not a universal idea; but they cannot define universal idea so as to exclude the idea of Being without begging the question. To show that Being is not a universal idea, it is not sufficient to say that a universal idea is "*unum commune pluribus*," and then to argue that Being is not "*unum commune pluribus*" because it is "*unum commune omnibus*." This would be equivalent to saying that an idea does not represent fifty individuals because it represents a hundred. The strict definition of universal idea is an idea representing a form which is multiplied (or multipliable) in many individuals and is identified with each. A reflex universal idea is an idea representing a form as multiplied (or multipliable) in many individuals and as identified with each. This definition applies rigorously to the idea of Being.

Since the question of universal ideas has been introduced into this paper, it may not be irrelevant to remark upon certain expressions which are current in the explanation of universals, especially as what shall be said will tend to prevent misconception of some statements in the foregoing



As regards the second objection, it is to be observed that the remote inferiors of the idea of Being are inferiors of that idea only in so far as they are *beings*, not in so far as they are *such* beings. They do not differ from each other so far as they are the *formal* object of the idea of Being, but only so far as they are the *material* object; and the material object, as such, is not represented at all

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paragraphs. It is common to say that the direct idea is potentially universal and the reflex idea actually universal, that the reflex idea is formally universal, but not the direct idea, that the direct idea is capable of representing many individuals ("apta repraesentare plura"), but that the reflex idea does represent them. But this manner of speaking is apt to be misleading. The direct idea is not potentially universal; it is actually and formally universal; it is not capable of representing many individuals; it does actually represent them. What the reflex idea does is to let us see that the direct idea is actually and formally universal, that it does actually represent many individuals. If the direct idea does not actually represent many individuals, our reflecting upon it will not make it represent them. Our direct idea of "man" actually represents every existing and possible man, though we do not know that it does till we reflect upon it and compare it with its inferiors. When we reflect upon the direct idea we can see in it only what is there; and if the direct idea is only a potential and not an actual representation of many individuals, our reflection upon it can only reveal that it is a potential representation. What is the meaning of the expression "potential universal" and "capable of representing?" Do they mean that the direct idea is in potency, that it has an aptitude, to represent those individuals which we shall see that it represents? Is it not plain that the potency and the aptitude is not in the direct idea itself, but in our knowledge of the direct idea? The mind is in potency, the mind has an aptitude, to recognize the universality of the direct idea. If the inferiors of an idea are all perfectly similar as regards the form which is represented by the idea, then they are all actually and formally represented by the idea, whether or not we see that they are. When we say that the direct idea represents a form, we mean that it is like the form, just as the portrait of King George is like King George; and it is obvious that the portrait is actually and formally like the King, whether we compare it with him or not. But if the direct idea is like the form, it is like the form wherever the form is found, no matter what be the number of individuals in which it is multiplied, because the form as it is in one individual is, though distinct, perfectly like the form as it is in all the other individuals. In the reflex idea we see the relation between the direct idea and the inferiors, and we could not see this relation unless it was there before we compared the direct idea with its inferiors. In matter of fact, if the formal universality of the idea depended on our comparing it with the inferiors, we could have very few universal ideas; for then we could not have a universal idea without having made a complete induction. We can only compare the direct idea with a relatively small number of individuals, but we know that in spite of the small number of individuals with which we compare it the direct idea does in fact actually and formally represent an indefinitely larger number of individuals, and it is for this reason that we call it a universal idea. What we have said is borne out by the definition of universal idea which is frequently employed, viz., that it is a form which can be predicated of many individuals distributively and identically ("per identitatem"). This is a definition of a direct universal idea, first, because only the direct idea can be predicated of an individual; secondly, because in the reflex idea

by the idea of Being, and hence it has *no* relation to that idea.\* We did not prove that the idea of Being is analogous with reference to the Infinite and the finite from the fact that the finite differs from the Infinite. That would have been no proof at all; for the Infinite, *as* Infinite, and the finite, *as* finite, are not represented by the idea of Being. Nor did we base our proof on the supposition that the form of Being in the finite is different from the form of Being in the Infinite; for that would have been a false supposition. Though these forms are distinct from each other, there is absolutely no difference between them, but perfect similarity; otherwise they could not be represented by the same idea. Nor, again, did we say that a mere glance at the immediate inferiors of the idea of Being was sufficient to show that the form of Being in the finite is analogous to that in the Infinite. We relied for the data of our proof upon a long series of proofs which is developed in Natural Theology, and in which it is shown that the form of Being in the finite, even in the state of possibility, is a reflection or imitation of the form of Being in the Infinite. If we look merely at the form of Being in the Infinite and in the finite, we cannot tell whether the form in the latter is analogous to that in the former. But if we *know* from the proofs of Natural Theology or otherwise that it is a reflection or imitation of the form of Being in the Infinite, then we can draw our conclusion that the form in one is analogous to the form in the other, and that consequently the idea which represents them both is an analogous idea. And this is precisely what we had to do in regard to the analogous term. From the mere fact that a gift is *called* "generous," we cannot argue that "generous" is an analogous term; in order to determine this, we must first know *why* the gift is called "generous." In like manner, from the mere fact that the finite is a being, we cannot conclude that Being is an

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the form is no longer merely capable of being predicated, but is actually predicated of every inferior with which we compare it. But the form could not be predicated of many individuals distributively and identically, unless it actually and formally represented many individuals. The chief fault to be found with this definition is that it does not tell us what a direct universal idea is, but what can be done with it. This, of course, would not be an objection at all, if there were no other way of defining universal idea and if the definition were not practically misleading. Another objection to the definition is that the elements in it cannot easily be employed in framing a definition of reflex universal idea.

\* Even if it could be proved that the idea of Being had different relations to its remote inferiors, it would not follow that it was analogous with reference to them; at the utmost, it would be equivocal with reference to them. In order that the idea of Being should be analogous with reference to two inferiors, one of those inferiors must derive its form of Being from the form of Being in the other; it must be a being because the other is a being. It is not sufficient that it should derive its existence from the productive power of the other.

analogous idea; we must first know *why* the finite is a being. It is the "*why*" in both cases which furnishes us with the proof of the analogy.

Here we may be charged with inconsistency. "You said in a previous paragraph that the predicate of a proposition enlightens us about the subject, not *vice versa*; but you have just laid down that we must know something about the subjects of which 'generous' and 'Being' are predicated, in order to tell whether they are analogous; and thus you are using the subjects to throw light upon 'generous' and 'Being.'" These two statements are not inconsistent with each other. We did not say that we must know about the subjects of which "generous" and "Being" are predicated in order to find out the *meaning* of "generous" and "Being," but to determine whether they are *analogous*, and analogy is a relation, not a meaning.

Another word on this last point may, perhaps, make it clearer. When we speak of the "subject," we have to settle whether we are referring to a judgment or to a proposition, and if to a proposition, whether we are considering the term, which is subject, as having or not having a definite idea behind it. If the term has no definite idea behind it, then the subject depends absolutely upon the predicate for its interpretation, both as to its meaning and its "supposition;" thus, "Man is a redeemed creature, an animal, a species, a substantive, a word of three letters, an island in the Irish Sea." If we are speaking of a judgment, the subject is an idea, and it does not depend on the predicate for its meaning or supposition, for an idea has not a meaning or a supposition; but it does depend on the predicate to throw light upon the object which is represented by the idea. If what the predicate represents is already explicitly known about the object, it is futile for the mind to predicate it of the subject, except for the sake of securing consistency in its judgments and reasonings. When the subject of a proposition is a term with a definite idea underlying it, the subject does not determine the meaning of the predicate, but it determines which of the several meanings of an ambiguous term is consistent with it. It does not determine what shall be predicated of it, but what shall not be predicated. If some one says, "Peter Jones is generous," we know that he does not mean "Peter Jones is liberally donated," for such a predicate is inconsistent with the subject. In a word, our knowledge of the subject does this for us; it enables us at times to decide which of the various meanings of a term is intended, if the term is predicated at all. But it does not even do this, if two meanings of an ambiguous term are consistent with the subject as it is known to us. "John Smith is a story-teller;" does this mean that John Smith is a liar or that he is a relater of tales? We cannot decide unless

we know whether John Smith is an upright man; and we have to ask for further information—that is, for another predicate. When a term is predicated of a subject, we do not look at the subject to learn the meaning of the term; we appeal to convention, for it is convention which has affixed the meaning to the term. But there can be no appeal to convention when there is question of a judgment and not of a proposition; for a judgment is composed of ideas, not of terms, and convention has no power to decree that such or such a form shall be represented by a given idea.<sup>7</sup>

What has been said of the idea of Being is true of all *ideas* that can be predicated of both the Infinite and the finite, viz., they are analogous.<sup>8</sup> Such ideas as Mind, Will, Power, Life, Duration can be predicated of both the Infinite and the finite, because they involve no imperfection; there is neither infinitude nor finiteness implied in them. Whatever imperfection or limitation there is, is in the material object, not in the formal. When the *term* "mind" is predicated of the Infinite and the finite, it expresses absolutely the same idea or meaning, and hence it is predicated univocally, though the idea underlying it is analogous. But it is unmeaning to say that we predicate the *idea* of Mind analogously of the Infinite and the finite. We may *speak* of two objects in an analogous sense when using the same *word*; but we cannot *think* of two objects in an analogous sense when using the same *thought*.

## V.

Before concluding, it may not be out of place to make a few observations concerning the two kinds of analogy, viz., analogy of attribution and analogy of proportion. What is called analogy of "extrinsic" attribution is in reality analogy of the term, and analogy of "intrinsic" attribution is analogy of the idea. The words "uni-

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<sup>7</sup> Of course, we may learn something about the subject by analyzing it. Analysis may be defined as the process of examining a subject for the purpose of rendering explicit what is implicit in our knowledge of the subject. Our knowledge of a subject becomes explicit, that is, our conscious knowledge of it increases in proportion as we predicate of the subject what we have discovered by this examination. But we do not examine the subject for the purpose of throwing light upon what we discover in it. The aim of analysis is to increase our knowledge of the subject, and if what we discover in the subject is itself obscure, the subject cannot throw any light upon it, for, by hypothesis, the subject is previously unknown as regards that aspect of it which we have discovered by analysis.

<sup>8</sup> Sometimes we speak of a visitation, such as a plague or an earthquake, as the "will" of God. The term "will" with reference to God and such a visitation is analogous by analogy of attribution. Such terms as "angry," "repenting," "resting" with reference to God and creatures are analogous by analogy of proportion.

vocal," "analogous" and "attribution" belonged originally to the term and were transferred thence to the idea. The term "generous" is called analogous by analogy of attribution, because "generous" is *attributed* to the gift on account of the connection of the gift with the generosity of the man. The idea of Being is not attributed to the finite; but we employ the word "attribution" to designate the analogy of the idea, because the analogy of the idea is exactly parallel to the analogy of attribution of the term; that is, the reason which we have for calling a term analogous, when there is analogy of attribution, is our reason also for calling an idea analogous, viz., that the secondary analogue has a relation of dependence upon the primary.<sup>9</sup> And as we call such analogy of the term analogy of attribution, we may apply the same designation to the analogy of the idea.

Is the idea of Being also analogous by analogy of *proportion*? Some authors hold that it is. Their argument runs somewhat as follows:—We speak of a pleasant field as "smiling," and of a courageous man as a "lion," and we do so by analogy of proportion; for there is a proportion between the pleasant appearance of a field and a smile on a man's countenance, between the courage of a man and the courage of a lion; that is, the pleasant appearance of a field is to the field as the pleasant appearance (the smile) of a man's countenance is to his countenance, and the courage of a man is to the man as the courage of a lion is to the lion. Now, the Being of the Infinite is to the Infinite as the Being of the finite is to the finite. Since in the first two cases "smiling" and "lion" are analogous by reason of a proportion, therefore Being is analogous by reason of a proportion.

The foregoing argument suggests the following remarks: To have analogy of proportion, three conditions must be fulfilled. First, the relations between the elements on both sides must be the same; that is, similar. For instance, we cannot say that the pleasant appearance of a field is to the field as a scowl on a face is to the face. Secondly, one or other of the two elements on one side of the proportion must derive its name (or be itself derived) from the other side. If we simply said "pleasant field," instead of "smiling field," or if we called a man "courageous," instead of "a lion," there would be no analogy in spite of the proportion. Thirdly, the term (or idea) which is analogous must denote (or represent) an

<sup>9</sup> The form of Being in the Infinite and the form of Being in the finite are related and alike, but not different. The generosity of a man and the generosity of a gift are related and different, but not alike. The parallel between the analogy of the term and the analogy of the idea consists in the relation of dependence of the secondary analogue upon the primary in one case for name, in the other for a form.

element on each side of the proportion. Thus, "lion" would not be an analogous term, if it did not stand for a man as well as a lion. The first condition is necessary, in order to have *proportion*; the second and third, in order to have *analogy* of proportion.

The proportion in the argument reads: "The Being of the Infinite is to the Infinite as the Being of the finite is to the finite." As the proportion stands, both of the elements on the right side are derived from the left. Since there is no idea representing both the Infinite and the finite, as such, the analogy cannot pertain to these two elements. The question is, Is there an idea representing both Being of the Infinite and Being of the finite? This question can be answered only by determining what is meant by Being of the Infinite and Being of the finite. Does it mean Being of the Infinite, as such, and Being of the finite, as such; that is, the *material* object of the idea of Being? If so, then they are not represented by the idea of Being, since they are two different forms; one idea can represent only one form—or, if we will, two distinct, but not two different forms. We are endeavoring to discover by means of the proportion whether the idea of Being is analogous; and the idea of Being, to be analogous, must represent an element on each side of the proportion. But the only thing represented by the idea of Being is the form of Being; consequently, the form of Being must be one of the elements on each side of the proportion. Our proportion, then, will read: "The form of Being is to the Infinite as the form of Being is to the finite." Now it is to be observed that, if the form of Being has a different relation to the Infinite from what it has to the finite, there is no proportion; if it has the same relation, what warrant have we for calling the idea representing it an analogous idea? And how shall we discriminate it from a univocal idea? The animality of a horse is to the horse as the animality of a man is to the man; here there is a proportion, and yet "animal" is a univocal idea.

But we have not yet got to the root of the question. A term which is analogous by analogy of proportion is a term expressing two ideas (or objects) which have the same relation to a third idea (or object.) Thus, in the example above, "lion" denotes a lion and a man, because the lion and the man, as courageous, have the same relation to "courage;" "smiling" is a designation of a countenance and a field, because, as pleasant, they have the same relation to "pleasant appearance." Thus we find that there is a fourth condition required to make a term (or idea) analogous by analogy of proportion, viz. that the ideas or objects denoted (or represented) by it shall have the same relation to a third idea or object. According, therefore, to analogy of proportion an analogous idea

would be defined as an idea representing two objects (that is, inferiors) which have the same relation to a third object. But can this definition be applied to the idea of Being? Our proportion is, "The form of Being is to the Infinite as the form of Being is to the finite." What are the two objects represented by the idea of Being? Are they the Infinite and the finite? But the Infinite and the finite, as such, are not represented by the idea of Being. And is the third object the form of Being? But this is the *only* object represented by the idea of Being.

The Infinite, as such, and the finite, as such, are not represented by the idea of Being; they are represented only as *beings*—that is, in so far as they have the form of Being. In order, then, to make it clear that we are speaking of them as *beings*, and to bring out what it is to which they are related, the proportion will have to assume the following shape: "The form of Being in the idea of Being is to the form of Being in the Infinite as the form of Being in the idea of Being is to the form of Being in the finite." The form of Being in the finite is derived from the form of Being in the Infinite; for it is a reflection of the latter, and is a form of Being only by virtue of a relation with the form of Being in the Infinite; hence, the form of Being in the finite is analogous to the form of Being in the Infinite, and hence also the idea which represents the form of Being is analogous. But the proportion we are considering does not determine the analogy of this idea. It fails of its purpose for two reasons: First, an idea which should be analogous by analogy of proportion is defined as an idea representing two objects (inferiors) which have the same relation to a third object. The form of being in the Infinite and the form of Being in the finite are both represented by the idea of Being; but there is no third object to which they have the same relation; for the form of Being in the idea of Being is the idea of Being. Secondly, the form of Being in the Infinite and the form of Being in the finite have *different* relations to the form of Being in the idea of Being, and therefore there is no proportion.

We may sum up the remarks in the last three paragraphs as follows: The proportion, "The Being of the Infinite is to the Infinite as the Being of the finite is to the finite," is a true proportion only in case the Being of the Infinite and the Being of the finite are taken as the *material* object of the idea of Being; for it is only as the material object that they can have the *same* relation respectively to the Infinite and the finite. But if they are taken as the material object of the idea of Being, they are not represented by that idea at all, and hence the idea of Being is neither analogous nor univocal

with reference to them, for it has no relation to them as material objects.

In matter of fact, proportion cannot serve us in determining the analogy or univocalness of *any* idea. "The animality of a horse is to the horse as the animality of a man is to the man." If, as in the case of the idea of Being, we construct this proportion so as to make it clear that we are referring to the formal and not to the material object of the idea of "animal," we shall find ourselves in presence of the same difficulty which confronted us in the instance of the idea of Being, viz., that there is no third object to which the form of "animal" in the horse and the man has the same relation.

What has been said of the proportion as it stands in the argument must also be said of the following proportion: "The existence of the Infinite is to the Infinite as the existence of the finite is to the finite." This proportion is true only in case "existence of the Infinite" and "existence of the finite" are taken *materially*, and consequently are two different objects and are represented by two different ideas. If they are taken in this way, we have no analogy; for the form of Being in the Infinite and the form of Being in the finite would not have the same relation to a *third* object, but to *two different* objects. If we say, "Existence is to the form of Being in the Infinite as Existence is to the form of Being in the finite, we have no proportion; for these two objects have respectively a *different* relation to Existence. The form of Being in the Infinite is *essentially* Existence, but the form of Being in the finite is not.

We may therefore conclude that an idea cannot be analogous by analogy of proportion. A *term* may be analogous in this way, because a term may denote two ideas or objects which have the *same* relation to a *third* idea or object. "Lion" is analogous, because the lion and the man, as possessing courage, have the same relation to "courage." "Courage" is here taken formally; for we are comparing the man with the lion as regards the possession of courage, and we could not compare them together in this respect, unless we had a common basis of comparison,—that is, unless "courage" was taken as the *formal* object of the idea of "courage."

Here we may be confronted with the following objection: "By your principles you are prevented from calling 'lion' analogous. 'The courage of a man is to the man as the courage of a lion is to the lion.' You will have to say that here, too, there is no proportion, unless 'courage of a man' and 'courage of a lion' are taken materially. You will have to say that 'courage,' considered formally, has a different relation to its inferiors, the man and the lion.



Thus, you will be contradicting what you laid down in the beginning, viz., that a univocal idea is an idea which has the same relation to its inferiors; for surely you will maintain that 'courage' is a univocal idea." Our answer is that "courage," considered formally, has not a different relation respectively to the man and the lion; it has *no* relation to the man and the lion, as such; for the man, as such, and the lion, as such, are not the formal, but the material object of the idea of "courage." If we were trying to prove that "lion" or "courage" is an analogous *idea*, the objection would shatter our whole argument. We say that "lion" is an analogous *term*, and that it would not be an analogous term, unless "courage" was taken formally. "Well, then," the objector will continue, "your proportion will have to read, 'The form of courage is to the lion as the form of courage is to the man.' But the form of courage has a different relation to the man from what it has to the lion; for the courage of the lion differs from that of the man, just as the animality of a horse differs from that of a man." We grant that, if we attempted to arrange the proportion in this way, there would, strictly speaking, be no proportion at all. In order to bring out the full implication of the original proportion, we must state it thus: "The form of courage in the idea of courage is to the form of courage in the man as the form of courage in the idea of courage is to the form of courage in the lion." Now, the form of courage in a man and in a lion has the same relation to the form of courage in the idea of courage. If we were trying to prove that the *idea of courage* was analogous on account of this proportion, we should be met with the difficulty that there is no third object to which the form of courage in the man and in the lion has the same relation. In this case, the idea of courage is an idea representing two objects which have the same relation to itself, not to a third object; for the form of courage in the idea of courage is the idea of courage. But what we say is, that the *term* "lion" is analogous, because it stands for two ideas or objects which, inasmuch as they have the form of courage, have the same relation to the form of courage in the idea of courage.

When we are speaking of a term or an idea, the expression "analogous with reference to two objects" means essentially "having different relations to two objects." "Lion" denotes a lion directly; it can denote a man only because the man, being courageous, has the same relation as the lion to "courage." "Generous" is applied to a man directly; it can be applied to a gift only because the gift has a relation to the form of "generosity" in the man. The idea of Being represents the Infinite, because He is Being itself; it can represent the finite only because the form of Being in the finite is a form of Being by virtue of a relation to the form of

Being in the Infinite. A gift is *called* "generous," because of a relation, and therefore the *term* "generous" is analogous. The finite is a being, because of a relation, and therefore the *idea* of Being is analogous.

Our answer, then, to the question, "is Being analogous or univocal?" is as follows: First, the *term* "Being" is univocal; secondly, the *idea* of Being is analogous with reference to its immediate inferiors; thirdly, the idea of Being is univocal with reference to its remote inferiors and the nine categories of accidents considered apart from substance; fourthly, the idea of Being with reference to its immediate inferiors is analogous by analogy of attribution, and not by analogy of proportion.

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#### PROTESTANT USES OF THE ADESTE FIDELES.

**A**N ANECDOTE of the Spanish-American War may fitly introduce a discussion of the Protestant uses of the great Christmas hymn. The story is told in the "Sunday School Times" for December, 1901, by Lieutenant Colonel Curtis Guild, Jr., late Inspector General of the Seventh Army Corps; and the Rev. Dr. Benson, a Presbyterian hymnologist, pleasantly closes his account of the favorite Protestant hymn, "How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the Lord,"<sup>1</sup> with a quotation from that source.

The Seventh Army Corps was encamped along the hills at Quemados, near Havana, Cuba, and (says Dr. Benson) "on Christmas eve of 1898 Colonel Guild sat before his tent in the balmy tropical night, chatting with a fellow-officer of Christmas and home. Suddenly from the camp of the Forty-ninth Iowa rang a sentinel's call, 'No. 10; 12 o'clock and all's well!'" Dr. Benson continues with a quotation from the "Sunday School Times:"

"It was Christmas morning. Scarcely had the cry of the sentinel died away when from the bandsmen's tents of that same regiment there rose the music of an old, familiar hymn, and one clear baritone voice led the chorus that quickly ran along these moonlit fields: 'How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the Lord!' Another voice joined in, and another, and another, and in a moment the whole regiment was singing, and then the Sixth Missouri joined in, with the Fourth Virginia and all the rest, till there, on the long ledges

<sup>1</sup> *Studies of Familiar Hymns*, p. 47.

above the great city whence Spanish tyranny once went forth to enslave the New World, a whole American army corps was singing:

'Fear not, I am with thee, O be not dismayed;  
I, I am thy God, and will still give thee aid;  
I'll strengthen thee, help thee and cause thee to stand,  
Upheld by My righteous, omnipotent hand.'

The Northern soldier knew the hymn as one he had learned beside his mother's knee. To the Southern soldier it was that and something more—it was the favorite hymn of General Robert E. Lee, and was sung at that great commander's funeral.

"Protestant and Catholic, South and North, singing together on Christmas day in the morning—that's an American army!"

This interesting anecdote tells us of a curious mixture—a familiar Protestant hymn sung to the tune of the "Adeste Fideles!" I style the hymn "familiar," because it has the distinction of being one of the twenty-five included in Dr. Benson's "Studies of Familiar Hymns." But I must confess that not until very recently did I become acquainted even with its existence. But since that time I have found the old, sweet melody of the "Adeste Fideles" doing duty for quite a number of different Protestant hymns which, like "How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the Lord!" have no relation whatever to Christmas. And, meanwhile, our tune has also formed the musical vehicle for carrying adown the years many a translation, by Protestant and by Catholic pens alike, of the Latin words of our most loved Christmas hymn. We thus find ready made for us the two related topics which I shall discuss in this paper, namely, the Protestant translations of the hymn sung to the traditional tune, and the wholly original Protestant hymns also set to the same melody.

Before taking up these two points, however, the anecdote naturally suggests some appropriate reflections to the thinking mind. The first is that Colonel Guild was probably mistaken in his belief that the clear baritone voice was singing the hymn "How Firm a Foundation," etc. For the sentry had just announced the hour of midnight on Christmas eve, and the festival day had begun—Christmas had been ushered in! Is it likely that the time and the place would suggest a hymn having no relation at all to the great feast day? Is it not altogether more probable that the soldier from Iowa was singing either the "Adeste Fideles" or its equivalent in some English translation? The good Colonel heard the tune and naturally associated therewith the words he knew best. But the soldiers—Catholic and Protestant—must have mixed their words sadly; for the Catholic would know only the words of the real Christmas hymn, the "Adeste

Fideles," and the Protestant soldiers might be singing various English renderings of the Latin words, or any one of several other Protestant hymns than the one conjectured by Colonel Guild. They, for instance, might be singing any one of the following hymns, all of which I find in the Protestant hymnal entitled "Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book,"<sup>2</sup> set to the tune of the "Adeste Fideles:"

No. 20—"Come Hither, Ye Faithful, Triumphantly Sing."

No. 368—"How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the Lord."

No. 393—"Unchangeable Jesus, Thy Praises We Sing."

No. 520—"I Once Was a Stranger to Grace and to God."

Or they might be singing to the tune of the "Adeste Fideles" any one of the many other Protestant hymns—a partial list of which I shall give further on—which have been wedded to a melody never meant for them. With respect to the four hymns whose first lines I have just given, it is interesting to note that No. 20 is a direct translation of the Latin words of the "Adeste Fideles," and is no other, indeed, than the excellent one of Father Caswall; that No. 368 is the one hymn exercising a queer monopoly in Colonel Guild's mind, and that, as I have said, either of these two, or any one of the four, might easily have been chosen by one or other of the soldiers, while, perhaps, all four were simultaneously sung—together with the Latin words of the "Adeste" itself—by the boys of the American army corps. The date of publication of the hymnal, 1885, would permit such a conclusion, for the anecdote concerns a time thirteen years later.

Our next reflection on Colonel Guild's anecdote might naturally be one of surprise that the memory of the Christmas season—and of the grand old melody of Christmas then being sung—should not have softened the heart of the Colonel and have led him to omit his reference to "the great city whence Spanish tyranny once went forth to enslave the New World." If the gentle memory of Christmas could not seal his lips, a limited knowledge of history should have reminded him that it was Spanish faith and heroism that gave the "new World" to civilization, and a sense of humor should have forbidden, from the lips of an American, all references to slavery. The Colonel's duty, as he saw it, was to fight the Spaniards. But it never is a brave soldier's duty or, indeed, his characteristic to slur his enemy. He leaves that phase of the world-conflicts to the scurvy politician and the stay-at-home patriot. The good Colonel, however, was writing for the "Sunday School Times," and doubtless thought it desirable to salt his anecdote with some bitterness for the sake of the rising generation of Americans.

Our third reflection is one of agreement with the thought of Dr.

<sup>2</sup> Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1885.

Benson that in the case of the hymn, "How Firm a Foundation," etc., "very likely the stirring tune to which it has for so long been sung throughout the United States is partly responsible for this popularity" which he ascribes to the hymn. It would, indeed, appear to be so; for he tells us that the hymn "never gained a foothold within the Church of England. It is not sung by the Wesleyans or Presbyterians of Great Britain, and but little by the Congregationalists. Dr. Horder, the best known hymnologist among the latter, speaks of it in his 'Hymn Lover' as a hymn of no great merit. Its use over there is mostly among Baptists." In America, on the other hand, "few hymns have been sung more generally or more enthusiastically." It seems very probable, therefore, that the popularity of the hymn in America is due almost wholly to the grand old tune which it has laid violent hands upon rather than to its own hymnodal merits; for it is English in provenience, but is very little sung in England.

With respect to this American practice of taking the tune which originally was (and in Catholic circles still is exclusively) used for the "*Adeste Fideles*," and using it as a vehicle that can make a Protestant hymn "go," Dr. Benson thinks that "if any one has felt a sense of impropriety in divorcing the old Christmas music from its proper words, surely he may feel that it came to its own again that morning" of Christmas Day, 1898, along the hills at Quemados, near Havana. I must confess that I cannot share this amiable view; for I think that it would have been immeasurably more proper for the camping soldiers to have had their minds directed on that Divine morning to the Prince of Peace as a little Babe lying helpless in the manger at Bethlehem, or to the peaceful shepherds listening in wonder as the message of the angels heralding peace on earth to men of good will filled their rapt souls with unspeakable delight, or even to the moral that should be humanly drawn from the whole fragrant memory of peaceful Christmas days spent at home with gentle mothers or wives or sisters. The tune of the "*Adeste Fideles*" has a prescriptive right to an indissoluble union with the words of that hymn. So far as is known, the tune has never had a prior engagement to any other words.<sup>3</sup> And, in point of fact, the tune really speaks of Christmas only to our ears.

A fourth—and at least for the present a final—reflection on the anecdote concerns the statement of Colonel Guild that "the Northern soldier knew the hymn (sc. "How Firm a Foundation," etc.) as one he had learned beside his mother's knee." A thoughtful reader is not inclined to quarrel with the sentiment of this pathetic touch, but rather with its historical accuracy and its argumentative cogency.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "The Tune of the *Adeste Fideles*" in the REVIEW for January, 1915.

We are asked to believe that, to the tune of "Adeste Fideles," a whole American army corps was singing a specified Protestant hymn whose general character is a little suggestive of a polemical religious battle-cry. Now in the following pages of the present paper I will show that in America alone more than a score of Protestant hymns have been set to the tune of the "Adeste Fideles." At least five of these have survived and are given in recently published hymnals, such as "The Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book" (1884) and the "Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church" (1900). Why should we suppose that only a certain specified one of these was being sung by (the Protestant portion of) the American army corps? But, more particularly, why should we suppose that this specified hymn had been learned piously at a mother's knee? My question sounds almost jocose and flippant, but is nevertheless meant seriously.

The serious character of the question is based on the very curious and practical coincidence that in the very year of 1898 (when the American army corps was in Cuba singing on Christmas morning) Dr. Benson published his little volume entitled "The Best Church Hymns." In its preparation he collated 107 Protestant hymnals and had them vote, as it were, on the best hymns. His desire was to find out the hymns which were in the widest use only, and he considered eighty per cent. as the proportion of hymnals that should entitle a hymn to be placed in the first rank. In addition to his own collation, he used those which had been made by the Rev. Dr. King for the Church of England hymns, and by the Rev. Dr. R. E. Thompson for American Protestant churches. Out of the 106 hymns thus obtained, his application of the eighty per cent. rule gave him thirty-two hymns. These hymns he treats in his little volume—and "How Firm a Foundation" is not found there. This is a coincidence which is made curious by the fact of the same date, 1898, covering both the singing event in Cuba and the issuance of the little volume of Dr. Benson. "How Firm a Foundation" is not, then, a great hymn for English-speaking Protestants, as it is not found in eighty per cent. of the hymnals comprised in the three collations. The inclusion of Dr. King's collation (representing hymnal popularities in the Anglican Establishment) makes an inference difficult; and we should be glad to learn simply of the popularities enjoyed by various hymns in America, as represented by the collections of Drs. Benson and Thompson.

However this may be, we may consider that an American soldier fighting in Cuba in the year 1898 was presumably a little child some twenty years before that date; that is, about the year 1878. The question naturally arises, Had "How Firm a Foundation" quite

swept the country by that earlier time? It certainly had not swept English-speaking lands, for it is not found, in the year 1898, in the triple collation and the eighty per cent. of Dr. Benson's labors. Very recently indeed it has become popular in America, because of the splendid tune to which it has at length been wedded—the tune of the "*Adeste Fideles*." But its popularity is still somewhat uncertain. Thus the Protestant hymnal, "*In Excelsis*," published in 1900 by the Century Company of New York, which contains 305 titles, does not include the hymn "*How Firm a Foundation*" at all—and this hymnal appeared two years after the date when the whole American army corps was singing that hymn "suddenly," without preparatory rehearsal of words or of music! But this hymnal does give the tune of the "*Adeste Fideles*" and, very properly, makes it serve for Canon Oakeley's translation of the Latin words. Eight years later, however, the same publishing house issued the "*Chapel Edition of Hymns of Worship and Service* (New York, 1908), which includes Oakeley's translation, as also the hymn "*How Firm a Foundation*," set to the melody of the "*Adeste Fideles*." These two hymns, set to our tune, are found also in the Presbyterian "*Chapel Hymnal*" (Philadelphia, 1907). Finally, in the year 1913 Ginn & Co. published "*Hymns for Schools and Colleges*," containing 264 titles, and including "*How Firm a Foundation*" as the only text set to the tune of the "*Adeste Fideles*." All this comparison of dates would appear to suggest that "*How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the Lord*" was not widely popular before the year 1898, but is gradually growing in favor since that date. Although Dr. Benson could not include it in his "*The Best Hymns*" (1898), he did find room for it in his "*Studies of Familiar Hymns*" (1903)—this later volume perhaps helping to create a larger vogue for the hymn. What I have desired to show is simply that the interesting anecdote about that Christmas morning in Cuba shrinks notably in plausibility when it is examined with any minute attention. Its appositeness to our present theme lies in the fact that it very charmingly illustrates the splendid value of the tune. And now, with freer minds, we may discuss the uses made by Protestants of the words and the tune of the great Christmas hymn.

#### I. PROTESTANT TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXT.

The Latin text is obviously of Catholic authorship.<sup>4</sup> Very appropriately, therefore, the earliest translations into English are also Catholic. In the year 1760 the first version into English appeared in the "*Evening Office*" of the Church in English and Latin, published in London. Apparently the next translation ("*Come,*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "*The Text of the Adeste Fideles*" in the *REVIEW* for October, 1914.

faithful all, rejoice and sing") is given anonymously in four stanzas of five lines in "Every Families' Assistant at Compline, Benediction," etc., issued in 1789. The third translation in order of dating appears to be of Protestant authorship:

Hither, ye faithful, haste with songs of triumph,  
To Bethlehem go, the Lord of life to meet;  
To you this day is born a Prince and Saviour;  
O come and let us worship at His feet.

Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology (second edition, London, 1907) quotes the first line, with the indication of source as the "American Presbyterian Psalms and Hymns" (Philadelphia, 1843, No. 174). I found it, however, in a much earlier Catholic collection<sup>5</sup> of hymns, litanies, anthems, etc., published in the year 1805 and "dedicated by permission to the Right Rev. John Carrol (*sic*), Bishop of Baltimore." This collection, which was edited by Benjamin Carr, is entitled "A New Edition, with an Appendix, of Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns and Psalms, selected and arranged for the use of the Catholic Church in the United States of America." As this Catholic collection antedated the Presbyterian hymnal by thirty-eight years, I supposed that the translation was a Catholic one, and so stated in an article on the "Adeste Fideles" contributed to the "Catholic Educational Review" for January, 1915. My surmise was probably incorrect; for the translation was given in Cole's "Episcopal Harmony" (Baltimore, 1811) with a prefatory note declaring that "The following translation from the Latin hymn 'Adeste Fideles,' although not set forth by the General Convention, has been frequently sung as a Prelude to the services of Christmas Day. See Dr. Hobart's Festivals and Fasts, page 135." Dr. Hobart's volume appeared in 1804—a year earlier than Carr's Catholic collection of hymns—and it is not unlikely that Carr borrowed the version from that source.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Preserved in the library of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. James Warrington informs me that Hobart's volume was an American edition of Nelson's work (published in England in the second half of the eighteenth century). The translation was apparently popular in America exclusively, in the early years of the nineteenth century, for besides the reference to Hobart's volume and the inclusion of the version in Cole's hymnal, it also appeared in Woodward's *Ecclesiæ Harmonia* (second edition, Philadelphia, 1809). As Julian's Dictionary knows of no earlier source than the American Presbyterian hymnal of 1848, it is fair to suppose that the translation was inserted by Dr. Hobart in Nelson's work. As I have not access to either the English publication or its American edition, I can throw no light upon the subject. At all events, my supposition that it had first appeared in Carr's volume, and that therefore it was of Catholic origin, seems to be untenable.



The following early translations by Protestant pens are noted by Julian in his Dictionary of Hymnology (second edition, London, 1907):

1805—"Orthodox Churchman's Magazine" (November): "Ye faithful come, triumphant come."

1808—"The Ashbourne Collection," Uttoxeter: "Raise we our voices to the Lord of Glory."

1816—"Dr. Sutton's Psalms and Hymns," Sheffield: "Believers assemble, come with songs to Bethlehem."

1820—"Psalms and Hymns," Burnley: "Ye faithful, triumphant enter into Bethlehem."

1821—Basil Wood, "Psalms and Hymns:" "O come, all ye faithful, joyful triumph raising."

In 1830 appeared a translation which partly combined the English and the French centos of the Latin text, and which probably was of Catholic origin: "With hearts truly grateful," etc. It has remained popular ever since in American Catholic hymnals, although very poor from a literary standpoint. It is found in "A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, Anthems," etc., with the Evening Office of the Catholic Church throughout the United States, published in Washington, D. C. Ten years later (1840) Canon Husenbeth's "Missal for the Use of the Laity" (third edition, London) gave a new translation: "O come, all ye faithful, raise the hymn of glory." It may seem surprising that the "Roman Missal for the Use of the Laity," published in London in 1806, should have only the Latin text of the hymn, although it gives the "Dies Irae" in both Latin and English verse.

In 1837 appeared J. Chandler's version, "O come, ye faithful, and your homage bring." In 1841 two Protestant versions were sung—that of J. Meade in the "Selwood Wreath" ("Ye faithful souls, approach and sing") and that of the Rev. F. Oakeley ("Ye faithful, approach ye"). Julian says that Oakeley's version "was never published by the translator, but came into notice by being sung in his chapel" in Margaret street, London. Oakeley became a Catholic in 1845, and his translation has been popular with both Catholic and Protestant hymnal editors ever since. Dr. Flood says that his translation was published in 1844, but does not give the title or place of publication of the work in which it appeared. Julian says it appeared in the "Wellington College Hymn Book," 1863, and in the "People's Hymnal," 1867. It is a curiosity of hymnology for several reasons. It was translated by a Protestant minister for the use of his congregation, and was not published by him. In its first form or with some changes, it has been most largely employed in both Catholic and Protestant hymnals. It is an un-

rhymed version, of very unequal lines, and was evidently intended to be very literal; but, as Dr. Flood well remarks, the English words "do not go so smoothly with the music as the original Latin."<sup>7</sup>

The sequence of Protestant versions may be interrupted here to record the Catholic one of J. R. Beste ("Hasten, ye faithful, glad, joyful and holy") in his "Church Hymns," 1849. In his "Annus Sanctus," Mr. Orby Shipley credits it to this volume and year, but adds, "J. Richard Beste, 1839," and thus seems to attribute its composition to that year. In the year 1848 there also appeared two translations by Jane E. Leeson, who may have been a Catholic (the question has not, I think, been cleared up finally), inasmuch as two of her many hymns were given in Father Formby's "Catholic Hymns," etc., published in 1851 by Burns & Lambert, over the signature "M. L." Her versions of the "Adeste Fideles" ("Approach, ye faithful, come with exultation," and "Approach, ye faithful, come with glad accord") appeared in her "Christian Child's Book," 1848. Finally, the excellent translation of Father Caswall ("O come, all ye faithful, triumphantly sing") is found in his "Lyra Catholica" of 1849, in his "Hymns and Poems" of 1873, and in his reëdited and revised "Lyra Catholica" of 1884. The edition of 1849 was reissued in 1851 by Dunigan in New York. In spite of this wide and repeated publication of an excellent version, it has not been taken to the breasts of our Catholic hymnal editors, although it finds Protest-

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<sup>7</sup> It should be noted here as an interesting fact that, in spite of the many translations of the hymn made by English Protestants, Oakeley's version should remain the most popular of all. This is evident from the position it takes in the Rev. James King's volume on Anglican Hymnology, published in London in 1885, which gave an "account of the 325 standard hymns of the highest merit according to the verdict of the whole Anglican Church." The editor estimated that there were, in his day, about twenty thousand hymns and versions of the Psalms in English. Which are the few most deserving ones? "In order to find out the verdict of the whole Anglican Church, the writer adopted the following method: He collected and collated with much labor fifty-two representative Hymnals used in the Church of England at home and abroad. . . . All the fifty-two have, moreover, been published, with one exception, within the last twenty-one years, extending from 1863 to 1885. . . . By means of these Hymnals he put to the test all hymns of acknowledged merit. . . . The fifty-two were regarded as a committee, each member of which could, as it were, give one vote for each approved hymn. . . . Two thousand of our best-known hymns have thus been tested . . ." and classified into first rank, second rank and third rank hymns. "According to this principle, 105 hymns were found to be entitled to be placed in the first rank, 110 in the second rank and 110 in the third rank." Among the 105 first rank hymns is found Canon Oakeley's translation! His is the only translation of the Adeste Fideles found amongst the 325 best hymns in Anglican hymnals as collated by Mr. King. It is used, let me add, in Dr. Terry's (Catholic) Westminster Hymnal, in the Oregon Catholic Hymnal, in St. Mark's (Catholic) Hymnal and (much changed) in the De La Salle Hymnal.

ant approval by its inclusion in several hymnal collections of our separated brethren.

Shall we esteem as a Protestant version the translation ("O come, all ye faithful") of R. Campbell in "St. Andrew's Hymnal" (1850)? It is reprinted in Shipley's "Annus Sanctus" and, in view of the information given in the Preface of that volume, may perhaps be constructively set down as Catholic: "Robert Campbell, Esq., of Skerrington [was] a Scottish advocate, who, shortly after making a translation of a series of hymns from the Breviary, the Paris Breviary and the Missal in 1850—versions which were accounted by no mean authority as the very best which had then appeared amongst Protestants—submitted himself to the Catholic Church."

Our enumeration has thus brought us down to the middle of the century. From the year 1850 down to the present day the translations by Protestants have outnumbered those by Catholics, and in this fact we have a good illustration of the immense power of this Catholic hymn over the hearts of our separated brethren. The hymn has constantly increased in popularity until it has seemed almost to equal, for them, the position it has always had in Catholic circles. It would be tedious to give a detailed list of versions. In all, since 1850, there have appeared about a dozen Protestant versions and about half that number of Catholic ones. In the hymnals, taken generally, the version of Oakeley, unrhymed and unrhymed, seems nevertheless to hold the first place. It is variously altered, of course, by hymnal editors. The Catholic versions of Beste, Campbell, Earle, Kent are given in Shipley's "Annus Sanctus."

It would also be a task fatiguing alike to the present writer and to his readers if an attempt were made here to chronicle minutely the use of the translated "**Adeste Fideles**" in Protestant hymnals. It will be much more interesting for us to consider the use made by Protestants of the traditional tune of the hymn for Protestant hymns which have no relation to the joy of Christmastide. This we may now do under the heading:

## II. PROTESTANT USES OF THE TRADITIONAL TUNE.

In a previous article on the "Tune of the Adeste Fideles" in the January issue of this "**Review**," I printed the stately, soberly joyous form of the melody as given in Coghlan's publication of the year 1782. The most curious parody of this tune that I have anywhere seen occurs in a volume of hymns from the "Sequel to Weyman's Melodia Sacra," arranged for One, Two, Three or Four Voices, by David Weyman, late Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral; John Smith, Mus. Doc., composer to the Chapel Royal, Dublin, etc.;

R. W. Beaty, Professor of Music to Christ Church Cathedral, and others. Published by Marcus Moses, 4 and 5 Westmoreland street, Dublin. The volume is undated. In reply to an inquiry concerning the date of publication, Mr. James Warrington writes me: "I am a little doubtful about the date of the 'Sequel to Melodia Sacra.' The book is not dated so far as I have been able to see copies, and Kidson gives no notice of the publishers. Grattan Flood dates it 1840, but internal evidence points to its being published between 1820 and 1825. There is no doubt that the 'Melodia Sacra' itself was published 1811-1814, the issue being in four numbers. The fourth number contains 'Adeste Fideles.' My investigations regarding this book are not yet complete, but I am inclined to think that Flood's date arises from his seeing a reprint, as the 'Sequel' appears to have been first published by Cramer and afterwards by Moses."

All this long bibliographical note may be pardoned in view of the extraordinary character of the melodic transformation given in the "Sequel:"

*Moderato.—Sotto Voce.*

Tho' trou-les as-sail, and dan-gers af-fright, Tho'  
 friends should all fall, and foes all u-nite, Yet one thing se-  
 cures us what-ev-er be-tide; The Scripture as-sures us, the  
 Lord will pro-vide. The Scripture assures us, the Lord will provide.

The jaunty character imparted to the rhythm by the dotted eight-notes and the airy persiflage of the grace notes added to the melody combine to furnish anything but an appropriate vehicle for the solemn declaration of the hymn that "the Scriptures assure us the Lord will provide."

An echo of these characteristics is preserved in an elaborate collection published in Philadelphia in the year 1828: "Music of the Church. A Collection of Psalm, Hymn and Chant Tunes adapted to the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." I there find (p. 19) the "Portuguese Hymn" employed for three different hymns, all of which are in four-line stanzas of iambic

8's. The reader will observe the grace notes retained in the third and fifteenth measures:



It is clear that a better taste was gradually growing, however. Thus the extravagances of the "Sequel to Weyman's *Melodia Sacra*" are nearly all eliminated in the form of the melody we have just been considering. A more striking evidence of the improvement in taste is furnished by "The Heart and Voice," a hymnal of the M. E. Church (Philadelphia, 1865), which gives the same hymn to the tune as did the "Sequel," but in doing so gets rid finally of all superfluous notes, so that the melody is exactly that which is given in our (Catholic) Westminster Hymnal published in 1912, with the exception of the fourth note in the antepenultimate measure, which in the Catholic hymnal is Fa and in the Methodist is Re. This Methodist hymnal, by the way, also gives to our tune another hymn (p. 353):

Our Father in heaven, we hallow Thy name!  
May Thy kingdom all holy on earth be the same!

Oh, give to us daily our portion of bread:  
It is from Thy bounty that all must be fed.

In "The Congregationalist Psalmist" (London, 1861) our tune is exactly that of the Westminster Hymnal (London, 1912), and is set to the hymn:

O had I, my Saviour, the wings of a dove,  
How soon would I soar to Thy presence above!  
How soon would I fly where the weary have rest,  
And hide all my cares in Thy sheltering breast!

It is interesting to note that this volume ascribes the tune to "John Reading, 1760," and adds, "Adeste Fideles." The date would correspond exactly to that of the MS. containing our hymn and tune and now at St. Edmund's College, Ware, England. The date is, of course, incorrect; for the Stonyhurst MS. of 1751 and that of 1750 in the Euing Library at Glasgow, as also that, doubtless, in the Clongowes Wood College in Ireland, antedate the St. Edmund's College MS. But otherwise the ascription to "John Reading, 1760," is the nearest approach to correctness found in hymnals generally (excepting a few of the most recently published ones).

The "National Psalmist" (edited by Lowell Mason and G. J. Webb, professors in the Boston Academy of Music), which was published in Boston in 1848, gives the "Portuguese Hymn" to a text in still a new measure:

Ye servants of God,  
Your Master proclaim,  
And publish abroad  
His wonderful name;  
The name all victorious  
Of Jesus extol;  
His kingdom is glorious,  
He rules over all.

The melody is exactly the same as that given, in the year 1912, by Dr. Terry in the "Westminster Hymnal," issued by authority of the Catholic Hierarchy of England and Wales, for the Latin text of the "Adeste Fideles." It is unnecessary, therefore, to quote the melody of the 1848 volume in this place. Any reader who desires to pursue the study of the tune's vicissitudes more thoroughly than may be permitted in this article, can easily consult Dr. Terry's hymnal.

But how adaptable the old melody is! Already we find it doing yeoman duty for three distinct types of strophe—the regularly

varied lines of what I have styled the French Cento of the Latin text,<sup>8</sup> and the 10's and 11's of the strophes given in the "Sequel to Weyman's *Melodia Sacra*," as well as those in the Boston publication of 1848; and the iambic 8's of the Philadelphia publication of 1828. In L. O. Emerson's "Harp of Judah," published in Boston in 1863, I find it set to iambic 11's:

The Lord is our shepherd, our guardian and guide,  
Whatever we want He will kindly provide;  
To sheep of His pasture His mercies abound,  
His care and protection His flock will surround.

The melody here given (p. 379) is the same as that in the 1848 publication, except that the antepenultimate measure is exactly that found in the Philadelphia publication (quoted above) of 1828.

Now it may be esteemed an interesting fact that in none of the publications I have mentioned thus far is the hymn "How Firm a Foundation" set to the old tune. Its vogue must be rather recent in America; but I can understand Dr. Benson's comment on the incident he quotes from "The Sunday School Times:" "Such an incident, and what it implies, inclines one rather to the hope that 'How Firm a Foundation' may never cease to be sung among us, and that it may never be set to any other tune!" But while I can understand his point of view, I cannot quite sympathize with it; for I think it rests on a misapprehension. He assumes that the wedding of this particular Protestant hymn to the old Catholic tune explains the unanimity of the singing of the soldiers on that Christmas morn in Cuba. I am inclined to think that the words figured very little in the choral strain, and that the Catholics were thinking of the 'Adeste Fideles,' the Episcopalians were probably thinking of Oakeley's translation of the Latin into English, and the members of the other religious bodies represented in the American army were thinking—some of "How Firm a Foundation," but also some—of various other hymns wedded to the fine melody.

I have just noted Emerson's "Harp of Judah" of the year 1863. In the following year appeared the important collection entitled: "Trinity Collection of Church Music, containing all the Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Chants, etc., used in Trinity Church, New York, or in either of its three Chapels. By Edward Hodges, Mus. Doc., of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, England. With valuable additions by the Editor, S. Parkman Tuckerman, Mus. Doc., organist and director of music in Saint Paul's Church, Boston." The volume

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<sup>8</sup> See the REVIEW for October, 1914: *The Text of the Adeste Fideles*.

was published by Ditson, of Boston, in 1864. The hymn "How Firm a Foundation" appears in this volume, but only as one of the "valuable additions" contributed by Dr. Tuckerman, and the melody assigned to it is not that of the "Adeste Fideles." But in this Trinity Collection there are two hymns set to our tune, and both are under the title of "Adeste Fideles" (not "Portuguese Hymn.") We find an old metre in the first of these two (Hymn No. 250):

I would not live alway, I ask not to stay  
Where storm after storm rises dark o'er the way;  
The few lurid mornings that dawn on us here  
Are enough for life's woes, full enough for its cheer.

This is precisely the metre of "How Firm a Foundation"—but this hymn is not assigned to our tune. But still a new metre is introduced for Hymn No. 252:

When thro' the torn sail the wild tempest is streaming,  
When o'er the dark wave the red lightning is gleaming,  
Nor hope lends a ray the poor seaman to cherish,  
We fly to our Maker: "Save, Lord, or we perish."

Hymn No. 250 is in 11's, Hymn No. 252 is in 12's. And, sandwiched in between them, is the hymn (No. 251): "How Firm a Foundation," to an entirely different melody! The melody of the "Adeste Fideles" given in this volume is varied, strange to say, for the two hymns, in some slight ways; and both ways are different from any other form of the melody I have seen. The editing was surely careless, when the same tune appears in two variants printed so closely together—Nos. 250 and 252.

It would be an endless task to pursue the tune through all the ramifications of the hymnals of the various Protestant bodies of the United States. Nor is the task necessary for our present purpose—which is to exhibit many of the highly varied uses to which it has been put by our separated brethren. In our Catholic hymnals it serves one sole purpose, is inalienably associated with one dearest season in the Church year. But what an overwhelming power the old tune must exercise on the affections of Protestants, and, by way of corollary, what an excellent tune it must therefore be!

I shall skip over two decades of activity in hymnal editing from the time of the "Trinity Collection" (which, as we have just seen, contained two hymns set to the tune) and come down forthwith to the year 1884, in which appeared the important collection, "Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book," published by Ditson in Boston.



In this volume I find that the tune is employed for four hymns (Nos. 20, 368, 393, 520). In all four cases, the form of the melody is that given in Dr. Terry's Catholic hymnal of the year 1912.

Coming down to the year 1900, I find our tune serving for three hymns in the "Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church" (New York: Eaton & Mains). All three have the same form of the tune, which is that of Dr. Terry's volume.

Two reflections may be permitted here. The first is that our Protestant friends appear to have agreed pretty definitely—despite their wide divergence in almost everything else—on a single form of the melody of a great Catholic hymn. They have no bond of union or of solidarity in their hymnal editing, but they have had the good luck or the good taste to adopt a single form of the melody and, at the same time, a form which, in spite of rather bad precedents such as I have illustrated in this paper, is an excellent one—simple, flowing, unadorned by grace notes or flourishes, and practically identical with the form found in "An Essay on the Church Plain Chant" issued for Catholics in England as early as the year 1782. Meanwhile, of the nine Catholic hymnals that have been published in the last five years,<sup>9</sup> no two agree on the same form of melody for the same old Latin words or their English translation.

The second natural reflection must be that the tune should be considered exceptionally good and appropriate for hymnodal purposes, since it has been tried by Protestant editors for many different hymns of many different rhythms. Let me just repeat summarily here some of the first lines:

1806—Lord, 'tis a pleasant thing to stand.

1810—Blest Jesus, how divinely bright.

????—Though troubles assail and dangers affright.

1828—O render thanks to God above.

1828—To Jesus, our exalted Lord.

1828—Lord, how delightful 'tis to see.

1848—Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim.

1861—O had I, my Saviour, the wings of a dove.

1863—The Lord is our shepherd, our guardian and guide.

1864—I would not live alway, I ask not to stay.

1864—When thro' the torn sail the wild tempest is streaming.

1884—How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord.

1884—Unchangeable Jesus, Thy praises we sing.

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<sup>9</sup> See the enumeration of these hymnals in REVIEW for January, 1915: The Tune of the Adeste Fideles. Two Catholic hymnals have appeared since then, and are not considered here.

1884—I once was a stranger to grace and to God.

1900—The Lord is my shepherd, no want shall I know.

1900—We rear not a temple, like Judah's of old.

For the first lines of twenty-two hymns which can be sung to our melody as set forth in the book of "Offices of Worship and Hymns" (third edition, 1891) in the "Liturgy of the Unitas Fratrum or The Moravian Church" (Bethlehem, Pa., 1912), I must refer the curious reader to the volume itself.

The dates placed in my list before the first lines are not intended to indicate the years when the hymns were adapted to the tune, but merely the dates of publication of the hymnals in which I found the adaptations. Doubtless, if my researches were more extended, I should be enabled to add still other first lines to my list. But the list is sufficiently extended to exhibit the wide use made of our tune by Protestants.

As I have tried in the present paper to illustrate the beauty of a melody which really belongs of right to the "Adeste Fideles" exclusively, and in such wise that the tune immediately suggests the Latin words (and *vice versa*), it is not inappropriate to add here the testimony of W. T. Stead's curious volume of "Hymns That Have Helped." It was republished in 1904 in New York City, and in its list of one hundred and forty-eight hymns I do not find any one of the titles in the above placed list—not even "How Firm a Foundation!" But I do find, in the very small number of hymns included in Stead's volume, the "Adeste Fideles," both in Latin and in Oakeley's English translation!

As the present paper commenced with an American military anecdote illustrating Protestant uses of our dear old Christmas tune, it may not be inappropriate to conclude the paper with another (but only a quasi-military) American anecdote which further illustrates the same uses. Under the heading of "Men and Things," the interesting "Penn" commented in the (Philadelphia) *Evening Bulletin* on the parade-music used by the Knights Templar during their annual convention in Philadelphia this year. He remarks that "abundance of inspiring music in the martial or the hymnal mood has long been characteristic of Knights Templar parades, and much of it yesterday was rendered magnificently, although when their bands followed on close to one another, with 'Onward, Christian Soldiers,' 'Adeste Fideles' and 'The Star-Spangled Banner' all at full tilt, there was something terrific in the prodigious jangling of the aural bombardment." It is very curious that these three titles should be thus conjoined. For "Onward, Christian Soldiers,"

is Sullivan's fine marching tune for Protestant celebrations; the "Star-Spangled Banner" has an appropriateness that will scarcely brook comment; and "Adeste Fideles"—Catholic in text and tune alike—takes precedence in "Penn's" mind, (as it appears to have done also in the Knights' parade-music,) over the thousand and one hymnal airs known to Protestant ears!

H. T. HENRY.

Overbrook, Pa.

## PALESTRINA AND LUCERNE.

SOME twenty miles to the east of Rome, and at the edge of the central mountain system of Italy, lies the mellow-tinted town of Palestrina. Although the place is near the mother city, there is no railway for miles, and one must go staff in hand, as of old. But no one complains of that when there is so much to attract the eye: here a glimpse of a high-perched "castello" (or country town), beyond that again untrodden mountain chains, whilst close by, on either side, are fields of maize and rich vineyards. At various points on the road are pretty wayside shrines—a Crucifix or a Madonna, neatly coated with wash. If your journey be made in the early part of the day, you meet caravans of ox teams, setting out on their deliberate crawl to reach the next village—perhaps some ten miles off—before evening. If it be late in the day, the procession is of a gayer kind, but slow, for about sundown the vine-growers of Palestrina send their wine carts on their long journey to Rome. With a jingle of countless bells of all shapes, sizes, metals and ages, with singing drivers, snugly coiled under the gaudy hoods of their carts—their little pomeranians always on the alert, barking at every passerby—the line of cars proceeds at a foot pace, joined at every crossroads or village by further contingents, until in the end it is a magnificent cavalcade that jingles and rattles over the square stone pavements of Rome, telling drowsy inhabitants that the hour for rising is still comfortably distant.

A steady tramp across the thirsty plain brings one to the foot of Palestrina. The usual long avenue of carob trees shades the toilsome uphill approach to the lofty town, inviting a prayer for the good soul that planted those friendly trees. Encouraged by the welcome of the townsfolk, "Benvenuto e ben tornato," one enters by that most impressive arch, the Gate of the Sun. You observe all who pass through making an obeisance, and when under the massive gateway you see a well-kept shrine of the Madonna. I remember encountering an old woman seated in the gateway with an infant; we opened conversation, and I learned that she was teaching the child "how to love the good God." Not a bad start, and further intercourse reveals the fact that the Palestrinesi are quite different from most of their neighbors. They still show ardent faith in things Christian. Blood of martyrs ran freely down those sloping streets very many centuries ago, seemingly not in vain.

The town's record is by no means uneventful. Tradition says it was founded by Telogonus, son of Ulysses and Circe, in days when Rome was at most only a small country village. The walls of the

early town may still be seen—masonry of gigantic mass—blocks often five or six feet each way. So easily have they braved the ravages of time that you may now see houses built on them, with the lower windows peeping through chinks in these pelasgic bulwarks. Praeneste—to give the place its ancient name—had a stubborn fight for some centuries with the rising city of Rome, and at length was forced to acknowledge her sway some hundreds of years before Christ. In the last century of the old era the town was held as the main position by the Marians against Sulla, but unsuccessfully. The victors put all the male civilians to death, leveled the town with the ground, drew a plough over it and sowed it with salt. Yet some years after it was rebuilt and enclosed with walls of immense height, standing in many parts to this day. For the next thousand years there was peace, and the town became a great health resort during the Empire. It contained one extraordinary edifice, the Temple of Fortune, erected on a vast scale and occupying no less than six terraces. This was one of the great sights of Italy. The shrine was most famous, and even well on into Christian times the fortune-tellers of Praeneste had widespread repute, to the great annoyance of the Church.

In the last decade of the glorious thirteenth century the Colonna family raised the standard of revolt at Praeneste against the Pope, and the old story was repeated. The rebels were besieged, the place was taken and everything done to destroy it. It was yet again rebuilt, but still once more taken and destroyed in the fifteenth century by the Papal general, Cardinal Vitelleschi. Even after this overthrow it rose from its ashes under Stefano Colonna, who fortified it ten years later. The final event of its history was its purchase by the Barberini family—to which belonged Pope Urban VIII., then reigning—in the early half of the seventeenth century.

It has a cathedral of no remarkable beauty. A tiny boy most courteously conducted me round it, and then brought his mother and the baby and a priest and another woman into the sacristy to me, where we took an impromptu photograph, with departed Cardinals of the town gazing down from their frames at the strange performance.

You must ramble round its strange streets—all steps, with asses and mules climbing among the pedestrians—until a turning brings you to the home of the most famous of sacred composers, Pier Luigi da Palestrina, who is generally known as Palestrina. It was he who rescued church music from being condemned by the Council of Trent, which would have meant that it could not be revived till another general council was summoned, and the next council did

not meet till three centuries later. By the sixteenth century church music had become corrupted, owing to the imprudent zeal of composers. The chief fault was that whilst the real words of the Mass were being sung by the choir, another set of voices was heard singing at the same time a running commentary on the words. There were other confusing elements of a similar kind, which only served to distract the worshippers. The upshot was that music was destined to be abolished from the churches, had not some one suggested that Palestrina should write a new type of Mass piece, and that the fate of church music should hang on the decision. Palestrina wrote *two* Masses, both of the rarest excellence. When the Pope heard the pieces he said that nothing better might be heard except among the angels, and church music was saved. The great composer lived on, the most modest and humble of men, in some straits, till he died in the arms of his friend, St. Philip Neri, in 1594, at the age of seventy.

Any sketch of Praeneste would be incomplete without some mention of the citadel, 800 feet above the town, and on the top of the mountain. There stands a little village with the simple name of Castel San Pietro. Why this name? We are told that St. Peter preached here—a rare honor. When I reached the top of the steep ascent and clambered over the pelasgic walls I found men in the place with flails, beating corn spread on the ground, and dark-skinned children running about. Well-dressed villegianti—townsfolk on holiday—stood out by contrast against its unhandsome streets. Yet this served to testify the reputation of the place as a health resort, just as in the days of the Empire. Nearby is a dismantled castle, and from one of its gaping and shattered windows I looked out across the view that Hannibal is said to have contemplated twenty-one centuries ago, when he gazed towards Rome in the distance and sighed in vain for its capture. Far away heaves the bright blue Mediterranean; the sun is hastening to sink beyond its smiling waters, and I descend once more into the snug old city.

I was in a pleasant frame of mind when I woke up at Basle, for, in the first place, I had slept for nearly ten hours—a thing that hitherto seemed to me impossible to accomplish in a train—and in the second place, I found we were gliding through ideal country. We reached Lucerne about an hour later. The season was late October, an ideal time, for the sun is still agreeably warm and softly bright; the glare of summer is subdued, yet the chill and gloom of winter has not yet benumbed the landscape. Mountains have already donned their fleecy mantles, and yet one has not to flounder through snowdrifts in the streets and country lanes. Moreover, the

flock of tourists have taken their departure, as the season has now become rather unfavorable for long journeys. This absence of tourists gave me a better chance of observing the natives themselves, who, in spite of their contact with people of every nationality, are still conspicuously insular, patriotic and unsophisticated. If you had seen the children flock around their venerable pastor and cling reverently to his hands, you would have a better idea of what I mean. They are good at heart and pure of soul—a combination of qualities from which spring gayety, love and sympathy, as naturally as the violet and the meek daisy from the sod.

Basle is said to be famous for the luxury of its inhabitants and the beauty of its women. Of Lucerne's inhabitants we might safely predicate grace and dignity (as in their neighbors, the Lombardese), but not luxury; we prefer to call it comfort and contentment.

The people of the country round are occupied chiefly in rearing cattle and growing cereals. One soon gets familiar with the incessant tinkling of bells around the cows' necks as they roam across the open hillsides. Cheese and butter are the staple produce, gruyère being the most famous species of the former, made from goat's milk.

The town of Lucerne stands on both banks of the River Reuss, just where it debouches from the great blue lake. The situation is picturesque, all is vividly bright—palatial hotels at the water's edge, fine churches, waters of richest sapphire and towering mountains along the whole horizon. When one sees the place one can safely say it merits all the statements made concerning its untainted beauty, and this is more than can be said of most of the "show" places on the Continent. The town is said to have been originally a Benedictine monastery, which stood on the right bank, where now we see the simple old cathedral, with its two intensely sharp and lofty towers. It was, however, known to the Romans, its name being the Latin for "lantern;" they probably had a small military station here, as it occupies a strategic position.

Several bridges connect the two parts of the town, two of these bridges being most quaint. They are built of wood, for it was not till recent times that the fine stone bridge was constructed. The traffic across the wooden bridges must have excluded vehicles, as the passage is so frail and narrow. Both bridges are covered with a painted roof, and, occupying the triangles made by the cross-beams of the roof, are panels painted with some of the most interesting of pictures. One set represents scenes from Swiss history and from the lives of the patron saints of the town; the other set is much more important, for it constitutes one of the finest extant series of paintings on that favorite mediæval subject—the Danse Ma-

cabre, or Dance of Death. In these scenes we have death triumphing over youth and beauty and power and wealth—all that this world holds most enviable. Death is always a gruesome figure, generally a skeleton with the anatomy purposely ill-drawn. Such representations were meant to remind people of the uncertainty of mundane things. Following this practice, Mary Queen of Scots wore a ring with a death's head carved on the gem; and death was a favorite with the metaphysical school of poets who succeeded Shakespeare. These images warn, but fail to terrify the good people of Lucerne. It is worth one's while to stand within the upper bridge and observe the passersby. In an angle of the bridge lights are burning and flowers perfuming the dim passage. Most of those who come along stop and kneel for a while, or at least make some reverence. One or two remain there continuously. This is a popular shrine of Our Lady, and the good inhabitants like to greet it *en passant*—that is all.

It does one good in Lucerne to see the zest and activity of the common folk. On the lonely mountainside in Munster, where I pen these lines, the hardy schoolboys may be seen gathering for their day's work before 7 o'clock, although lessons do not commence till half-past 9. It is the same in Lucerne. If you want to see the people, do not stay in bed, but go round to the neighboring church, and there you will find their manners illustrated and their vitality explained. At 7 o'clock you will hear a noisy troop of children flocking into their Father's house to dedicate their day's tasks. The girls occupy one side of the nave, the boys tumble into the benches on the other. You see them untackle their great satchels of goat-skin from their shoulders, like so many chasseurs alpins; there is a flutter of hymn-books and then one priest sets them singing or sayings prayers, whilst another celebrates the Holy Sacrifice. Many children receive Our Lord, and that with great devotion and simplicity. In less than three-quarters of an hour all is over, and the future patriots of Lucerne tumble out of the sacred building once more.

One could not speak of this stronghold of Swiss nationalism without some brief mention of the celebrated monument to the nation's valor. In a snug spot known as the Glacier Garden, from the many curious effects wrought in the rocks and stones of the vicinity by the glaciers of bygone ages, there is one work of stone that rivals all these products of nature. Carved in the face of a sheer cliff, overhanging a pool, and at a height of several score feet, there slumbers in death a lion, hewn, as it lies, out of the native rock. The monstrous and majestic beast—some nine yards in length, I believe—is panting in its final agony, with the head of the



hunter's spear broken off short in its upturned flank. By this touching symbol of expiring courage and majesty Thorwaldsen, the famous Danish sculptor, has immortalized the heroes of the Swiss Guard who died defending Louis XVI. in the Tuileries, in August, 1692. The legend overhead reads: *Helvetiorum Fidei ac Virtuti*—"To the Loyalty and Valor of the Swiss." Underneath is a somewhat detailed account of the event and of the men that fell. I take the following brief description from Hazlitt's "Life of Napoleon:"\*

"After the departure of the monarch there was no reason to attack the Thuilleries; but the combatants were drawn up face to face, and a furious conflict ensued. . . . The Swiss soldiers at first threw their cartridges out of the windows in token of amity; but as the insurgents pressed into the interior of the palace, a quarrel arose, when the Swiss directed a fatal fire among their ranks and dispersed them for a minute. But the Marseillois, soon returning in force, attacked the Swiss with their cannon, repulsed, surrounded and cut them in pieces. It was no longer a combat, but a massacre; and the assailants gave themselves up to every kind of disorder."

So fell the brave mountaineers of Helvetia. Their glory shall never die. Any one who studies the mere lifeless stone that commemorates their worth must of necessity feel moved almost to tears. A certain distinguished American prelate remarked to a friend of mine in the precincts of the Vatican that he had seen the great works of art in the whole of Europe, but never had his eyes rested on anything so full of genuine feeling at this Lion of Lucerne. It tells, more touchingly than words could ever do, the story of the nation's struggles—its triumphs snatched from relentless death itself.

CHRISTOPHER FLYNN.

Cappoquin, Ireland.

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\* Vol. I., p. 172. Grolier Society Edition de Luxe.

## OUR STATE CONSTITUTIONS AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

MUCH has been written of the status of religion and of the public exercise thereof in the American Colonies. Provincial charters have been quoted, the acts of Provincial Assemblies examined, even the decisions of petty Magistrates in border villages brought again to light to furnish examples of religious intolerance on these shores in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of religious intolerance there was much; of religious toleration there was little, except in Pennsylvania and Maryland; of religious liberty there was none. This last statement may seem too broad, but a brief examination of the terms used will prove the truth of my remarks.

"By religious toleration," to quote the definition of the Catholic Encyclopedia, "is understood the magnanimous indulgence which one shows towards a religion other than his own, accompanied by the moral determination to leave it and its adherents unmolested in private and in public, though internally one views it with complete disapproval as a 'false faith.'" The mere recital of the salient points of the politico-legal history of eleven of the thirteen colonies would serve to show conclusively that religious intolerance existed therein. The Pilgrim, who fled from England to Holland, and thence to the bleak coast of Massachusetts, was intolerant, and the Puritan, who fled direct from England to escape religious persecution, was equally intolerant. Indeed, all save the Catholic and the Quaker refused to grant to their fellow-colonists that equality of religion before the civil law for which in fatherland they had striven and suffered. Cotton Mather described the first settlers of Rhode Island as a "colluvies" of everything but Roman Catholics and real Christians. And we know that in that colony there were severe laws against Catholics, for the text of a repealer is easily accessible, even if Bancroft assures us that such laws cannot be found as passed. More than this, I doubt if Jews and Mahommedans were tolerated even in Maryland, at least from a strict, legal standpoint, for article 33 in the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of 1776 provides that ". . . the Legislature may in their discretion, lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion, . . ." And William Penn, whose "great law" of 1701 was by its author described to be a declaration not of toleration, but of religious equality, a declaration of religious liberty of the broadest character about which there could be no doubt or uncer-

tainty, excluded Atheists and Polytheists from his beneficent protection.<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the American Revolution we may therefore safely say that religious toleration existed in part, complete religious liberty nowhere in the thirteen States. We are accustomed in this day and generation to imagine that we enjoy the fullest religious liberty of any nation in the sun. Have conditions changed? And, if so, in what respects and by reason of what causes?

The subject has many ramifications. The so-called "Sunday laws," religion in our public schools, religious corporations as such, particular tax laws, the right to hold office, to testify or to refuse to give evidence in the civil courts, the duty to bear arms in defense of the State, prosecutions for immorality as offending the public sense of decency—all well merit fuller treatment than is permitted within the limits of this article. What I have done is to digest the forty-eight State Constitutions, particularly that universal section usually known as the "Declaration of Rights" and the decisions of the courts thereunder, with more than a passing glance at acts of the Legislature passed in compliance with or in defiance of such provisions of the Constitution as are here discussed, and to finally endeavor to draw therefrom some general conclusions.

The task has not always been easy. While declarations with regard to religious toleration are to be found as a rule in the "Declaration (or Bill) of Rights" preceding the formal legal articles of the constitutional document itself, the body of the instrument must also be carefully scanned. For while in former days Constitutions were mere skeletons of organic law, to-day they are choked with statutory enactments and definitions. The Constitution of Oklahoma covers much more than 100 closely printed pages, and in Michigan the object of our search was found in the Constitution of 1850 under the wide title of "Restraints on Legislative Action," in a clause forbidding the appropriation of money by the Legislature for the benefit of any religious sect or society.<sup>2</sup>

Judge Cooley, in his "Constitutional Limitations," and Thorpe, in the "Constitutional History of America,"<sup>3</sup> are of much service to the student. And I have not hesitated to draw on them. But they do not pay much attention to our later State Constitutions and de-

<sup>1</sup> The act of 1701 was refused confirmation by the Privy Council in London, and in 1706 a new law gave religious liberty to Trinitarian Christians only.

<sup>2</sup> Article IV., Section 40. This was changed in 1908 to Declaration of Rights, Article II., Section 3.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Thorpe several years ago collated our "American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws" at the request and expense of the Federal Government. The work is extremely valuable for those desiring the exact wording of original sources, but there are no comments and few notes.

cisions, and it is these I have especially examined with a view to the publication of this paper.

#### SOME GENERAL REMARKS.

In England there was not, nor is there to-day, constitutional liberty of conscience. In our Federal Constitution, the First Amendment provides *inter alia* that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The question of the power of the several States to enact such laws, however, does not enter into this discussion, for what was not expressly granted to the Federal Government was by the Tenth Amendment expressly reserved to the several States or to the people. A State might set up a church if it saw fit to do so. Thus the Church of England, supported in South Carolina by act of the Provincial Assembly at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was set up again in 1778 by the second Constitution of that State, which, while **granting religious toleration**, declared the "Christian Protestant religion" to be the "established" religion of the State. And the new Constitutional Convention in New York may establish a new State religion, and so may all other States, provided they first repeal old constitutional enactments. In Rhode Island alone can there be no new Constitution; it may be amended, but not rewritten.<sup>4</sup> But Constitutions must be submitted to the people at the polls for approval. We may note in passing that this general rule has had some exceptions. Kansas vociferously approved more than one Constitution, ineffectually, however, for she was not yet ripe for Statehood. Not a few of the new Constitutions in the Southern States were foisted without approval on the people by the Federal Congress just after the conclusion of the war between the States. The Kentucky Constitution of 1792 was never submitted to the people, but it contained a provision allowing the people to vote for or against a constitutional convention. This provision resulted in the Constitution of 1799, the basic law of that State for over fifty years, and itself never submitted to the electorate. And finally, the Constitutions of Territories seeking admission to the Union as States are subject to the approval of Congress and the veto of the President. Hence the curious ease with which a prohibition clause was inserted into the Constitutions of the two Dakotas, and a clause prohibiting polygamy into the "Declaration of Rights" in the Utah Constitution.

In one important respect, however, the Federal Congress may, and without exception always has legislated with regard to religion. Every act passed since the Ordinance of 1787 for the purpose of enabling the people of a Territory to be admitted to the Union as

<sup>4</sup> See *In Re Constitutional Convention*, 14 R. I. (State Reports), p. 469.

a State provides for the planting in their Constitution of the tree of religious liberty. That ordinance declared that "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and ordinary manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments." The usual clause in later acts is "Perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant of this State shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her mode of religious worship."

Yet the rights of the future State have always been jealously preserved, and its failure to legislate on this important subject in all its ramifications was not held to give the Federal Government any fuller power. This is exemplified in the case of *Permoli vs. Municipality* (of New Orleans), decided as late as 1845, and reported in 3 Howard (U. S.), 589.

By the act of February 20, 1811, Congress authorized the people of Louisiana to form a Constitution and State Government, and by section 3 of that act certain restrictions were imposed in the form of instructions to the convention that might frame the Constitution, such as that the document should contain the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty. Nevertheless, after the Constitution had been accepted by Congress and Louisiana admitted into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States," there remained no power in the general government to protect the citizens of Louisiana in the enjoyment of their religious liberty. And Judge Catron said (p. 609 of the report): "The Constitution makes no provision for protecting the citizens of the respective States in their religious liberties; this is left to the State Constitutions and laws; nor is there any inhibition imposed by the Constitution of the United States in this respect on the States." And he accordingly held that the United States Courts were without jurisdiction to pass on the validity of a municipal ordinance forbidding the exposure of a corpse in any Roman Catholic church in the municipality.

Judge Cooley says: "A careful examination of the American Constitutions will disclose that nothing is more fully set forth or more plainly expressed than the determination of their authors to preserve and perpetuate religious liberty and to guard against the slightest approach towards the establishment of an inequality in the civil and political rights of citizens which shall have for its basis only their differences of religious belief. . . . The American people came to the work of framing their fundamental laws after centuries of religious oppression and persecution, sometimes by one party or sect and sometimes by another, had taught them the utter futility of all attempts to propagate religious opinions by the rewards, penalties or terrors of human laws. They could not fail to

perceive also that a union of Church and State, like that which existed in England, if not wholly impracticable in America, was certainly opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and that any domineering of one sect over another was repressing to the energies of the people and must necessarily tend to discontent and disorder. Whatever, therefore, may have been their individual sentiments upon religious questions, or upon the propriety of the State assuming supervision and control of religious affairs under other circumstances, the general voice has been that persons of every religious persuasion should be made equal before the law, and that questions of religious belief and religious worship should be questions between each individual man and his Maker. Of these questions human tribunals, so long as the public order is not disturbed, are not to take cognizance, except as the individual, by his voluntary action in associating himself with a religious organization, may have conferred upon such organization a jurisdiction over him in ecclesiastical matters. The American Constitutions, therefore, have not established religious toleration merely, but religious equality—in that particular being far in advance not only of the mother country, but also of much of the colonial legislation, which, though more liberal than that of other civilized countries, nevertheless exhibited features of discrimination based upon religious beliefs or professions.”

Thorpe tells us that “Religion in the early Constitutions was defined as ‘the duty which we owe to our Creator; and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence’—a broad application of the doctrine of natural rights, whence it was concluded that all men were equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of their conscience. All the Constitutions were made under the influence of the Christian religion. . . . Freedom in religion was a characteristic reform of the times, (but) the freedom was relative—great if one looked backward, slight if he looked forward.”

It should be noted that nothing worthy of note is to be found in the Constitutions or decisions of Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Minnesota, Mississippi and Wyoming. In several of these States the constitutional provisions examined have never come before the courts for judicial interpretation or construction. We must remember, however, the great influence of earlier Constitutions on the Western and Southern conventions. We are told that the debates of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829 were cited in the remaining Southern States for over twenty years. We know that Louisiana, alone of all our States, has French, not English law, at least as a basic code; but that the whole Southwest, from Colorado, is affected by French and Spanish rule. We can see that the

Constitution of Colorado is copied from Illinois, which has also affected North and South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Wyoming and Idaho. Massachusetts fathered Maine; Virginia, West Virginia. And the New York code has had its offspring all over the West and Middle West, the other States on the Atlantic seaboard developing the old English common law by statute and decision.

The usual provision of to-day is that found in the second article of the "Bill of Rights" of the Constitution of Illinois (1870):

"No. 3. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be guaranteed; and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity on account of his religious opinions; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State. No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent, nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship."

In the case of *Chase vs. Cheney*, 58 Ill., 509 (1871), Thornton, J., said at page 537: "Our Constitution provides that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship shall forever be guaranteed.' In ecclesiastical law profession means the act of entering into a religious order. Religious worship consists in the performance of all the external acts and the observance of all ordinances and ceremonies which are engaged in with the sole and avowed object of honoring God. The Constitution intended to guarantee from all interference by the State not only each man's religious faith, but his membership in the church and the rites and discipline which might be adopted. The only exception to uncontrolled liberty is that acts of licentiousness shall not be excused and practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State shall not be justified. Freedom of religious profession and worship cannot be maintained if the civil courts trench upon the domain of the Church, construe its canons and rules, dictate its discipline and regulate its trials. The larger portion of the Christian world has always recognized the truth of the declaration, 'a church without discipline must become, if not already, a church without religion.' It is as much a delusion to confer religious liberty without the right to make and enforce rules and canons as to create government with no power to punish offenders. The Constitution guarantees 'the free exercise and enjoyment.' This implies not alone the practice, but the possession with satisfaction; not alone the exercise, but the exercise coupled with enjoyment. This 'free exercise and enjoyment' must be as each man and each voluntary association of men may deter-

mine. The civil power may contribute to the protection, but cannot interfere to destroy or fritter away."

In Indiana the word "creed" (used in place of denomination in the Constitution of 1851, "Bill of Rights," art. I., sec. 4) means, according to Myers, J., in *Hammer vs. State*, 173 Ind., 199 (1909), a formal declaration of religious belief and an act prohibiting the wearing of secret society badges by those not members of said society does not violate said section.<sup>5</sup>

But while no preference is to be given to religious denominations, they are entitled to protection. In *Parish of Immaculate Conception vs. Murphy*, 89 Nebraska, 529 (1911), at p. 534, Root, J., referring to Art. I., sec. 4, of the Constitution of 1875, said: "The courts of the American Union are a unit in refusing to coerce any individual to worship according to any faith or creed or to worship at all, but they do not refuse to protect property rights because they may thereby interfere with the religious convictions of some individual or aggregation of individuals. The Constitution of this State contemplates that the civil courts may be called upon to protect religious denominations in the peaceable enjoyment of their own form of worship."

And chapter 4 of the recently enacted penal code of North Dakota enumerates crimes against religion and conscience, acts of Sabbath-breaking and acts deemed to constitute disturbance of a religious meeting. Prosecutions for all these offenses must be commenced within thirty days; the crimes act of Oklahoma contains sections copied word for word from sections 8559-8584 of the North Dakota without the curious limitation on the time for prosecution. In *New Jersey Justice Reed* decided in 1908 (*Berry and Ackley vs. Demaris*, 76 N. J. Law Reports, 301) a statute declaring it lawful for certain officers to seize and sell articles of traffic in booths, tents, boats or vessels, sold or exposed for sale (other than in the regular course of business at the usual places) within three

<sup>5</sup> But the courts of the State of New York very recently have given legal sanction to the contention of the New York Grand Lodge that "the precepts contained in the landmarks and the charges of a Freemason formulate a creed so thoroughly religious in character that it may well be compared with the formally expressed doctrine of many a denominational church. The Masonic fraternity may therefore be quite properly regarded as a religious society." I have not access to the official report, but the matter is fully discussed in "America," Vol. XII., No. 9, p. 217 (December 12, 1914). This gives a loophole for the courts to announce a policy of non-interference in Masonic disputes. *Johnston, J.*, laid down the general rule in *Hackney vs. Vawter*, 39 Kansas, 615 (1888), when he said at p. 628: "Civil courts have no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and never interfere in matters of church polity, except for the protection of civil rights and the preservation of that religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution." See also *Forizel vs. Trustees*, 9 Kan., 592 (1872), and *Dickinson vs. Beal*, 10 Kan. App., 233 (1900).



miles of a place of religious worship during times of meeting therefor, to be unconstitutional because it did not provide for a judicial hearing.

There is frequently a provision, as in the amendment of 1880 to the Nevada Constitution of 1864 (Art. XI, sec. 10, title "Education"), that "No public funds of any kind or character whatever, State, county or municipal, shall be used for sectarian purposes." Not all courts, happily, go so far as the Supreme Court of that State in the case of *State vs. Hallock*, 16 Nev., 173, 1872. For the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of the words "sectarian purposes" the court examined the history of the State in relation to appropriations, as shown by its statutes and legislative proceedings, and held, per Leonard, C. J., that the words were used in a popular sense; that a religious sect is a body or number of persons, united in tenets, but constituting a distinct party by holding doctrines different from those of other sects, or people, and that every sect of that character is sectarian within the meaning of that word used in the State Constitution. And accordingly the Nevada Orphan Asylum, in charge of the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity, whose mother house is at Emmitsburg, Maryland, was held a sectarian institution.

The Constitution of Oregon, approved by the people of that State in November, 1857 (and which has never been superseded, although the admission of that Territory to the Union did not take place until February 14, 1859), contains the following unique clause: "Art. I., sec. 5. Nor shall any money be appropriated for the payment of any religious services in either house of the legislative assembly."

The clause in the Constitution of many of the Western States formerly under Mormon domination is similar to the following, copied from Art. I., sec. 4, of the Idaho Constitution of 1889: ". . . but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to . . . justify polygamous or other pernicious practices inconsistent with morality or the peace or the safety of the State nor to permit any person, organization or association to directly or indirectly aid or abet, counsel or advise any person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy or any other crime. . . ." In the same year Montana added in Art. III., sec. 4, to the words "peace or safety of the State" the clause "or opposed to the civil authority thereof, or of the United States." In construing the Idaho provision, Ailshie, C. J., in *Toncray vs. Budge*, 14 Idaho, 621 (1908), held that the constitutional convention (see p. 654) was guarding against acts and practices and teachings, not beliefs. At page 652 of the report he said: "Constitutions and statutes are drafted and adopted for the government of men and the regulation of their conduct in a civil and temporal government of human beings

in this life. Constitutions and statutes care nothing about what men believe with reference to a future existence; indeed, they are intended in this American Union to protect a man in believing anything he wants to believe with reference to the future. They do not deal with beliefs, but with acts and practices. They protect any man in believing anything he wants to believe with reference to the future, but they prohibit him from acting or practicing anything in any manner contrary to good morals or the public weal as prescribed by the laws of the land. . . . At the time of the holding of the constitutional convention, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, commonly called the Mormon Church, recognized two kinds of marriages, one for time only, or for this life only, and the other for both time and eternity, or for this life and the life hereafter, and it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution and the people in its adoption to prohibit plural marriages of either kind; but the prohibition only extends to the natural life of the parties and to this civil and temporal government . . . ."<sup>6</sup>

In 1865 a law was approved in Missouri prohibiting preaching unless under conditions prescribed by the civil authorities of that State. It probably owed its passage to the war-time excitement and, if not repealed, is no doubt now a dead letter. Section 6 of Article II. of the Constitution of 1875 reads as follows: "That no person can be compelled to erect, support or attend any place or system of worship, or to maintain or support any priest, minister of the Gospel, preacher or teacher of any sect, church, creed or denomination of religion; but if any person shall voluntarily make a contract for any such object, he shall be held to the performance of the same." This clause seems not to have been in controversy before the Appellate Courts of Missouri. It was pressed on the Judges of the St. Louis (intermediate) Court of Appeals in the case of *Brewer vs. Cary*, reported in 127 *Southwestern Reporter*, 685 (1908), in which the writer was of counsel. The facts are of interest. Prior to Cary's marriage to Judge Brewer's daughter he signed the following instrument: "I, the undersigned Wade Cary, not a member of the Roman Catholic Church, wishing to contract marriage with Miss Gertrude A. Brewer, a member of the Roman Catholic Church, purpose to do so with the understanding that the marriage bond thus contracted is indissoluble, except by death; and I promise that she shall be permitted the free exercise of religion, according to the Roman Catholic faith, and that all children of either sex born of this marriage shall be baptized and educated in the faith and according to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, even if she should

<sup>6</sup> This Judge, now in his thirties, is the youngest Chief Justice, if not the youngest Justice of any Appellate Court in the United States.

happen to be taken away by death." At his wife's death the defendant broke his agreement, and Judge Brewer, the godfather of his grandchildren, brought a bill in equity to enforce the ante-nuptial agreement recited above. The lower court and the Court of Appeals as well dodged the issue and threw the plaintiff out of court on the authority of several English cases. Preparations were being made to take the case still further, to the Supreme Court of the United States if necessary, when Cary died and Judge Brewer was awarded the control of the religious education of his grandchildren and their custody as well. The law of the United States on this point is not well settled.<sup>7</sup>

In accordance with the provision of the Georgia Constitution of 1868 (section 12), that no man shall be subject to any civil or political incapacity by reason of his opinion upon any subject, it was held in *Maxey vs. Bell*, 41 Ga., 183 (1870), that because one is a Universalist, infidel or holder of any faith or views, is no ground for his removal from the guardianship of minor children to which he was appointed by the will of the deceased father of the children.

The following extract from the opinion of Dixon, J., in the case of *Percey vs. Powers*, 51 N. J. L., 432 (1889), at p. 435, is of interest; the decision will later be cited. "One of the great causes which led to the settlement of the American colonies was the desire of the immigrants that their Government should not make discriminations against them because of their religious tenets. It was not so much that they esteemed any particular privilege denied to them as of value sufficient to warrant their expatriation, but they insisted upon the more general doctrine that their belief or disbelief on religious topics should not debar them from rights which the laws afforded to other subjects.

"Even up to the time of our Revolution this doctrine had not broadened out into the principle which we now consider just; for in the (New Jersey) Colonial Constitution of July 2, 1776, equality of rights was claimed for only those of the Protestant faith, the language being 'that no Protestant inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.' (A similar provision will hereafter be noted as occurring in other colonies.) But evidently the framers of that instrument were aiming to establish a rule of action which should control the operations of all departments of the Government they were forming, and not merely to guard the rights they had previously possessed. It was because those rights had been inadequate

<sup>7</sup> See "The Agreement Prior to Mixed Marriages: Its Validity in State Law," by Charles O'Sullivan and the writer, "The Catholic World" for June, August and November, 1911 (Vol. XCIII., Nos. 555 and 557, Vol. XCIV., No. 560).

that they had repudiated the Government which refused to enlarge them, and to secure such extension the new Government was organized. In this Government so important was to be the doctrine of impartiality towards the religious views of Protestants at least, that every person entering upon the exercise of legislative functions was required to bind himself by an oath not to assent to any law, vote or proceeding which should annul, repeal or alter it. The idea that in enacting laws to confer upon the people civil rights not before enjoyed, or in their interpretation, this fundamental doctrine could be disregarded appears wholly inadmissible. When, in 1844, a more enlightened spirit stripped the doctrine of its sectarian bonds and developed it into a principle of liberty, assuring to all persons the enjoyment of civil rights, irrespective of their religious principles, there was certainly no purpose to lessen the scope or vigor of its operation. It was still designed to permeate every department of the Government. The object in view was to guarantee to every one that his religious principles should never under any circumstances be made the ground of denying to him any civil right which, with different religious principles, he might lawfully claim. I can perceive no reason for insisting upon the enforcement of this constitutional provision, with regard to rights existing at the time of its adoption, which does not with equal strength support its application to those subsequently created."

The case of *Hitter vs. German Roman Catholic Society of St. Aloysius* (4 Kentucky Law Reps., 871), at issue as late as 1883, decides that where the appellant had been expelled from a religious society on account of the non-performance of the religious duties required of him by the society's constitution, he is not entitled to restoration to his privileges as a member of the society on the ground that his civil rights have been diminished on account of his religion, contrary to the State Constitution.

Judge Richards, of the Court of Appeals, held that the appellees' rules were in no way contrary to the State Constitution. The plaintiff (appellant above) was to acquire certain sick and death benefits upon condition that he performed certain religious duties required of members of the Roman Catholic Church. He went on to say (p. 875): "If this Court should order his restoration to full fellowship, it would thereby be converting a conditional right into one that is absolute. This could not be done without infringing upon the religious liberties of the other members. . . . To attempt to compel those who have remained faithful to the tenets of this religious society to restore plaintiff to 'full fellowship' would be an arbitrary effort of human authority to control or interfere with the rights of conscience guaranteed to the other members, an injustice

prohibited by the Constitution of Kentucky . . . to demand of them that they shall 'see that he receives the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church,' and when death has claimed him, that the solemn ceremony of 'Mass' (quotations in the text of the report) be said for the repose of his soul, would be to require of them what would be impossible, except by an utter disregard of the liberty of conscience of all those who worship God according to the doctrines of that Church. The religious liberty of every denomination in this land demands that no such principle as this be declared as the law of Kentucky."

While no State Church was established in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, provision was made in Article III. of the "Declaration of Rights" in the Constitution of 1780 for the support of teachers and preachers of the "Protestant" religion. We quote in extenso: "As the happiness of a people and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality, and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality, therefore, to promote their happiness and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their Legislature with power to authorize and require, And the Legislature shall from time to time authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic or religious societies to make suitable provision at their own expense for the institution of the public worship of God and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

"And the people of this Commonwealth have also a right to and do invest their Legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid at stated times and seasons if there be any one whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

"Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic or religious societies shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

"And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship and of the public teachers aforesaid shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any one whose instruction he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised." This provision was not super-

seded until the eleventh amendment of 1833, which simply allowed the societies themselves to raise the money among their members; "and all persons belonging to any religious society shall be taken and held to be members until they shall file with the clerk of such society a written notice, declaring the dissolution of their membership, and thenceforth shall not be liable for any grant or contract which may be thereafter made or entered into by such society." And it was held that even the Shakers were a religious society under the Constitution in *Lawrence vs. Fletcher*, 8 Mecal's reports, 153-162 (1844).

It may be here noted that the Maine Constitution of 1819, still in force and never amended in this particular, did not follow its parent Commonwealth and enacted what was for those times a most liberal freedom of religion clause. (See Article I. of the "Declaration of Rights.")

Of all the New England States, New Hampshire has been the most bitter against Catholics. The Constitution of 1784 and of 1792 contained in Article VI. of the "Bill of Rights" a provision similar to the Massachusetts one just cited. And this article was retained by the people in 1876, although the constitutional convention abolished all religious disqualifications. The convention of 1889 also voted to abolish this distinction; but this vote also failed of ratification.<sup>8</sup> "At the session of the constitutional convention at Concord, on June 14, 1912, an amendment to Article VI. of the 'Bill of Rights,' striking out the word 'Protestant' and the phrase 'rightly grounded on Evangelical principles,' as modifying the provisions for free public worship, was unanimously adopted. A similar amendment adopted by the last constitutional convention in 1902 failed of ratification when submitted to a vote of the people of the State."<sup>9</sup>

In the case of *Hale vs. Everett*, 53 N. H., 9 (1868), Sargent, J., held that this Article VI., while it empowers the Legislature to authorize the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate or religious societies within the State to make adequate provision at their own expense for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, does not directly, and was not intended to, and does not by implication, forbid the Legislature to authorize the towns, etc., or religious societies to make provision for the support of any other religious teachers besides Protestants. This power is given under section 5 of part second (empowering the Legislature to pass laws for the general good). And the third paragraph of Article VI. was designed to show that, although the framers of the Constitution had a preference for the Protestant re-

<sup>8</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. X., p. 787, col. 2, title "New Hampshire."

<sup>9</sup> "America," Vol. VIII., No. 11, p. 252, June 22, 1912.

ligion rather than the Roman Catholic, and were willing to encourage the former as far as consistent, yet they held the rights of conscience of both to be alike and the same. The same rights of conscience are guaranteed to all.

The Judge's opinion runs from page 49 to page 133 of the report; as far as it is a sop to the Catholics it is mere dicta, for the dispute in the case was between two factions of a Unitarian church. And Justice Doe, who dissents in a strong but equally long opinion (pp. 133-276), plainly says that the provision was an anti-Catholic one and nothing else (at p. 170 et seq.).

We have already cited the Maryland Constitution of 1776. Article XXXIII. of the "Declaration of Rights," quoted in part above, continues: "And all acts of Assembly lately passed for collecting moneys for building or repairing particular churches or chapels of ease shall continue in force and be executed, unless the Legislature shall by act supersede or repeal the same; but no county court shall assess any quantity of tobacco or sum of money hereafter on the application of any vestrymen or church wardens; and every incumbent of the Church of England who hath remained in his parish and performed his duty shall be entitled to receive the provision and support established by the act entitled 'An act for the support of the clergy of the Church of England, in this province,' till the November court of this present year, to be held for the county in which his parish shall lie, or partly lie, or for such time as he hath remained in his parish and performed his duty." This provision seems not to have come before the courts for adjudication. The Constitution was not rewritten until 1851.

The Vermont Constitution of 1777 (Article III., chapter 1) is similar to the New Jersey Constitution quoted in Justice Dixon's opinion above: "Nor can any man who professes the Protestant religion be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiment or peculiar mode of religious worship." In 1786 these words were eliminated, leaving the declaration one of freedom of worship for all. And such was the provision of the Constitution adopted after the admission of Vermont to the Union in 1793.

In Connecticut the situation is well explained by Church, J., in the case of *Jewett vs. Thames Bank*, 16 Conn., 511 (1844), at p. 515. He says: "During the early history of the State, and before the adoption of our present Constitution (1818), all ecclesiastical societies having territorial limits were considered to be, and in fact were, municipal and public corporations. . . . To support and maintain religious instruction and worship through the agency of these societies was a public duty enjoined by law. . . . And every indi-

vidual residing within the limits of any such society was considered by the law as much a member of it as each resident of a town was deemed its inhabitant. In later times and since the Constitution of the State has been adopted a different state of things in this respect has existed. The law now makes no compulsory provision for the support of ecclesiastical institutions (quoting the Constitution). . . . And of course no person can now become a member of a religious society until by his voluntary act he has united with it." And once deemed a member, he could, by a constitutional provision similar to the Massachusetts clause, separate himself from the society if he so desired only by a written instrument.

We may close this section by a quotation from the California case in which Spiritualism was under discussion. Chancellor Hayne said in *Newman vs. Smith*, 77 Cal., 23 (1888), at p. 25: "We do not think at this period in this country a court is justified in pronouncing any form of religious belief superstitious or contrary to public policy when not followed by acts which are recognized as hurtful to society."

#### RELIGIOUS TESTS.

##### *1. Citizenship.*

The only constitutional provision relating to the matter of this sub-section is section 42 of the New York Constitution of April 20, 1777. It has to deal with naturalization, and provides that the persons seeking to be naturalized take an oath of allegiance "and abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and State in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil." This section was omitted in the Constitution written in 1821 and adopted in 1822 and in all other subsequent Constitutions of that State.

The "Bill of Rights" of the Kansas Constitution of 1859 (sec. 7) states that . . . "No religious test . . . shall be required for any . . . vote at any election." There is a similar provision in the Oklahoma Constitution. Generally the right to vote is included in the broader statements of the Michigan Constitution of 1850, Art. IV., sec. 41: "The Legislature shall not diminish or enlarge the civil or political rights, privileges or capacities of any person on account of his opinion or belief concerning matters of religion." This has been generally construed, as by Montgomery, J., in *Pfeffer vs. Board of Education*, 118 Mich., 560 (at p. 563) (1898), to mean that "The primary purpose of section 41 was to exclude religious tests and to place all citizens upon an equality before the law as to the exercise of the franchise of voting or holding office."



*2. Office-holding.*

Unfortunately, all States are not, even to-day, as liberal as Michigan. While manhood suffrage is well-nigh universal, there are still restraints on office-holding. Professor Thorpe is the only author who has treated this subject in detail; the following quotation is therefore important. He tells us that in early days "a religious qualification was required for the franchise. This was a survival. For a century and a half 'being in church fellowship' had meant in Massachusetts membership in the Congregational Church. (We have outlined above the establishment of a State Church in South Carolina.) Connecticut and New Hampshire resembled Massachusetts in their provisions respecting church membership as a political qualification. Virginia resembled South Carolina. But resemblance is not identity. In other States religious sects abounded and multiplied till public opinion resembled that which ruled in the Federal convention when the qualifications for office were under consideration; no religious qualification could be adopted that would please all the States; therefore all were abandoned. . . .

"The religious qualifications, so strong in some colonies for a time, in as far as they affected the voter, may be said to have disappeared with the abandonment of the first South Carolina Constitution in 1790. The Constitution of Massachusetts did not require church membership. For a time public opinion did, but this encumbrance on the political estate may be said to have been fully satisfied before 1820. The office-holding class was not exempted so early. Governors and legislators must give security, and none other was thought equal to the property and religious qualifications. No man known to be irreligious could have been chosen Governor of Rhode Island or of Connecticut in colonial times. In public opinion this was an unwritten qualification. Had the office been elective in other colonies, probably the result would have been similar. The colonial period was one during which property, integrity and religion were inseparable in the public mind. It may be said now that church membership is no longer conclusive evidence of probity or integrity. A man is not defeated at the polls, as he would have been during the greater part of the eighteenth century, simply because he is not a church member. (But what if he is a member of a church opposed by the Guardians of Liberty?) Is it not fair to conclude that the people of that time had no other equally good test, or at least that they thought so?

"In 1705—and the law was reenacted thirty-six years later in Delaware to include all office-holders—a member of the Assembly in Pennsylvania was required to profess faith in the Trinity and the

inspiration of the Scriptures. It was proposed to incorporate the same oath in the Constitution of the State in 1776 and to have it apply to the electors and all officials. Franklin, the president of the convention, succeeded in limiting the oath to members of Assembly and in modifying it merely to a declaration of belief in God, the inspiration of the Scriptures and a future state of rewards and punishments. The change in public opinion respecting requirements of this kind is recorded in the Constitution of the State of 1790, in which the old provision barely survives in negative form, that no person who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold office in the State. (See a similar negative provision as to Protestants in New Jersey discussed above.) And this provision is repeated in the Constitutions of 1838 and 1873. In 1704, the year before the Pennsylvania act, the South Carolina Assembly had passed one of stricter ecclesiastical tenure. Members of Assembly who, within twelve months, had not received the sacrament were required to take it according to the Church of England, and in open Assembly to deliver proper certificate to the fact, signed by the minister, or to prove the fact by two witnesses on oath. It is not strange that the first Constitution of the State, seventy-two years later, should contain some survival of a public opinion that could dictate such a law. The New England States, New Jersey and North Carolina limited office-holding to Protestants either by law or in their Constitutions. By the Constitution of 1780 the candidate for Governor (and Lieutenant Governor) of Massachusetts was required to be worth £1,000 and 'to declare himself to be of the Christian religion.' The religious test was abolished in 1821 and the property qualification in 1892.

"In North Carolina the qualification at last led to the calling of the convention of 1835 to modify the phrase. Jews were practically excluded from public office everywhere, and Catholics also, except in New York and Maryland. They were not numerous in this country in the eighteenth century, but they existed in numbers sufficient to prove a powerful accessory to the political party that should first declare for reforms in the franchise. They were joined, of course, by that increasing number of non-church people who considered all religious qualifications a violation of human rights."

Judge Cooley put out the first edition of his work almost a half century ago, yet he could then say: "Under the North Carolina Constitution all persons who deny the existence of Almighty God shall be disqualified for office;<sup>10</sup> and the Constitutions of Mississippi

<sup>10</sup> The wording of Section 32 of the North Carolina Constitution of 1776 was "That no person who shall deny the being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of either of the Old or New

and South Carolina provide that no person who denies the existence of a Supreme Being shall hold any office under this Constitution. The Constitution of Tennessee provides that no person who denies the being of a God or a future state of rewards and punishments shall hold any office in the civil department of this State, which shows traces of the old notion that truth and a sense of duty do not consort with skepticism in religion.

"Many Constitutions expressly forbid religious tests as a qualification for office or public trust.

"Some Constitutions (Tennessee, Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky) contain provisions, more or less broad, which exhibit a jealousy of ecclesiastical authority by making persons who exercise the functions of clergyman, priest or teacher of any religious persuasion, **society or sect ineligible to civil office.**

"These clauses are exceptional, however, and it is believed that where they exist they are not often made use of to deprive any person of the civil and political rights and privileges which are placed by law within the reach of his fellows."

The disqualification of the non-religious, i. e., those who did not openly profess some known form of religious belief, from the franchise commenced to disappear about 1795, when the Democratic party began the struggle for the extension of the franchise. But the hatred of clergymen in public office exists in some communities to the present day. Thus while Colorado may have a minister for its Governor, Maryland still forbids clergymen to be members of its Legislature. And no later than last year the seat of a Senator was contested; he held it only by the plea that he was no longer active as a preacher.

North Carolina still has its test for office-holding;<sup>11</sup> South Carolina and Tennessee have abolished theirs since Judge Cooley wrote. So, too, has Mississippi; but the only Catholic known to have held office under that State is Attorney General Johnston, who, in 1894-6, filled an unexpired term by Gubernatorial appointment. Delaware changed its Constitution in 1897. And the Georgia disqualification

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Testaments, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State." It has been well said that "It would be difficult to formulate a statute more obscure in its terms or inviting more controversy as to its meaning." (Annotated Const. Nor. Car., Connor and Cheshire, Introduction, p. 27.)

<sup>11</sup> It is similar to the thirty-seventh Article of the Declaration of Rights in the Maryland Constitution of 1867: "That no religious test ought ever to be required as a qualification for any office of profit or trust in this State, other than a declaration of belief in the existence of God." Article 34 of the Constitution of 1851 required "a declaration of belief in the Christian religion, and if he shall profess to be a Jew, the declaration shall be of his belief in a future state of rewards and punishments."

of clergymen as members of the General Assembly in 1789, a survival of the Constitution of 1777, which provided that all members of the Assembly should be of the Protestant religion, itself only survived until 1798.

The great task of the Catholic William Gaston in the North Carolina constitutional convention of 1835 to remove the stigma on his clergy is shown by the bitterness of the debate on a similar clause of the Kentucky Constitution in 1849,<sup>12</sup> the only reported debates on this acrimonious topic that have come down to us.

Until 1864 Louisiana refused to permit clergymen who continued to exercise their functions a seat in the General Assembly. The Constitution framed in that year repeated the objectionable clause, but the State Government formed under that document was not recognized by Congress, and the Constitution of 1868 did away with the matter.

We have seen the course taken in Massachusetts, but Article XVIII. of the "Declaration of Rights" is of interest as showing the temper of the Bay State electorate. "A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the Constitution and a constant adherence to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry and frugality are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty and to maintain a free government. The people ought consequently to have a particular attention to all those principles in the choice of their officers and representatives, and they have a right to require of their lawgivers and Magistrates an exact and constant observance of them in the formation and execution of the laws necessary for the good administration of the Commonwealth."

The Missouri Constitution of 1820, in effect until 1875, contained the following clauses (sec. 5, Art. XIII., "Declaration of Rights") : "That no person, on account of his religious opinions, can be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this State. . . ." But Art. III., sec. 13, in full reads: "No person, while he continues to exercise the functions of a Bishop, priest, clergyman or teacher of any religious persuasion, denomination, society or sect whatsoever, shall be eligible to either house of the General Assembly; nor shall he be appointed to any office of profit within the State, the office of Justice of the Peace excepted." No Catholic priest has ever been elected chaplain in either branch of the Legislature. On the other hand, ministers of the Gospel may not be subjected to an occupation tax and their libraries are exempted from attachment for debt.

We have already discussed the situation in New Hampshire;

<sup>12</sup> "Clergymen and Public Office," *"America,"* Vol. III., No. 14, p. 318, July 13, 1912.

even a document written so lately as the Constitution of 1902 contained the old provision for the public support of "Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality." The same instrument contains the same directions to the voters in electing officials as the Massachusetts "Declaration of Rights." But no person of one sect could be compelled to support the teachers of another; a Presbyterian successfully resisted, in 1803, a tax for the support of a Congregationalist minister (*Muzzy vs. Wilkins*, *Smith Reports*, p. 1). As far as statutory law was concerned, we are told that until 1877 it was necessary that each representative in the Legislature be "of the Protestant religion" (*Gault and Spalding*, p. 59).

The New York Constitution of 1777 was a bit hypocritical about the matter. Section 39 sets forth: "And whereas the ministers of the Gospel are by their profession dedicated to the service of God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function; therefore, no minister of the Gospel, or priest of any denomination whatever shall, at any time hereafter, under any pretense or description whatever, be eligible to or capable of holding any civil or military office or place within this State." And the Constitution of 1822 retained the provision, merely substituting "cure" for "care of souls." The prohibition disappeared with the Constitution of 1846.

We may close our view of the old régime with the provision of the Constitution of Vermont of 1777 (chap. II., sec. 9): "That each member of the House of Representatives, before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration, viz.: 'I do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked; and I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration, and own and profess the Protestant religion.'" This clause was dropped in the revision of 1786 and never reappeared thereafter.

The modern sweeping clause is exemplified in the Arizona Constitution of 1912: "No religious qualification shall be required for any public office or employment." (Art. II., sec. 12, "Declaration of Rights.")

And we may finally note that clergymen are now usually exempted from jury duty, and that some States, as South Dakota, exempt them from the payment of a poll tax.<sup>18</sup>

### *3. Duty to Bear Arms in Defense of the State.*

Texas and some other States forbid in their Constitutions compul-

<sup>18</sup> The North Carolina Constitution of 1776 (Article XXXIV.) contained this warning: "Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt preachers of treasonable or seditious discourses from legal trial and punishment."

sory military duty. Clergymen are usually exempted from this burden, as are many whose conscientious scruples forbid them to take up arms for any reason whatsoever. As early as 1657 Rhode Island courageously denied the demand of the United Colonies that Quakers should be banished, and held that military service should not be exacted from those whose religious scruples forbade the bearing of arms.

Section 40 of the New York Constitution of 1777 provided for the establishment of a State militia and, *inter alia*, "That all such inhabitants of this State being of the people called Quakers as, from scruples of conscience, may be averse to the bearing of arms, be therefrom excused by the Legislature; and do pay to the State such sums of money, in lieu of their personal service, as the same may, in the judgment of the Legislature, be worth."<sup>14</sup> North Dakota (Constitution of October 1, 1889, Article XIII., No. 188), exempts such persons *in times of peace*, but requirest payment; that State also allows the Legislature to exempt and recognizes explicitly the power of the Federal Congress to do likewise. Article X., sec. 2, of the Oregon declaration of rights is similar. Many States, as Pennsylvania (Article XI.), allow the Legislature to exempt and made no provision for money payments by those exempted.

#### 4. *Witnesses.*

The conscientious scruple against bearing arms was usually accompanied by an equally conscientious scruple against taking an oath. Were these scruples respected? And what of those who were non-religious or who did not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments?

Again we quote Judge Cooley: "Some of the State Constitutions have also done away with the distinction which existed at common law regarding the admissibility of testimony in some cases. All religions were recognized by the law to the extent of allowing all persons to be sworn and to give evidence who believed in a superintending Providence, who rewards and punishes, and that an oath was binding on their conscience. But the want of such belief rendered the person incompetent. Wherever the common law remains unchanged, it must, we suppose, be held no violation of religious liberty to recognize and enforce its distinctions; but the tendency is to do away with them entirely or to allow one's unbelief to go to his credibility only, if taken into account at all."

The Illinois Constitution of 1870 provides in Art. II. ("Bill of

<sup>14</sup> Article VII., Section 5, is equivalent in the Constitution of 1821 to Section 40 above, except that for "Quakers" are substituted "of any religious denomination whatever." The Constitution of 1846 left the whole matter to the Legislature, where it appears to have since remained.

Rights"), sec. 3, *inter alia*, as follows: "No person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity on account of his religious opinions; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations. . . ." The changes from an historical standpoint are traced for us in the decisions of the Illinois courts. *Hronek vs. the People*, 134 Ill., 139, decided in 1890, holds that the section quoted has abrogated the rule which obtained prior to 1870, restricting the competency of witnesses on account of defect of religious belief, and there is no longer any test of qualification in respect to religious belief or want of the same which affects the competency of citizens to testify as witnesses in courts of justice. Justice Baker overruled *R. R. Co. vs. Rockafellow*, 17 Ill., 541 (1856), and said (p. 152): "The obvious meaning of the provision in the Constitution is that whatever civil rights, privileges or capacities belong to or are enjoyed by citizens generally shall not be taken from or denied to any person on account of his religious opinions." And at p. 151: "No man because of his religious belief is to be held to be excused from taking the prescribed oath of office before entering upon the discharge of public duty, nor can he be permitted to testify because of such religious belief or opinion, except upon taking the oath or making the affirmation required by law." And Judge Lacey, in the same year, speaking for the Second District (Intermediate) Court of Appeals, in *Ewing vs. Bailey*, 36 Ill. App. 191, said at p. 194 that the above provision of the Constitution is very comprehensive. "It not only saves all the civil and political rights of the citizens as against any religious opinion, but 'privilege and capacity.' Now it cannot be denied that the right to testify is a privilege, especially when the party is called to testify in his own behalf, and which he would be allowed to do save for religious opinions. It is also a capacity in which generally the citizen may act, and according to the Constitution he cannot lose by reason of his religious opinions. . . . The penalties denounced by law against the crime of perjury and the innate moral principles of man and the inborn sense of right and wrong are now regarded such a sufficient guarantee against false swearing as to admit witnesses to testify, leaving it to courts and juries to determine the weight proper to be given to their evidence."

Chief Justice Scales said in *R. R. vs. Rockafellow*, *ut supra* (pp. 552-3-4): "In early times Lord Coke laid down the rule as excluding all not Christians, a rule as narrow, bigoted and inhuman as the spirit of fanatical intolerance and persecution which disgraced his age and country. . . . All are competent (*Omichund vs. Barker*, *Wills' Reports*, 538) who believe that there is a God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, and that He will punish them if

they swear falsely in this world or in the next, and a want of such belief will render them incompetent to take an oath, without which no one can testify in a court of justice. A liability to civil punishment and the fear of it will not substitute that moral, conscientious obligation under which witnesses are required to state facts as testimony, and which is supposed to be imposed and exist by an oath taken by one entertaining such belief. . . . But one having no religion, believing in no God and not accountable to any punishment for falsehood here or hereafter, except his own notions of honor, veracity and amenability to criminal justice cannot be sworn, as no legal, moral, conscientious obligation or responsibility, in the view of the law, can be imposed by an oath, and he may not testify without it."

Nowadays courts have veered around, and a man's fear of legal punishment, his sense of honor, his jealousy for his good name, are all held to give sanction to his oath before taking the witness stand. But it is true that perjury is so prevalent that several years ago the president of the New York State Bar Association made the matter the subject of his annual address. On the other hand, at common law, as Judge Lacey points out in *Ewing vs. Bailey*, *supra*, at p. 195, "Fear of Divine punishment seemed to be thought the only effective restraint against the crime of perjury, and yet the same law prescribed that no witness should be qualified to testify in a case where he was a party or had the slightest pecuniary interest in the result of the suit." This was the common law in the United States until after the middle of the last century. And even in the Northern State of Illinois in those days Indians, Negroes and mulattoes were incompetent to testify against whites, no matter what the religion of the former.

As late at 1882 the question was raised in the Kentucky courts, and Hines, J., said in *Bush vs. Commonwealth*, 80 Ky., 244 (at p. 249): "The Constitution changes the common law rule and makes competent as witnesses all persons so far as any religious test is concerned. . . . The object (of the constitutional provision) was to make the divorce between Church and State irrevocable, to establish unequivocally that the province of government is to deal with the temporal relations and affairs of men and in no case with matters spiritual, and that under no circumstances should any burden be placed upon any one or any penalty enforced on account of opinion in reference to religious or spiritual matters.

"The obvious meaning (of the sixth section of the "Declaration of Rights") is that whatever civil rights, civil privileges or civil capacities belong to or are enjoyed by the citizens generally shall not be taken away from or denied to any citizen on account of his



opinions in regard to religious matters. It is a declaration of an absolute equality, which is violated when one class of citizens is held to have the civil capacity to testify in a court of justice because they ascertain a certain opinion in regard to religion, while another class is denied to possess that capacity because they do not conform to the prescribed belief. Free governments deal with the acts of the citizen and not with his thoughts. To proscribe or punish for religious or political opinions is of the essence of despotism. To apply the rule insisted upon would be to make a religious test, which is contrary as well to the letter as to the spirit of the Constitution. . . . We think that this provision of the Constitution not only permits persons to testify without regard to religious belief or disbelief, but that it **was intended to prevent any inquiry into that belief for the purpose of affecting credibility.**"

This last clause exhibits a broadminded view of the remedy intended to be effectuated by the new constitutional clauses. But in many instances judicial regard for the common law precedents died hard. The Oregon Constitution of 1857 contained a clause similar to the one under discussion. But in 1861 Justice Boise held in *Goodall vs. the State*, 1 Ore., 333, that it was error not to have admitted in evidence that deceased was a disbeliever in a future state of rewards and punishments for the purpose of discrediting his dying declarations. In 1880 Chief Justice Kelly held in *State vs. Ah Lee*, 8 Ore., 214, that in order to render dying declarations admissible in evidence, it is not requisite that the deceased should have been a believer in the Christian religion at the time the declarations were made. And the broader view would undoubtedly obtain in the greater majority of our jurisdictions to-day.

The Maryland Constitution of 1867, still in force, provides ("Declaration of Rights," Art. XXXVI.): . . . "Nor shall any person otherwise competent be deemed incompetent as a witness or juror on account of his religious belief, provided he believes in the existence of God and that under His dispensation such person will be held morally accountable for his acts, and be rewarded or punished therefor in this world or the world to come." And Art. XXXIX. goes on to say "That the manner of administering the oath or affirmation to any person ought to be such as those of the religious persuasion, profession or denomination of which he is a member generally esteem the most effectual confirmation by the attestation of the Divine Being. . . ." There seem to be no cases in the Appellate Courts of this State adjudicating evidential disputes under these sections of the "Declaration of Rights."

In the same jurisdiction Art. XXXVI. of the "Declaration of Rights" in 1776 provides that upon affirmation Quakers, Dunkers

and Menonists (sic) may be allowed to affirm, and that warrants of searches and seizures may be granted on such affirmations and members of these sects be admitted as witnesses in all criminal cases not capital. The amendment of 1795 allows Quakers, Menonists, Tunkers or Nicolites or New Quakers to qualify for office by affirmation, and the amendment of 1798 allows the last above-named sects, conscientiously scrupulous of taking an oath, to affirm as witnesses in all cases.

In *Thurston vs. Whitney*, 56 Mass., 104, Justice Wilde, in 1848, following the general rule in force at the time, held that an atheist was not competent as a witness and that the "Declaration of Rights" was intended merely to prevent persecution by punishing any one for his religious opinions, however erroneous they might be. The rejection of a witness is no violation of this article of the Constitution. "It would not 'hurt, molest or restrain him in his person, liberty or estate'"—a very narrow construction.

Twice the question has come before intermediate courts of appeal in Missouri. And they have held that atheism or peculiarity of religious belief does not disqualify one as a witness; *Londener vs. Lichtenheim*, 11 Mo. App., 385 (1882); two years later it was decided that the fact that a child otherwise competent has never received religious instruction does not disqualify her as a witness; *Cadmus vs. St. Louis Co.*, 15 Mo. App., 86. The Constitution of 1875 contains the usual modern provision.

Nebraska, in 1875, added a proviso, not now uncommon, that nothing contained in its "Declaration of Rights" "shall be construed to dispense with oaths and affirmations." Ohio had it in 1851.

In 1879 Judge Foster seems to have been a bit more liberal than his electorate in New Hampshire. He said in *Free vs. Buckingham*, 59 N. H., 219 (at p. 225): "It is not customary in modern practice to permit an inquiry into a man's peculiarity of religious belief. This is not because the inquiry might tend to disgrace him, but because it would be a personal scrutiny into the state of his faith and conscience contrary to the spirit of our institutions."

We have considered in another section above the opinion in the New Jersey case of *Percey vs. Powers*. It was therein decided that a party who did not believe in a Supreme Being Who would punish perjury was competent as a witness.

New York changed its Constitution in 1846, nearly a decade before parties even pecuniarily interested in the outcome of litigation were allowed to testify in England. But twelve years later Judge Balcom in *Stanbro vs. Hopkins*, 28 Barbour's Reports, 265, exhibited the usual judicial prejudice when he held that notwithstanding the constitutional provision a party against whom a witness is called

may interrogate him, on his cross-examination, as to his opinions on matters of religious belief, and show by him that he does not believe in the existence of a God Who will punish false swearing. And it is not erroneous for the trial judge to charge the jury that the fact thus proved will go to the credit of the witness. Yet Justice Vann, of the Court of Appeals, has pointed out in *People vs. Johnson*, 185 N. Y., 219 (1906), that unbelievers were made competent by statute before the Constitution so provided (2 R. S., 408).

Pennsylvania has no constitutional provision in this regard. Members of the Philadelphia bar will remember the frequent controversy over the admission of the testimony of Dr. Persifor Frazer, often called as an expert witness in cases of disputed handwriting, who was an atheist of the deepest dye. It has taken a recent statute to change the common law of the State.<sup>13</sup>

In Vermont the administration and voluntary taking of an unnecessary oath is made penal by statute. This provision was originally a part of the anti-Masonic legislation enacted in 1833.

The seal of the confessional, respected in England until the so-called reformation changed the common law, is respected in many States to-day by statute. And the tendency of the courts is to hold it as inviolable as confidential communications made to one's attorney or physician. Sometimes, however, statutes granting a confessor immunity from commitment for contempt of court in refusing to testify are strictly construed. So that a statement made to one's pastor not in confession would be required by the courts to be disclosed on the witness stand by the cleric. The subject is elaborately treated in the Catholic Encyclopedia.

#### SCHOOLS.

This is another section which merits fuller exposition than I am allowed. The decisions are in hopeless conflict and I will not do more than outline many of them.

The Ordinance of 1787 declared that religion, morality and knowledge were necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, and further provided that for these purposes schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged. Before we take up two decisions in the territory affected by the ordinance let us look at the earliest decision on the question of Bible-reading in the public schools.

In *Donahoe vs. Richards*, 38 Maine, 379 (1854), Justice Appleton held that a requirement that scholars attending the public schools

<sup>13</sup> In the Keystone State witnesses were not allowed to testify in either the civil or criminal courts unless they believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, though their other religious opinions did not need to square with those usually held by Christians.

must read the Protestant version of the Bible was not unconstitutional. The **"freedom of religion" clauses in the Constitution** were held to have nothing to do with the case. Their object was simply to provide for the equality of all sects, and to prevent pains and penalties, imprisonment or the deprivation of social or political rights being imposed as a penalty for religious professions and opinions.

The Ohio Constitution of November, 1802, copied the words of the ordinance and added to "encourage" the words "by legislative provision not inconsistent with the rights of conscience" (Art. VIII., sec. 3). It will be remembered that Congress owned much of the northwest territory and gave its rights therein to the various State Governments to be formed. Accordingly, section 26 of Article VIII. enacts that **"laws shall be passed by the Legislature which shall secure to each and every denomination of religious societies in each surveyed township which is now or may hereafter be formed in the State an equal participation, according to their number of adherents, of the profits arising from the land granted by Congress for the support of religion agreeably to the ordinance or act of Congress making the appropriation."** The Constitution of 1851 contained similar monitions to the Legislature, and Article VI., "Education," reads as follows: Sec. 1: **"The principal of all funds arising from the sale or other disposition of lands or other property granted or entrusted to this State for educational or religious purposes shall forever be preserved inviolate and undiminished, and the income arising therefrom shall be faithfully applied to the specific objects of the original grants or appropriations."** Sec. 2: **" . . . No religious or other sect or sects shall ever have any exclusive right to or control of any part of the school funds of this State."**

In 1872 it was held by Judge Welch in *Board, etc., vs. Minor*, 23 Ohio State Reports, 211, that these constitutional clauses did not enjoin or require religious instruction or the reading of religious books in the public schools of the State.

A proposed Constitution was rejected in 1874. A few days before the election the **"Cincinnati (Catholic) Telegraph"** contained the following: **"The duty of all Catholics of this State on the day of voting is plain and cannot be ignored without moral delinquency and civil disgrace. In full and unbroken ranks they must record their protest against a godless system of education by voting against a Constitution that would fasten anew upon them the hands of gigantic robbery."**

The Michigan Constitution of 1835 provided (Art. I., sec. 5) that **"No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious sect or society, theological or religious**

seminary," and the Constitution of 1850 added (Art. IV., sec. 40): "Nor shall property belonging to the State be appropriated for any such purposes." The Bible question seems not to have been mooted in the courts of this State until 1898. Because of the comparative freshness of the decision, and for the further reason that it deals with the ordinance of 1787, probably the first public school law in the United States, I will quote in extenso from the decision of Justice Montgomery in *Pfeiffer vs. Board of Education*, 118 Mich., 560. He decided that the use of "Readings from the Bible," consisting of extracts embodying general moral precepts, as a supplemental text book of reading, where the teacher is not allowed to make comments and where such reading takes place at the close of the session, and from which any pupil may be excused on application of parents or guardian, is not in violation of the State Constitution. He said at p. 563 of the report: "The primary purpose of section 41 (of the Constitution) was to exclude religious tests and to place all citizens upon an equality before the law as to the exercise of the franchise of voting or holding office. . . .

"Nor has section 40 any more appropriate application. This section has a very plain meaning, which is that the public money may not be turned over to a religious sect to maintain churches or seminaries; and, unless the readings from the Bible or selections from the Bible constitute the public school a religious or theological seminary, this section has not, in my opinion, any application.

. . . "The most significant provision is sec. 39; and the meritorious question is whether any student or any taxpayer has been compelled to attend, erect or support a place of religious worship or to pay tithes, taxes or other rates for the support of any minister of the Gospel or teacher of religion. In determining this question, we should endeavor to place ourselves in the position of the framers of the Constitution and ascertain what was meant at the time. . . . It is . . . essential that we determine the intent of this provision by reference to the state of the law or custom previously existing and by the contemporaneous construction rather than attempt to test its meaning by the so-called advanced or liberal views obtaining among a large class of the community at the present day."

Section 4 of Article I. of the Constitution of 1835 "was doubtless taken from the Virginia Constitution of 1830. It is clearly shown that the inhabitants of that Commonwealth were by statute compelled to attend upon divine service. Ministers were in public statutes referred to as 'teachers of religion.' In 1784 a statute making provision for the support of ministers of the established Church was introduced under the title of 'A bill to establish a provision for teachers of the Christian religion.' This statute was repealed by a general

statute adopted in 1786, entitled 'An act for establishing religious freedom,' the preamble of which clearly shows that the term 'teacher of religion' was used as synonymous with 'minister.' The (Virginia) Constitution of 1830 was but an embodiment of this enactment in the organic law of the State. Can it be said that the adoption of this provision into our Constitution of 1835 was intended to have a wider scope? I think not. It is significant that this Constitution was adopted in pursuance of authority conferred by Article V. of the articles of compact contained in the Ordinance of 1787, which gave to the people of the territory a right to form a Constitution in conformity with the principles contained in the articles. . . . It is not to be inferred that, in forming a Constitution under the authority of this ordinance, the convention intended to prohibit in the public schools all mention of a subject which the ordinance, in effect, declared that schools were to be established to foster, particularly as the provision, when traced to its historic origin, is shown to have been aimed at quite another evil. In my opinion this provision, when incorporated into our organic law, meant simply that the inhabitants of the State should not be required to attend upon those church services which the people of Virginia had by this same enactment been relieved from, and that no one should be compelled to pay tithes or other rates for the support of ministers. If this meaning attached at that time, it has not been changed since.

"I do not wish to be understood as assenting to the proposition that the Ordinance of 1787 makes it imperative that religion shall be taught in the public schools. It was doubtless the opinion of the framers of that great document that public schools would of necessity foster religion. But the extent to which I go is to say that the language of this instrument, when read in the light of the fact that this was at that date a Christian nation, is such as to preclude the idea that the framers of the Constitution, 'in conformity with the principles contained in the ordinance,' intended, in the absence of a clear expression to that effect, to exclude wholly from the schools all reference to the Bible. I should certainly mistrust my judgment if it led me to a different conclusion, and on the best of grounds. The return in this case shows that since the admission of this State into the Union, a period of more than half a century, the practice has obtained in all the State institutions of learning of not only reading the Bible in the presence of students, but of offering prayer; that the text-books used in the public schools of the State have contained extracts from the Bible and numerous references to Almighty God and His attributes; and all this without objection from any source. These usages we may also take judicial notice of. In a doubtful case, involving any other question than one which appeals

so strongly to the prejudices of men, would not this universal usage, extending over so long a period, be deemed decisive by every one as a practical construction made by the administrative branch of the Government? . . ." The Justice then quoted Judge Cooley, himself of Michigan, reviewed cases from other States and reversed the judgment of the lower court. Judge Moore wrote an elaborate dissenting opinion (pp. 569 to 595), in which he took the ground that, while children should be carefully educated in religion, this branch of education was not within the province of the State. The fact that children were excused who did not wish to join in the readings did not in his opinion overcome the objection that the taxpayer's money was taken to impart religious instruction in which he did not believe.

In Illinois in 1891, in the case of *North vs. Trustees University of Illinois*, 137 Ill., 296, Justice Wilkin delivered a dictum to the effect that the rule of the State University requiring students to attend chapel exercises is not in conflict with the provisions of (Art. II., sec. 3) the Constitution, that no person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent where such exercises are not sectarian. I term it a "dictum" because the case really turned on the point whether the writ of mandamus could be used to enforce a doubtful or abstract right. In any view of the matter, however, I should say that this decision was overruled by *People vs. Board of Education*, 245 Ill., 334; the case was decided in 1910, and is probably the last pronouncement of our State Appellate Courts on this vexed topic. Justice Dunn held that the reading of the Bible in the public schools, the singing of hymns and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer in concert, during which time pupils are required to rise, bow their heads and fold their hands, constitutes worship within the meaning of the Constitution, and pupils cannot be compelled to join therein against their own or their parents' wishes. The section of the Constitution above referred to includes freedom from being compelled to join in any religious worshipping. At p. 340 of the report the learned Justice pithily says: "*The free enjoyment of religious worship includes freedom not to worship.*" Two of the seven Justices of the court of last resort dissented.

In *Billard vs. Board of Education*, 69 Kansas, 53 (1904), Greene, J., said that under the State Constitution "no person shall be compelled to pay tithes or taxes to secure or maintain a place where any form of religious worship shall be conducted or where any sectarian or religious doctrine is taught; nor shall any form of religious worship be conducted, or any sectarian or religious doctrine be taught, in any place supported by the imposition of taxes."

In Nebraska exercises by a teacher during school hours in the

presence of the pupils, consisting of Bible readings, song singing and prayer offering, in accordance with the doctrines, customs and usages of sectarian churches or religious organizations, are forbidden. (See *State vs. Scheve*, 65 Neb., 853, opinion written in 1902 by Ames, C.)

In Wisconsin the famous *Edgerton Bible case*, decided in 1890, held that Bible instruction in the public schools was sectarian and consequently unconstitutional.

Decisions looking the other way are found in the following States: Kentucky, where Justice O'Rear held in 1905 (*Hackett vs. Brooksville School District*, 120 Ky., 608) that the reading of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools and an opening prayer, neither of which children are compelled to attend, is not a violation of sec. 5 or sec. 189 of the Constitution, not being sectarian instruction. *Sectarian instruction, not religious instruction, is what is forbidden.* South Dakota, where the Bible may be read, but sectarian instruction is not allowed.

Massachusetts, where back in 1866 the famous Chief Justice Bigelow decided that an order of a school committee that the schools should be opened with prayer and a reading of the Bible and that each scholar should bow his head, unless his parents requested that he should be excused from so doing, was legal. But the Constitution would be violated were "the school committee to pass an order or regulation requiring pupils to conform to any religious rite or observance or to go through with any religious forms or ceremonies which were inconsistent with or contrary to their religious convictions or conscientious scruples." (*Spiller vs. Inhabitants of Woburn*, 94 Mass., 127.)

The clause in the Indiana Constitution of 1851 is similar to Art. I., sec. 5, of the Michigan Constitution of 1835, *supra*; there seem to be no cases construing the clause.

The Mississippi Constitution of 1869 added to the "religious liberty" clause of the "Bill of Rights" that "The rights hereby secured shall not be construed . . . to exclude the Holy Bible from use in any public school of this State." The Constitution of 1832 did not have, and the present Constitution, framed in 1890, omits this clause. In this State, as in North Carolina, the Catholic population is small and scattered.

Article XII., sec. 9, of the New Mexico Constitution is in full as follows: "No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of admission into the public schools or any educational institution of this State, either as a teacher or student, and no teacher or student of such school or institution shall ever be required to attend or participate in any religious service whatsoever."

In Pennsylvania it has been held that a Sister of Charity, because



she was a Roman Catholic, could not be excluded as a teacher in the public schools; it was ruled that she could wear her habit while teaching. (*Hysong vs. Gallitzin School District*, 164 Pa., 629, 1894.) But she could give no sectarian instruction.

In some States, by statute, school directors may grant the temporary use of school houses, when not occupied for school purposes, for religious and such other meetings as the directors may deem proper. Such a statute was held constitutional in Illinois by Judge Sheldon in *Nichols vs. School Directors*, 93 Ill., 61 (1879), who said: "Religion and religious worship are not so placed under the ban of the Constitution that they may not be allowed to become the recipient of any incidental benefit whatever from the public bodies or authorities of the State."

Two Iowa opinions are worth scanning. In *Davis vs. Boget*, 50 Ia., 11 (1878), the electors of a district township, legally assembled, were allowed to authorize the use of the school houses of the district for religious purposes. Chief Justice Rothrock, long a member of the Supreme Court, and a great influence in the formative period of the legal history of his State, said (p. 15): "It is argued that the permanent use of a public school house for religious worship is indirectly compelling the taxpayer to pay taxes for the building or repairing of places of worship (in conflict with Art. I., sec. 3 of the Iowa Constitution). . . . We incline to think that the use of a public school building for Sabbath schools, religious meetings, debating clubs, temperance meetings and the like, and which, of necessity, must be occasional and temporary, is not so palpably a violation of the fundamental law as to justify the courts in interfering. . . . (He held that this was especially true in the case at bar, for provision was made to secure the taxpayers against damage to their property.) . . . We may further say that the use for the purposes named is but temporary, occasional and liable at any time to be denied by the district electors, and such occasional use does not convert the school house into a building for worship within the meaning of the Constitution. The same reasoning would make our halls of legislation places of worship, because in them each morning prayers are offered by chaplains." In *Moore vs. Monroe*, decided six years later (64 Ia., 367), Judge Adams held that the question was whether the building was "designed to be used distinctively as a place of worship." He accordingly held that a statute providing that the Bible should not be excluded from the public schools, and further providing that no child should be compelled to read it contrary to the wishes of his parent or guardian, was not in conflict with the basic law of the State.

## TAXATION.

In some States where there was at the foundation of our Republic an established Church, of course taxes, in money or in kind (tobacco, as in Maryland), were assessed and collected for its support. We have seen how soon public opinion changed in this respect, so that Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" could declare that California must be the most irreligious of our States, because it taxed houses dedicated to religious worship. The recent death in December, 1914, of Archbishop Riordan, of San Francisco, recalls the fact that for years this noted prelate labored to remove that stigma from his Commonwealth. On November 6, 1900, his efforts were crowned with success when the electorate approved a constitutional amendment allowing this now usual exemption. The exemption is not always by reason of constitutional clauses, however, but by legislative enactment.

In *Griswold College vs. State*, 46 Iowa, 275 (1877), the Supreme Court, again speaking through Judge Rothrock (with one of the five Justices dissenting), said (p. 282) that it was urged that a statute exempting church property from taxation was in conflict with the Constitution. "The argument is that exemption from taxation of church property is the same thing as compelling contribution to churches to the extent of exemption. We think the constitutional prohibition extends only to the levying of tithes, taxes or other rates for church purposes, and that it does not include the exemption from taxation of such church property as the Legislature may think proper."

In Pennsylvania church property is assessed as for taxation, but the tax is not collected. A collateral inheritance tax applies to bequests for charitable or religious uses. In Rhode Island one acre of land held for religious purposes is exempt from taxation; in South Carolina the rectory and two acres is exempt. In many States, as in South Dakota, for example, all religious property is exempt.

## RELIGIOUS CORPORATIONS.

By the West Virginia Constitution no special laws concerning property held for religious or charitable purposes can be passed. And no church or religious denomination can become incorporated. This seems particularly strange when we remember that the corporation laws rivaled those of Delaware and New Jersey a few years ago, and that State in consequence became the refuge for many "wild cats." Moreover, in that State a religious congregation can legally acquire and hold but a limited quantity only of real property by deed of conveyance for but three purposes—a place of worship, a place

of burial and a place of residence for its clergyman. And the property must be held by trustees named in the deed or by the proper court.

Few States are so strict. Some, as New York and New Jersey, go to the other extreme and permit corporations to be formed by the various churches in conformity with their canons under the State laws. Thus in New York there is a special method of forming a Catholic, a Presbyterian and other church corporations. Pennsylvania, by its Constitution of 1874, forbids special legislation of any kind. There is a strong sentiment, which may have its effect on the Legislature which meets in January, 1915, for its biennial session, for a new Constitution, because amendments to the present instrument can become law only after passing the Legislature twice consecutively, and then are subject to the approval of the voters of the State. The act of April 26, 1855, a relic of Know-nothingism, refused incorporation to religious bodies unless all property of the corporation was subject to the control of the lay members thereof. And by reason of recent decisions of the Supreme Court, mortgages cannot be placed on Catholic churches, even though unincorporated, without the consent of the congregation. However, the Legislature of 1913 passed an act (May 20, Pamphlet Laws, page 242) amending the act of 1855, so that the control and disposition of the property of any ecclesiastical corporation (other than plate collections and voluntary contributions for salaries of clergymen, teachers, organists and sextons) shall be exercised in accordance with and subject to the rules and regulations, usages, canons, discipline and requirements of the religious body to which such church belongs. And a further provision of the act of 1855, that no Bishop or other ecclesiastic could hold property otherwise than as an individual, was repealed. It was well known that the law was introduced for the benefit of Catholics in particular, and to their shame be it said that there was much open lobbying against the passage of the bill by representatives, clerical as well as lay, of other religious organizations, especially on the day when the bill was up for final reading in the House.

By Article XXXVIII. of the Maryland Constitution of 1867, still in force, even gifts, sales, devises or bequests for religious purposes are forbidden and made void, unless made with the prior or subsequent sanction of the Legislature. But I think the law is not always strictly enforced. The disposition of any land, not exceeding five acres, for a religious use, is valid if the land is improved, enjoyed or used for such purpose only.

In Missouri, by the "Bill of Rights," Art. II., sec. 8, Constitution of 1875 (still in force), "no religious corporation can be established

in this State, except such as may be created under a general law for the purpose only of holding the title to such real estate as may be prescribed by law for church edifices, parsonages and cemeteries." The Constitution of 1865 contained clauses similar to the Maryland one above quoted.<sup>16</sup> We have already reverted to the constitutional clause providing that one shall be held to his contract made in furtherance of a religious purpose. And *Franta vs. Bohemian Roman Catholic Church Union* decides that one may be required as a member of a fraternal beneficial association to perform his duties as a Roman Catholic without violating the Constitution. This case was decided as late as 1901, and is reported in 164 Mo., 304, where, at p. 315, Valliant, J., said: "Under the Constitution and laws of this State a man cannot be coerced into observing the sacraments of any Church, and even if he should enter into a solemn contract to do so, he is free to break the contract, and for breaking it he cannot be deprived of any right he has independent of it. But if by the contract a special benefit is created for him, he cannot break the contract and have the benefit, too."

Frequently the rights under the law of incorporated religious associations are strictly construed, as in the case of *People vs. St. Franciscus Beneficial Society*, 24 Howard's New York Practice Reports, 216, where it was held that the by-laws of a membership corporation requiring the members to receive certain religious rites was in conflict with the Constitution then in force (Art. I., sec. 3). The case was decided in 1862, and Judge Marvin, of the Supreme Court, may have been influenced by the old Constitution of 1777 "to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind." The case could have been decided on the legal ground that the *articles of association* said nothing of the religious character of the members. Hence the *by-laws* were unconstitutional or beyond the power of the corporation to enact. And in discussing New York decisions we must always remember that the Supreme Court is a court of first instance, the Court of Appeals the tribunal of last resort; this case never reached the latter.

A word here about a most important subject—bequests for religious purposes. Where religious corporations as such are forbidden, wills draftsmen often attempt to give property to a cleric *nom-inatim*. In some States, as in Missouri, a bequest changed, for example, from "Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis," to "Francis Patrick Kenrick," after the passage of a constitutional clause forbidding the former, was invalid, as a plain evasion of the constitutional provision, the intent of the bequest being in both cases

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<sup>16</sup> See *Barkley vs. Donnelly*, 112 Mo., 561 (1892).

to benefit the Catholic Church. (See *Kenrick vs. Cole*, 61 Mo., 572, 1876). The learned author of the article "West Virginia" in the Catholic Encyclopedia is my authority for the statement that such a case has not arisen in his jurisdiction, but that he is of opinion that if it does arise, such a bequest would also be deemed invalid. In Pennsylvania, where bequests for religious purposes must be made at least one calendar month prior to the testator's death, a proviso in the will that should the testator die within thirty days a bequest is to be given to the cleric *nominatim* is valid. This was decided in the famous case of *Flood vs. Ryan*, a subject of discussion in our legal periodicals less than a decade ago. The lower and upper courts agreed that the words "Archbishop of Philadelphia" were merely descriptive of and identifying "Patrick John Ryan." I heard the testimony of His Grace in the lower court and he frankly admitted, in response to shrewd cross-examination, that he would use the funds bequeathed for religious purposes. But the Court said that even if this was so, and they of course did not doubt it, the money was given to him absolutely, and non-compliance with the testator's wishes, expressed or implied (and precatory words do not in many cases create a trust in this State), would not affect the legatee's legal rights; the courts had no jurisdiction over his conscience.

In New Jersey and many other States bequests for Masses are valid either by statute or decision, less often by constitutional provision. (See *Kerrigan vs. Tabb*, 39 Atlantic Reporter, 701, 1898.) The contrary is true in the minority of States, particularly those outlined above.

In South Dakota charitable institutions which receive State support are under a State board.

An exceptional decision is found in *Lord vs. Hardie*, 82 North Carolina, 241 (1880), to the effect that articles dedicated to religious uses exclusively and necessary in public worship are not protected by law from seizure and sale under execution. It is more usual to find such articles exempt by statute.

Certain religious corporations, such as the Salvation Army, more or less publicly demonstrative, have tested laws considered to be specially aimed at them, though general in form. In Michigan an ordinance aimed at the Salvation Army was held unlawful because of unreasonableness. It is a fundamental condition of all liberty and necessary to civil society that all men must exercise their rights in harmony and must yield to such restrictions as are necessary to produce peace and good order, and it is not competent to make any exceptions for or against the so-called "Salvation Army" because of its theories regarding practical work. In law it has the same right and is subject to the same restrictions in its public demonstrations

as any secular body or society which uses similar means for drawing attention or creating interest; in *re Frazee*, 63 Mich., 396 (1886), per Campbell, C. J., yet (p. 405) religious liberty does not include the right to introduce and carry out every scheme or purpose which persons see fit to claim as part of their religious system. While there is no legal authority to constrain belief, no one can lawfully stretch his own liberty of action so as to interfere with his neighbors or violate peace and good order.

Contra are *Commonwealth vs. Plaisted*, 148 Mass., 375 (1889), wherein Morton, C. J., held that the constitutional guarantees do not prevent the adoption of reasonable regulations for the use of streets and public places, and a Salvation Army musician may be arrested and fined as an itinerant musician without a license, and this despite the fact that there was no actual disturbance or breach of the peace committed and that the acts complained of were done as religious worship only. And *State vs. White*, 64 New Hampshire, 48 (1886), which held that a statute prohibiting the beating of a drum did not infringe upon the constitutional rights allowed free religious worship. Pennsylvania would follow the latter case.

#### CRIMES AGAINST RELIGION.

We have seen in our general introduction that the State Constitutions, practically without exception, in now providing for freedom of religion will not allow such clauses to be so construed as to permit or excuse acts deemed licentious or contrary to the peace and safety of the State. Polygamy is expressly or impliedly forbidden, and, to mention but one well-known instance within the last few years, that strange Russian sect, the Doukhobors, who are accustomed to strip themselves of clothing when in so-called religious ecstasy, are in such case promptly imprisoned for public immorality.<sup>17</sup>

The Pennsylvania Constitution, written in 1873, contains a clause not then so common as it was some years prior to the war between the States, to this effect: "Any person who shall fight a duel or send a challenge for that purpose, or be aider or abettor in fighting a duel, shall be deprived of the right of holding any office of honor or profit in this State, and may be otherwise punished as shall be prescribed by law" (Art. XII., sec. 3).

The offense of blasphemy is punished mainly because, Judge Cooley tells us, Christianity is imbedded in our basic law. The public conscience being regarded as Christian, profanity and blasphemy are properly punishable as offenses against public decency and the

<sup>17</sup> See on the general subject of religious liberty, In *Re Walker*, 200 Ill., 566 (1900).

public peace. In Tennessee swearing is forbidden in any public place or in the hearing of any Justice of the Peace. Any person executing any public duty convicted of swearing is liable to forfeit his position and to be sentenced to pay a fine of \$1 for each oath.

Chapter IV. of the Penal Code of North Dakota elaborately enumerates crimes against religion and conscience and acts deemed to constitute disturbance of a religious meeting. Sec. 8580 of the same code makes a misdemeanor of any willful attempt, by means of threats or violence, to compel any person to adopt, practice or profess any particular form of religious belief, and sec. 8581 makes a misdemeanor of every person who willfully prevents, by threats or violence, another from performing any lawful act enjoined upon or recommended to such person by the religion which he professes. We have seen above the curious limitation upon the commencement of prosecutions for the violation of the chapter. Judge Amidon, of the Federal District Court, held in a case arising in this State that the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom cannot be made a shield for violations of criminal laws which are not designed to restrict religious worship, but to protect society against practices that are clearly immoral and corrupting. (*Knowles vs. United States*, 170 Federal Reporter, 409, 1909.)

In a Delaware case (*State vs. Chandler*, 2 Harris' Reports, 553), Chief Justice Clayton wrote in 1837 an elaborate opinion of historical interest, holding that a statute making blasphemy a crime was not unconstitutional; that the religion preferred by the people of Delaware was Christian. And that (p. 567 of the report) "the people have secured to them by their Constitution and laws the full and perfect right of conscience, the right to prefer any religion they think proper, and the corresponding and correlative right to protection in the exercise of this and all other religious principles.

"The distinction is a sound one between a religion preferred by law and a religion preferred by the people without the coercion of law, between a legal establishment which the present Constitution expressly forbids and a religious creed freely chosen by the people for themselves, and for the full and perfect enjoyment of which, without interruption or disturbance, they may claim the protection of law guaranteed to them by the Constitution itself."

A year later Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, made a similar ruling in the case of *Commonwealth vs. Kneeland*, 37 Mass., 206.

The leading case in this country is *People vs. Ruggles*, 8 Johnson's Reports, 291. In it, as early as 1811, the famous Chief Justice Kent, of New York, held that one who blasphemed the Saviour did not do so under the protection of the Constitution. "Though the Constitution," he wrote, "has discarded religious establishments,

it does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offenses against religion and morality which have no reference to any such establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation and weaken the security of the social ties. The object of the Constitution was to 'guard against spiritual oppression and intolerance' by declaring the free exercise of religion lawful to all mankind. *This declaration, noble and magnanimous as it is when duly understood, never meant to withdraw religion in general, and with it the best sanctions of moral and social obligation, from all consideration and notice of the law.* It will be fully satisfied by a free and universal toleration, without any of the tests, disabilities or discriminations incident to a religious establishment. To construe it as breaking down the common law barriers against licentious, wanton and impious attacks upon Christianity itself would be an enormous perversion of its meaning. The proviso guards the article from such dangerous latitude of construction. The preamble and this proviso are a species of commentary upon the meaning of this article, and they sufficiently show that the framers of this Constitution intended only to banish test oaths, disabilities and the burdens and sometimes the oppressions of church establishments, and to secure to the people of this State freedom from coercion and an equality of right on the subject of religion. This was no doubt the consummation of their wishes. It was all that reasonable minds could require, and it had long been a favorite object on both sides of the Atlantic with some of the most enlightened friends to the rights of mankind whose indignation had been roused by infringements of the liberty of conscience and whose zeal was inflamed in the pursuit of its enjoyment."

In the same State in 1888 Judge Rapallo decided in *Holland vs. Alcock*, 108 N. Y., 312, that those professing belief in the efficiency of prayers for the dead are entitled in law under the Constitution to protection in such religious observances.

In closing this section we must note that adherents of so-called new faiths, faith healers and the like, are not protected in their practices by the State Constitutions. In *People vs. Pierson*, 176 N. Y., 201 (1903), a statute was upheld which made it a misdemeanor for any person to omit willfully, without lawful excuse, to perform a duty imposed by law upon him (to refuse to furnish medical attendance to a minor). Justice Haight said: "The peace and safety of the State involves the protection of the lives and health of its children as well as obedience to its laws. Full and free enjoyment of religious profession and worship is guaranteed, but acts which are not worship are not. A person cannot, under the guise of religious belief, practice polygamy and still be protected from our



statutes constituting the crime of bigamy. He cannot, under the belief or profession of belief that he should be relieved from the care of children, be excused from punishment for slaying those who have been born to him."

#### SUNDAY LAWS.

Violations of statutes forbidding labor and the conduct of business enterprises on Sunday are no longer considered as crimes against religion. Hence we have given a separate heading to this section. Another reason for the separation is the many important decisions on this subject. Two members of the Canadian bar have written a book on the Sunday law of the Dominion alone.

It is true (see Cooley's work again) that originally the Christian Sabbath was set aside and protected from disturbance and profanation because Christianity was the bedrock of our institutions. But laws which prohibit ordinary employments on Sunday are to be defended not only on the same grounds which justify the punishment of profanity, but also as establishing sanitary regulations, based upon the demonstration of experience that one day's rest in seven is needful to recuperate the exhausted energies of mind and body. The latter view was early taken by the Pennsylvania courts in *Specht vs. Commonwealth*, 8 Pa., 312, followed in New York by *Neuendorff vs. Duryea*, 69 N. Y., 557 (1877), and *People vs. Haym*, 20 How. Pr., 76 (1860). In the last named case Judge Hoffman reviewed Colonial legislation on the subject, and in *Ex Parte Burke* (1881), 59 California, at p. 19, Chief Justice Morrison gives a history of the Sunday laws.

There are many California cases bearing on the topic, all of interest. The majority opinions in *Ex Parte Newman*, 9 Cal., 502, held that the State Constitution, when it forbids discrimination or preference in religion, does not mean merely to guarantee toleration, but religious liberty in its largest sense and a perfect equality without distinction between religious sects. The enforced observance of a day held sacred by one of these sects is a discrimination in favor of that sect and a violation of the religious freedom of the others (per Terry, C. J.). And Justice Burnett, in a concurring opinion, held that our constitutional theory regards all religions, *as such*, equally entitled to protection and equally unentitled to preference. When there is no ground or necessity upon which a principle can rest but a religious one, then the Constitution steps in and says that it shall not be enforced by authority of law. The Sunday law violates this principle of the Constitution because it establishes a compulsory religious observance. It violates as much the religious freedom of the Christian as of the Jew. The principle is the same, whether the act

compels us to do what we wish to do or what we wish not to do. When the citizen is sought to be compelled by the Legislature to do any affirmative religious act or to refrain from doing anything because it violates simply a religious principle or observance, the act is unconstitutional. The dissenting opinion by Judge Field, afterwards on the Supreme Court of the United States, held that the act established, as a **civil regulation, a day of rest from secular pursuits, and that is its only scope and purpose.** It treats of business matters, not religious duties. In limiting its command to secular pursuits, it necessarily leaves religious profession and worship free.

I need not here remind the reader of the early history of California and of the private lives of Terry and Field. Suffice it to say that Terry, and Burnett also, left the bench between 1858 and 1861. In the latter year was decided the case of *Ex Parte Andrews*, 18 Cal., 679, wherein Judge Field's former dissenting opinion was upheld by his colleague, Judge Baldwin, who overruled the earlier case and held that the Constitution of his State prohibits all legislation which invidiously discriminates in favor of or against any religious system, but does not prohibit legislation upon subjects connected with religion, nor does it make void legislation the effect of which is to promote religion or even advance the interests of a sect or class of religionists. On the contrary, the interests and even the rights of sects have been oftentimes protected by law, as by acts of incorporation of churches, exemption from taxation in some States, protection of meetings from interruption and the like acts. While the primary action of legislation which respects secular affairs is not the promotion of religion, yet it can be no objection to laws that while they are immediately aimed at secular interests they promote piety.

The burning question was again at issue in the Golden State in 1882, and the arguments of counsel, reported in *Ex Parte Koser*, 60 Cal., 177, are interesting to those who desire to pursue the subject further. There were several opinions, one dissenting; we may close the discussion of this branch of our section by some extracts from the concurring opinion of Judge McKee, at page 197 of the report: "By virtue of her sovereignty, the State has guaranteed freedom of religious opinion and worship to all religious bodies and people within her boundaries. But in granting those guarantees, she did not relinquish to religious bodies nor divest herself of the power to establish a day of rest as a municipal institution for the people of the State. . . . It is conceded that the power exists and is exercisable, subject to the guarantees of the Constitution. It is only claimed that these guarantees have been invaded because the legislation in question infringes upon the religious liberties of the Hebrews and the Seventh Day Adventists, and it may be other religious citi-

zens, by making it compulsory upon them to observe a day which they are, by the authority of their churches and their consciences, forbidden to keep holy. In such views men simply deceive themselves by words, for the State has not set apart *Sunday* for a day of rest for a *religious* institution; nor does she impose observance of the day upon churches or on church members, nor are religious commemorations or ceremonies prescribed or enforced. The duty of observing the day is imposed on the people of the State as members of the body politic without reference to the **religious faith and worship** of any.

"And as a day of rest, Sunday is not set apart as a holy day, but it is set apart as a legal holiday . . . and the people generally, without reference to faith or creeds, have continued to observe it as such, unconscious that as a municipal institution it has ever invaded or violated any of their constitutional or religious rights.

"But it is urged that the heading of the chapter of the Penal Code (see Kerr's Penal Code, p. 352) in which the law is contained demonstrates the unconstitutionality of the law, because the acts which are prohibited on Sunday are made offenses against religion, conscience and morals, and therefore the law discriminates in favor of the Christian religion against other religions. . . . "

The jurist then pointed out that as the Christian religion was the prevailing religious opinion of the people, public morals were largely dependent upon it. And continued: "The mere fact, then, that the mode of observing the day is enforced by the prohibition of acts which are offensive to public morals according to the standard of Christianity, affords us no ground for constitutional objection to the law itself, if it does not violate the religious rights of others who do not call themselves Christians. But neither the religious profession and worship of the Jews, or of the Seventh Day Adventists, or of any other religious association, are abridged by the law."

In the last section we called attention to the New York case of *People vs. Ruggles*. It is referred to in an historical sketch by Judge Allen in *Lindenmuller vs. People*, a decision holding constitutional a law prohibiting theatrical entertainments on Sunday. He said: "This decision gives a practical construction to the 'toleration' clause in the State Constitution and limits its effect to a prohibition of a church establishment by the State and of all 'discrimination or preference' among the several sects and denominations in the 'free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship.' It does not, as interpreted by this decision, prohibit the courts or the Legislature from regarding the Christian religion as the religion of the people, as distinguished from the false religions of the world. This judicial interpretation has received the sanction of the constitutional convention of 1821, and of the people of the State in the ratification

of that Constitution, and again in adopting the Constitution of 1846.

"It was conceded in the convention of 1821 that the Court in *People vs. Ruggles* did decide that the Christian religion was the law of the land, in the sense that it was preferred over all other religions and entitled to the recognition and protection of the temporal courts by the common law of the State; and the decision was commented on with severity by those who regarded it as a violation of the freedom of conscience and equality among religionists secured by the Constitution. Mr. Root proposed an amendment to obviate that decision, alleged by him to be against the letter and spirit of the Constitution, to the effect that the judiciary should not declare any particular religion to be the law of the land. The decision was vindicated as a just exponent of the Constitution and the relation of the Christian religion to the State, and the amendment was opposed . . . and rejected by a large majority and the former provision retained, with the judicial construction in *People vs. Ruggles* fully recognized." (33 Barb., 548, 1861.)

Sunday laws are generally now regarded as properly passed under the police power of the States (*Silverberg vs. Douglass*, 62 N. Y. Miscellaneous Reports, 340, 1909). Indiana cases are *Voglesong vs. State*, 9 Ind., 112 (1857), and *Schlict vs. State*, 31 Ind., 246 (1869). The general rule obtains in Louisiana (*State vs. Judge*, 39 La. Annual Reports, 132, 1887, and *Minden vs. Silverstein*, 36 La. Ann., 912, 1884), and in Massachusetts (*Commonwealth vs. Has*, 122 Mass., 40, 1877).

Despite the above decisions and that of *State vs. Bott*, 31 La. Ann., 663 (1879), later cases showing the trend of judicial opinion, the highest court of Louisiana could hold—and it has never been reversed—in *Shreveport vs. Levy*, 26 La. Ann., 671 (1874), that a city ordinance which provided for Sunday closing, but further provided that it should not apply to any person or persons doing business in the city who close up their places of business on Saturdays and keep them closed during the whole day, was unconstitutional; Judge Morgan, who wrote the unanimous opinion of the court, said that Jews and Gentiles must be treated alike. In Rhode Island statutory exceptions are made in favor of Jews and Sabbatarians; the Sunday law of this State follows the old English statute of Charles II. (chap. VII., par. 1), which simply forbids the exercise of one's ordinary occupation on Sunday.

The severity of the old Blue Laws of Connecticut and Pennsylvania are too well known to bear recital here. In many places the fine imposed on those transacting harmless businesses on Sunday, such as selling ice cream, newspapers, cigars, etc., is regarded by

the defendants and the police judges alike as a sort of license for conducting the enterprises.

As late as 1912 in Missouri a law compelling a railroad to "run at least one regular passenger train each way every day" over all its lines was held to include and make obligatory the running of such trains on Sunday, but because of that inclusion it did not violate the "freedom of religion" clauses in the State Constitution. (See *State vs. C., B. & Q. R. R.*, 239 Mo., 196.)

States wherein the English statute is the basis of the legislative enactment or of the common law are frequently driven to such decisions as the North Carolina courts have made. In *Melvin vs. Easley*, 52 N. C., 356 (1860), selling a horse on Sunday was held not to violate the statute if buying horses is not plaintiff's ordinary occupation. A statute which attempts to prohibit, because done on Sunday, labor which is done in private and which does not offend public decency or disturb the religious devotions of others, is void. And no act can be forbidden or required by statute because such act may be in accordance with or against the religious views of any one. If, therefore, the cessation of labor or the prohibition or performance of any act were provided by statute for religious reasons, the statute could not be maintained (see *Rodman vs. Robinson*, 134 N. C., 503, 1904, holding valid a contract to convey land entered into on a Sunday).

In Tennessee exceptions are made of acts of real charity or necessity done on Sunday. And the mere violation of Sunday laws is not indictable; the succession of public acts is, as a nuisance. In Texas the statute is broad; on Sunday is prohibited labor or compelling labor, disturbing public worship, hunting within a half mile of a church or school house and all sales of goods. Vermont prohibits on Sunday the resorting to any ball or dance, or any game, sport or house of entertainment or amusement. Sunday baseball games are generally prohibited by judicial decision, if not by statute, in our Eastern States. In the Middle West and Western States we find saloons and theatres in full blast on Sunday, although Washington is an exception, allowing only hotels, drug stores, livery stables and undertakers' establishments to remain open on the first day of the week.

#### IS CHRISTIANITY THE LAW OF THE LAND?

Chief Justice Clark said in *Rodman vs. Robinson*, referred to above, that it is incorrect to say that Christianity is a part of the common law of the land, however it may be in England;<sup>18</sup> but he may have been influenced by the biased trend of the North Carolina

<sup>18</sup> See Erskine's speech for the prosecution of Williams for blasphemy in publishing Payne's "Age of Reason."

Constitutions. And Justice Thurman, of a family long influential in the councils of the State, held in *Bloom vs. Richards*, 2 Ohio State Reports, 387 (1853), that neither Christianity nor any other system of religion was a part of the law of that State.

Walter George Smith, Esq., author of the article "Pennsylvania" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, tells us that Christianity is part of the common law of the Keystone State—not Christianity founded on particular tenets, but Christianity with liberty of conscience. And the prevailing view is set forth by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Holy Trinity Church vs. United States*, 143 U. S., 457. Speaking for that high tribunal in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Mr. Justice Brewer, showing "from the first voyage of Columbus to the present hour that this is a religious people," says: "There is a single voice making this affirmation. The commission to Christopher Columbus, prior to his sail westward, is from Ferdinand and Isabella, 'by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile,' etc., and recites that 'it is hoped that by God's assistance some of the continents and islands in the ocean will be discovered,' etc. The Declaration of Independence recognizes the presence of the Divine Ruler of human affairs. . . . Every Constitution of every one of the (then) forty-four States contains language which either directly or by clear implication recognizes a profound reverence for religion and an assumption that its influence on human affairs is essential for the well-being of the community. . . . If we pass beyond these matters to view American life as expressed by its laws, its business, its customs and its society, we find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth. Among other matters note the following: The form of oath universally prevailing concluding with an appeal to the Almighty; the custom of opening sessions of all deliberate bodies and most conventions with prayer; the prefatory words of all wills, 'In the name of God, Amen;'; the laws respecting the observance of the Sabbath, with a general cessation of all secular business, and the closing of courts, Legislatures and other similar public assemblies on that day; churches and church organizations which abound in every city, town and hamlet; the multitude of charitable organizations existing everywhere under Christian auspices; the gigantic missionary associations, with general support, and aiming to establish Christian missions in every quarter of the globe—these and many other matters which might be noticed add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See two other Supreme Court of the United States cases: *Marshall vs. B. & O. R. R.*, 16 Howard's Reports, 314, and *Windsor vs. McVeigh*, 93 U. S., 274, as well as *Oakley vs. Davies*, 58 Texas, 141. The warnings of Washington's Farewell Address have not fallen on deaf ears.

SUMMARY.

1. Under the Federal Constitution (a) Congress has no power to establish a religion; (b) the various States have such power, but it would now be necessary to alter their Constitutions. These alterations would have to be approved by the people.

2. Civil courts have no ecclesiastical jurisdiction and never interfere in matters of church polity, except to preserve civil rights, usually in regard to property.

3. Ecclesiastical bodies are entitled to protection from the civil authorities, and the disturbance of religious meetings is a misdemeanor under the civil law.

4. Compulsory support of and compulsory attendance upon religious instruction is illegal.

5. Restraints upon the free exercise of religion and the free expression of religious belief are illegal, unless such exercise or expression leads to practices deemed immoral or dangerous to the peace and safety of the State.

6. There are now no religious tests for citizenship nor for office-holding, save in North Carolina, where all office-holders must believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, and in Maryland, where no clergyman, in active performance of the duties of his calling, is eligible to either house of the Legislature.

7. Clergymen are exempt from military service, and frequently from jury duty.

8. Witnesses, except perhaps in Maryland, need no longer believe in the existence of a Supreme Being and of a future state of rewards and punishments; nor are they to be cross-examined as to their religious belief or the absence of it.

9. Bible-reading in the public schools (all States but five having compulsory education) is regarded as sectarian and unconstitutional in some States; where it is allowed, either the Bible is usually read without comment or children are excused from attendance thereon at the request of parents or guardians.

10. Public schools may, with the approval of the electorate, be used out of school hours for religious meetings; the privilege is statutory where existent.

11. Church property, within limitations as to use and amount, is exempted from taxation.

12. Religious corporations may be formed in most States, and bequests for religious purposes are usually valid.

13. Blasphemy and profanity are crimes, either at common law or by statute.

14. Laws forbidding secular work on Sunday are constitutional under the police power of the State.

15. Christianity is the law of the land.

The term civil and common law are used above in the popular sense, as the law of the State distinguished from ecclesiastical law, canon law, the law of the Church.

We have not attempted to even note all laws affecting religious beliefs and practices, (for example, the marriage laws of the State have not been considered at all,<sup>20</sup>), but only to consider briefly provisions in our various State Constitutions as affecting religious toleration. However lengthy the foregoing may appear, it is more or less general in scope and undetailed. In particular instances and for exact requirements care should be taken to consult the latest and best authority in the individual State on the question involved. Many changes are constantly being made in the body and construction of our laws, for legislative assemblies (following the lead of Massachusetts) often meet in annual session; where they convene biennially, as in Pennsylvania, this takes place not infrequently in the odd-numbered years. And of the printed decisions of courts of justice, appellate, intermediate and of original jurisdiction, there is no end. Eternal vigilance is the price of civil religious liberty.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See the "Ecclesiastical Review Year Book" for 1910 (pp. 180 to 211) for a collection of State matrimonial laws of service whenever information is sought regarding the class and condition of parties to a marriage, the prohibited degrees of kindred, the marriage license and the duties of the solemnizing clergyman.

<sup>21</sup> The recent prohibition amendment to the Arizona Constitution (1914) would seem to make the use of wine in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass illegal under the civil law of that State. Hobson's proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution (which failed of passage in the House, December, 1914) exempted from its provisions traffic in liquor used for "sacramental" and certain other purposes. See "America," Vol. XII, No. 12, p. 295, January 2, 1915.



## ISLAM'S WANING CRESCENT.

IT WAS not in the nature of the Turks, having regard to the history of their action in the past, to allow the present opportunity for a daring stroke to pass by without a move to retrieve all they had lost as the result of the recent war with the Balkan States. Practically this result pushed the Ottoman power, gained step by step by a persistent policy of aggression and oppression of small nationalities, almost completely out of Europe. Only Adrianople and a small strip of territory contiguous to the fortified city, and the European part of the Turkish capital on the Bosphorus, remained to tell of the former greatness of the Moslem power on the European continent. Before this writing can appear in print, so rapidly are map-altering events transpiring on three continents now, the design of Mr. Gladstone in calling for a war of punishment for the Turk—to “drive him, bag and baggage, out of Europe,” because of her atrocious behavior in Bulgaria and the Danubian principalities, shall have been actually accomplished.

Eight months ago the political soothsayer who would have ventured to prophesy that Constantinople would be in possession of the Czar's armies ere the year 1915 was ended would have been laughed at as a joker or a lunatic. The fact that Turkey had been beaten by Bulgaria, Greece and Servia—petty Balkan principalities only yesterday, so to speak—made the possibility of her gaining her feet for a considerable span of time, so as to resume her habitual fighting trim, was a contingency that no one could deem likely. But, as Disraeli, who knew his Europe well, used to say, as regards political possibilities, it is the unexpected that is always happening. Bearing in mind the significance of the fact that it was England which got up the war against Russia, who went to war against Turkey in 1854, because of the massacres and outrages perpetrated on the Christian inhabitants of the Lebanon and Asiatic Turkey, it is almost stupefying to find her statesmen now consenting to allow the same power, Russia, to take the Turk in hand and give him what he undoubtedly deserves—ejection from “Dame Europa's school.” But it really seems to be the case. The apocryphal “will of Peter the Great,” or his oral behest to his successors not to cease their southward course until their arms should have cleared a way to the Mediterranean and planted the Russian eagle above the Seven Towers Castle on the Bosphorus, is seemingly on the verge of actual realization. In the House of Lords only a few weeks ago it was given out on the part of the British Government that no opposition would be offered with regard to the course of Russia

(now one of England's allies, *mirabile dictu!*) in regard to Turkey and the Dardanelles. And ever since this portentous announcement was put before an astonished world, the ships of England and France had been hurling enormous shells at the strong fortifications on the straits and pulverizing them into heaps of rubbish—those fortifications which British money had helped to erect! But we must not be overastonished at this apparent fickleness in the currents of history. Mutation is the first principle of everything that emanates from the mind and hand of man. It is only the things that are of God that last unchanged and undiminished by the efflux of time.

When did the fabric of the Turkish Empire have its beginning, and where? Were we to regard that Empire and the Mahometan religion as synonymous—as some people seem to think they are, because the Sultan of Turkey is usually referred to as the Father of the Faithful—we should say that it began on the day when Stilie-man, the son of Orchan and grandson of Osman (or Othman, the Bonebreaker), beheld the crescent moon rising above the lovely banks of the Bosphorus at the Propontis, and shedding a lovely mellow light upon the sparkling waters and the towers and temples and minarets of the city of Byzantium. The crescent was the emblem of the race to which he belonged, and so, beholding the slender bow shining resplendently thus through the branches of the cypress trees, Suleiman accepted it as a sign that his fate beckoned him on to the conquest of that great empire city lying on the European shore and founding an empire there. The star that is seen within the semi-circle is the emblem of hope; and the two symbols, on a green ground, compose Mahomet's banner, which is preserved in its war-torn shreds to this day in the Imperial Treasury at Constantinople.

The tribe to which Othman belonged was one of those called the Seljuk group, and was known as the Turkoman. It inhabited the Mid-Asian region now known as the Emirdom of Bokhara. The first of the tribe to make a name in history was the father of Othman, or Osman, the Bonebreaker, and his name is variously given as Ertogul or Ortogrul. He was a lineal descendant of the Turanian Emperor who founded the Seljukian race, the most formidable warriors on the Asiatic continent for many centuries. The fact that the founder of the house was surnamed the Bonebreaker would lead one to infer that he was a gigantic warrior whose favorite weapon was the mace.

He was a grandson of the great Emperor Seljuk, the ruler of all the Turkomans who inhabited the vast region in Central Asia known as Bokhara. Ortogrul (or, as some authorities spell the name, Ertoghral) migrated with a following of 400 followers to

the province of Khorassan, in Persia, immortalized by Thomas Moore in his unique effort of imagination, the poem called "Lalla Rookh." He became Emir, and in time pushed on his authority to the Black Sea. The sword of Othman is the badge of authority of the Ottoman Empire to-day, the identical weapon with which the soldier Sultan conquered the greater part of Turkey in Europe as it was before the war with Greece and the allied Balkan States. With this talismanic weapon every successive ruler of the Turks is formally invested on his accession to the throne. The spiritual head of the Moslem Church (Shiekh-ul-Islam, as he is called) formally invests the new Sultan, buckling it on his waist and reciting a prayer from the Koran as he performs the significant ceremony. Significant is it truly, for never was warrior accounted for fight who carried the sword of destiny to greater purpose than the Seljukian Turkoman chiefs whose descendants rule to-day. The sword is not the only emblem left by the great Othman. His capacious war-drum, that so often rallied his enthusiastic legionaries to "the imminent deadly breach" or to the escalade of the leaguered wall, is to be seen suspended over the tomb in the Monastery of the Drum (Daoul Monastir), wherein the Sultan Orchan lies interred. The drum was presented to the Sultan Othman by Alladin, Sultan of Iconium, in Greece. The Turks regard this drum with much veneration, as the Hussites did another drum that has a gruesome tradition attached to it. It is believed that the skin of John Huss, the famous Bohemian heresiarch, furnishes its parchment which summoned his followers to battle, in the sixteenth century. Roman history recalls the fate of the Emperor Valerian, who led an army into Persia to dethrone the High King, Sapor. The Emperor failed to do this, and was taken prisoner by the Persians. They flayed him alive, and his skin was preserved in a museum in Ispahan, it has been asserted by some chroniclers, for many centuries after his death.

From the very beginning of the Ottoman power the full significance of the symbol, the Sword of Othman, began to be demonstrated. The edge of that sword signified the method of rule that the Empire meant to adopt and practice as a policy. To follow implicitly the command of Mahomet that those who would not accept him as Allah's only Prophet were to be slain by the scimitar had been the rule of the wandering Turkomans; but when they settled down in cities and towns and began to live orderly lives like the peoples among whom they sought to propagate his creed, they found it necessary to modify the programme in order to get along at all. Hence the resort to the compacts called "capitulations" which took place at a later period when the Moslem and the Fer-

inghee came into close contact. In 1854 the Emperor Nicholas I. of Russia declared war on Turkey because of the many massacres perpetrated by the regular and irregular armies of Turkey. The British Government, as we said, interposed on behalf of the Turks, and in this it was joined not only by the Government of France, under the Empire of Napoleon III., but also by the minor kingdoms of Sardinia and Piedmont. The allied forces, joined with the Turks, moved by land and water into the Crimea, on the Black Sea, and took up positions before the great fortified city of Sebastopol. This appearance of the Sardinian and Piedmontese forces in the field as allies of the British, French and Turks, was the first sign of the recovery of these little States from the blow inflicted on their ambitions by Austria in the disastrous overthrow of Charles Albert's army on the field of Novara in 1849. To be recognized by such great powers as Britain and France was an opportunity not to be overlooked by aspirants for no less a prize than the crown of a United Italy. The war lasted for nearly two years. The Russian armies fought bravely, and the defense of the city, conducted by General Todleben, was obstinate, masterly and gallant to the very last. Once the outlying forts—the Malakoff, the Mamelon and the Redan—were overpowered there was no possibility of the walls being further defended: hence the Russians had no recourse but to fire the city and retreat across the only remaining bridge to the mainland. This they did in perfect order. Then the allies poured in as the last troops got away, and the conflagration lighted them on their way, beaten men, but not disgraced ones. In a sense, the scene was a repetition of the story of Moscow. Though the allies triumphed in this war, the spectacle of Christian nations allying themselves to support the immitigable Moslem in his policy of massacre of Christians was one that made humanity (or at least the better portion of it) blush for shame.

It seems hard to impute to any system of government which is recognized by civilized governments generally the odium of making sanguinary battues a portion of its organic system of rule. But hard as it appears to outsiders, those people who have to deal with history and point out its lessons have to face the task, if they would make their work available for either the veracious chroniclers of the future or the philosopher who uses the chronicle for the beneficial application of its truth to existing wrongs among nations as well as classes or individuals. The Government of Russia has not yet become sufficiently great or magnanimous to preclude the practice of massacre from the recourses open to the State at periods of tense social disturbance. There are always irregular troops

called Cossacks who can be relied on to obey orders, no matter how brutal and inhuman, for the repression of the disorders caused by discontent or springing from the feeling of religious animosity. In the Russian Church this animosity is chronic and perennial, so to speak. That Church is the offshoot of the Greek one, and it is needless to point out to students of history how terribly bitter were the polemics and the sanguinary conflicts which often attended such conflicts in Byzantium, Antioch and other Grecian cities, in the early ages of the inchoate Church. The fights between the Greens and Blues often made the hippodrome's arena as red as when it was Christian gore from the veins of mangled martyrs, torn piecemeal by the lords of the desert and the jungle, that incarnadined those sands. But there was a peculiar atrocity about the Mussulman system of political massacre which was absent from the Muscovite custom of "pogrom," as organized butchery and knouting is called. From the very beginning of the Mahometan propaganda, in the time of Sultan Orchan, the fanatical disciples of the Prophet made it a rule to take hostages in the shape of young male children from the tribes and peoples whom they lured or coerced into submission to their sensuous creed, and bring them up in hatred of their parents and their fellow-countryfolk. These perverts they called Janissaries. They made of them very fierce soldiers. In process of time they became dangerous, like the old Prætorian Guards in Rome, to the persons whom they served. Then the idea occurred to the Sultan of the time, Mahmoud II., that the only effectual way to get rid of the trouble was to extirpate it, root and branch. With this Sultan to think was to act. He had been defied by the leaders of the Janissaries because he found it necessary to inaugurate liberal reforms in Byzantium and other regions where the Moslem power had been established. He sent the Grand Vizier against them; they compelled him and his force to take refuge in a large building; this they attacked, and he and his soldiers perished when it was set on fire. Mahmoud saw it was a question practically whether the Sultan or the Janissaries should rule the State. He decided then that the latter should go. He issued a decree ordering them to disband, and they replied to the command by rushing to arms all over the country. Then he called for an army to enforce his will, and in one day forty thousand of them perished by the sword and the javelin.

The Russian Empire had its trouble with similar military autocrats at the head. These troops were called Strelitzes. They were the dictators at the court and in every important post in the Empire, until Peter the Great took matters into his hands. He dealt with

the arrogance of the Strelitzes precisely as Mahmoud did. Later on, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mehemet Ali had similar trouble with the cavalry troops called Mamelukes; and he had to fall back upon the precedent set by Mahmoud to overcome it. The massacre of the Mamelukes in Egypt was one of the bloodiest that ever took place in modern history.

In the two cases the job undertaken by the Sultan Mahmoud in Turkey and in Egypt by the Viceroy of that kingdom, Mehemet Ali, was marked by a wonderful identity, both as to origin, method of punitive procedure and a relentless determination to make it a monument of such vengeance as to leave its memory such a shuddering horror that no one in the army would ever again dare to rouse the ire of the Sultan of Turkey or the ruler of Egypt. The tide of slaughter did not for a moment cease as long as there was one Mameluke alive or one Janissary above ground. Even the graves where their remains rested were in time mutilated and defaced by secret orders of the government, none daring to ask for any redress or punishment of the desecrators. In both cases it was a fight to the death, for both Mamelukes and Janissaries had murdered Sultans who tried to introduce reforms into the public service. They murdered Sultan Selim. They went so far as to depose the Sultan Mustapha the Fourth, and to assassinate his brother Mahmoud, in 1807. But in 1811 Mehemet Ali got the upper hand of the formidable dictators of the Turkish Empire, and he put an end to such a system as theirs for ever. No organized *imperium in imperio* has since been able to find a firm footing in the military system of the Moslems.

Abdul Medjid, who died in 1861, is deserving of a special place in the annals of the Ottoman Empire. He was not the first of the great reforming members of the House of Othman, but he was the greatest. He had been called to the throne when he was a mere boy on the death of his father, Mahmoud II. Mahmoud had got in the thin end of the wedge about the possibility of introducing reforms into so hidebound a structure as that of Islam. That system is essentially a theocracy, embracing a patriarchal supremacy, as in the much more antique Jewish one. It claimed a similar title—that of a Divine sanction and a command to propagate the message which it pretended was entrusted to bear to mankind by the lips of its only Prophet, Mahomet, and to use force toward those who rejected his claim, as far as they found themselves in a position to resort to the alternative. The liberty which the Prophet granted as to marriage and concubinage added immensely to the difficulties of insuring legitimacy in the succession and the consequent per-

plexities of the patriarchal dignity. Yet at the same time it greatly enhanced the popularity of the new creed, and was one of the chief reasons why the cult spread like wildfire over the territories where it was first introduced.

It seems a monstrous thing for any ruler to turn upon men who had supported his throne and served him faithfully in many things and have them butchered like dogs at one fell swoop. Yet there was no other possible way to overcome the difficulty which the contumacy of these insolent servants had created for the ruler, in either case. Their sins might not have been so great had they been left alone and their pride and their cupidity not been appealed to by artful intriguers from outside, the secret enemies who beheld with dismay the spread of the Turkish power, East, West and South. The spread of that power meant two things that the European Powers could not contemplate with indifference. It meant, in the first place, the introduction of this policy of massacre in places where orderly government had existed for some centuries previously; and in the second, it meant the substitution of the Mahometan theocracy for the principles of Christianity. Under the able and ambitious leadership of Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim Pasha and Sulieman Pasha (a Frenchman), the Egyptian armies defeated sixty thousand troops of the Sultan at Koniah, and were marching on Constantinople when the Great Powers sent a fleet and an army into the Mediterranean and the Holy Land. The army laid waste the fair province of Syria and compelled the forces of Ibrahim finally to abandon the Holy Land and fall back upon its Egyptian base, baffled and frustrated completely in his daringly ambitious enterprise. At the same time the allied Powers insisted upon the reformation of the system of government within the Christian territories under the sway of Turkey in Europe—those now known as the Balkan States, which have won back their original independent autonomy, each a separate kingdom strong enough in some cases to grapple with their ancient oppressor single-handed. Their emancipation from the yoke of Turkey was effected, in a large measure, with the help of a Power not much preferable as a taskmaster to Turkey—the power of the Autocracy of the North, the house of Romanoff, the natural enemy of the Turk. A power whose despotic sway is buttressed by the spiritual force of a schismatic Church is hardly less obnoxious to the interests of religion and civilization than the one in which religion and civilization are combined in the edge of the scimitar and the pages of the Koran.

The first touch with the power of Russia which came to the new empire-builders was when Suleiman (or Solymanus), surnamed the

Magnificent, made a Russian slave named Roxolana his wife and "Khorum Sultana." By this act he legitimized her and a son she had born to her before she had met Suleiman, whose name was Mustapha. Her influence over Suleiman was as great as that of Madame de Pompadour over Louis, the Bourbon martyr. Mustapha was also the name of an heir to the throne, son of Suleiman by a former wife. Roxolana was his stepmother, and she never ceased to puzzle her brain—a very bold and wicked one it was—until she had influenced the aged Suleiman to consent to the death of his legitimate heir and the degradation (as the Turks viewed it) of the imperial house of Othman by admitting stranger blood to the legitimate line of the Conqueror. Roxolana claimed to be of French origin, but the verdict of history gave Russia the doubtful glory of the just claim to be her natal country. The contact with the race of Rurik, thus begun in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was the beginning of a sinister connection whose end may yet be coincident with the passing of the star of Islam. But whether the cause of the world's betterment might be promoted by the substitution of the star of Muscovy is one of those problematical speculations which may not be rashly decided until the field is clearer for the formation of a sound judgment.

From the time of Charles Martel the French had been the protectors of the Church and civilization against the inroads of Mahometanism. Those Saracen hordes who tried to overrun Europe were the advance agents for the spread of the doctrines of the camel-driver. Charles smote them in a three days' battle on the broad vine-clad plains of Chalons, as St. Louis smote them, centuries later, in the Holy Land. From the great part the French monarchy and nobility had played in the protection of the holy places, the French nation had begun to be recognized as the chosen protector of Jerusalem and the sacred places of Asia Minor. The French ambassadors found it much easier to gain audiences at the Ottoman court than those of any other nation, and it was the influence of French address and polished manners that brought the great Sultans in time to see that it was no use trying to rule only with the edge of the scimitar: there was a better way—the system of give and take, where people of different races and different creeds were compelled by fortuitous circumstances to live side by side as one community. Hence came about the famous "capitulations"—concessions by the Sultans to the Christians in freedom of worship, freedom of education, recognition of civil rights, freedom of commerce, right to own property, equality before the law, and such other conditions of polity as were essential to a state



of peace and stability of the government. The Sultan who captured Constantinople was obliged, by the cosmopolitan character of the city's population, to have a sort of Bill of Rights drawn up by which the heads of the Roman and Greek Churches were respectively secured and their temporalities protected. Later on, capitulations were made with the representatives of other powers besides France—the United States, for instance, which secured a permanent agreement for the establishment of the Robert College, on the shores of the Dardanelles. These "capitulations" were in effect and *modus operandi* similar to the instruments known in European States as Concordats. They were surrenders of some advantage by the ruling power to the Church, or Churches, in return for the contribution to the peace and welfare of the State which the Church, by its great influence and suasive power over the population, was in a position to guarantee to the State. When Rustem Bey, the Polish recusant who represented the Turkish Government at Washington a short time ago, gave notice that the Porte was about to renounce the "capitulations" granted to the Christian powers, he was hardly credited, because it was held that Turkey was only the party of the one part, in the case, and that the consent of the other party was an essential condition to a dissolution of the compact. But, inasmuch as German influence is uppermost in all things in Turkey just now, the protests of the party of the second part were completely ignored and treated as mere "scraps of paper." Seeing that the principal Powers of Eusope were all engaged in hostilities against each other, the wily Turk, who had long subsisted on the fact of their international animosities, found the opportunity for which he had been for a long time on the watch. He lost no time in hastening to avail himself of the Bismarckian and Carlylean ethical maxim, "La force prime le droit."

Of course, "capitulations" cannot apply except according to the laws of geography and topography, the density of population or its sparseness. What was practicable in the capital, in Beyrout and Smyrna, is utterly unthought of and inapplicable on the border lines of Armenia, Turkestan, Persia, Macedonia and several other geographical divisions of the orbis terrarum wherein racial acerbities take usually a fine razor edge. Whenever the laws of the political game require a reversion to the primal principle of the camel-driver's religion, for the solution of some baffling Gordian knot, the descendants of the Bonebreaker remember the meaning of the ceremony of investiture of the sword of Othman. Not all Moslems are committed to the doctrine of the scimitar as the instrument for the propagation of the Prophet's religion. The orthodox, or true be-

lievers, as they style themselves, are those who follow the teachings of the Koran as expounded by two Imams named Azam and Safi. They are called Sunnites. The Persians, who abide by the rendering of the sacred book by Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet, Mehzebmis or Kiaffirs—that is heretics and unbelievers. The Turks, and more particularly those who claim the blood of Othman, steadfastly clung to the rule of force for the propagation of religion according to the creed of the Prophet. His last wish, as he lay dying, was conveyed to his trusted military chiefs, assembled outside his harem, by his favorite daughter, Fatima, as she handed to the leader the Prophet's green flag, in the words: "This is Mahomet's last wish. Take this standard and march forward." The uplifted standard was always the signal for battle to begin. The Moslems' sabbath, or rest day, is Friday. This day was selected for that purpose by Sultan Osman, or Othman, the first ruler of the dynasty. The Old Testament is acknowledged by the Moslems as authentic and true. Christ also is recognized by them, but only as a Prophet sent by God, but the incidents of his Atonement and Resurrection are rejected. The Moslem law condemned to death all apostates to the faith of the Prophet, once they had accepted that faith. On the accession of Abdul Medjid, in 1851, he was advised to issue a new charter of civil and religious freedom—a "hatti cherif" it was called: that is, "an illustrious writing." It substituted a beating five times a day for the death penalty in the cases of apostates who belong to the female sex—which sex, by the way, according to the Moslem belief, do not possess souls, as men do.

The prestige of France as the recognized palladium of Christian liberties in Turkey declined considerably when after years of coquetting with Turkey to gain the favor of the Moslem inhabitants it became known that Napoleon had made, at Tilsit, with the Czar Alexander a secret treaty for the partition of the Turkish Empire between France and Russia. Bonaparte had made his Egyptian coup; he had overthrown the Moslem forces at the battle of the Pyramids and then proceeded to gain the favor of the foe by affecting much regard for Moslem ways and fashions. His favorite attendant when he rode out was a member of the picturesque and martial-panoplied Mameluke cavalry, whom he took to Paris in his service on his return to France from the East. But all the time he was wooing the favor of the Turks he was plotting, through his confidant, a brother Corsican, General Sebastiani, Minister at Constantinople, for a partition of the territories in Europe which groaned under the sway of Turkey and were dreaming and intriguing for the hour of their emancipation to come, at the fall of

the Moslem power—Greece, Roumelia, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Albania and the islands of the Ægean archipelago. It did not strike for many years after the daring Corsican had toppled from his throne and his dazzling Mameluke orderly been swept away with him; and it came by the hands of those who had been trodden under the Moslem heel in the Balkans since the days of George Castriot until then. The power which conspired with Napoleon to dismember Turkey lent valuable aid to the liberators of the long-oppressed thralls; and the monstrous conflict which now rocks the Western World as an earthquake is the result of the European scramble for the Turks' long-enslaved possessions. History is not a series of disconnected tragedies working out for the world's betterment, as some optimistic philosophers regard and portray it. Though it may seem disorder, even chaos, there is direction in every move: and the Hand that holds the earth in its hollow is Divine.

One of the few consoling side facts connected with the present upheaval in Europe is the retraction of a humiliating false step by a sovereign who had gained much respect—Prince Ferdinand, who was chosen to be King of Bulgaria after the successful war of the Balkan States against Turkey. To secure the favor of the Russian Autocrat, he consented to have his son and heir, Prince Boris, taken into the membership of the Russian Church, as demanded by the autocratic patron of the Bulgarians. Ferdinand has in his old age repented of his craven subserviency to the head of the Church of Holy Russia. The daily papers recently announced that he had sought reconciliation with the Church of his forbears, the ancient religion of Europe and the East. Assuming that the report be well founded, the step is one that does great credit to his latent moral courage—for the taking of such a resolution shows that the flight of time had convinced him that she is the only Church that does not change her doctrines to suit the vagaries of men or pander to the ambitions of princes.

The ruler of Bulgaria is of the German house of Coburg-Kohary. He is connected with the house of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, to which Prince Albert, the consort of Queen Victoria of Britain, belonged. He is also connected by marriage with the late royal house of Portugal. Ferdinand's mother was Princess Clementina, daughter of Louis Philippe, King of the French from 1830 to 1848, and aunt of the Comte de Paris, who belonged to the elder and younger branches of the house of Bourbon. Clementina's sister, Louise, was the consort of King Leopold I. of Belgium, and her brother was the Duke de Montpensier, husband of the Infanta Louisa of Spain. Ferdinand is in fact connected with so many

European and Brazilian royal families that his pedigree and connections would require a whole chapter of the *Almanac de Gotha* to set them forth in due order. He is now only fifty-four years old, and may have many years of life before him still to make amends for the sorry mistake he made in yielding to the Russian Autocrat on the question of religion in regard to his son and heir, Prince Boris.

Bearing in mind the fanatical attitude of the Russian Orthodox toward the Roman Catholic Church, it is difficult to understand how the old Emperor Francis Joseph could ever bring himself to enter into a pact with the German Kaiser, who had long been coöperating with the Sultan, the faithful head of the Moslem theocracy, and who is at present relying on the traditional policy of massacre of Armenian and Syrian Christians for the maintenance and extension of the Moslem system in both European and Asia Minor territory. This is one of the most bewildering of the moral inconsistencies involved in the complexities of the present unnatural tangle. The Pan-Slav movement, and the lengths to which it was prepared to go in order to carry out its ambitious programme, was horribly emphasized in the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince and his wife, which resulted in the fatal ultimatum which precipitated the beginning of the awful conflict last July. At the present stage of the conflict the objective of both Russia, backed by the forces of Britain and France, is the possession of Constantinople. For this purpose the fleets and armies of the three Powers are engaged in the titanic task of forcing the Straits of the Dardanelles on the Western side of the enormous battle-line, while on the eastern one the Russians are striving with might and main to hinder help coming to the Turkish defense by way of Persia and the Caucasus, by the occupation of the regions of Van and Urumiah. To think that the Christian Powers can phlegmatically coöperate in the design to have Constantinople handed over to the mercies of the intolerant Russian theocracy, as appears to be really the case, seems to be the most marvelous illustration of the power of political hypnotism, in the working out of the system of alliances for military aggrandizement, that ever the history of the world afforded.

Saints and martyrs have sighed and prayed all down the years since the time of the schism over the Photius election for a reconciliation between the unnaturally severed members of the body of Christ and His holy Church. That dismal event demanded a long time for its full accomplishment, and a mighty stage, the whole Christian world of the fifteenth century, for the action of the momentous drama. The vast tragedy now being developed before the eyes of

heaven and earth, amid the regions wherein the seeds of schism were first sown, may be the prologue to one of a mightier and a holier one—the junction of the dissevered members of the Saviour's body and the reestablishment of the single Fold of Christ under one Shepherd, as foretold in the Scriptures. We must not forget the words of Christ as to the permanence of His message to men: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away." The times we live in are awesome. We must treat them in the spirit of deepest reverence and hopeful expectation that the united prayers of the Church Universal may bear fruit profitable for the whole suffering human race.

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## RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF EQUATORIAL AFRICANS.

## I. TRIBAL NAMES FOR GOD OR SUPREME BEING.

THE veil of darkness and mystery that for so long concealed the interior of Africa from the rest of the world is being slowly but surely drawn aside. Many surprises attended the discovery of the source of the Nile and the regions round about the great Equatorial lakes, regions now being opened up to missionary enterprise and civilization. Vast territories situated on or near the Equator which were once considered hot, barren and uninhabited, are found to be temperate (at certain altitudes), fertile (after the rains) and thickly populated (especially round the lakes). It is true a great deal of information about the interior of Africa was known to geographers hundreds of years ago, as witness the ancient propaganda map of Africa, 1528; various Portuguese maps of the sixteenth century, and the famous Vatican map published in 1623, found in the archives of the Vatican. But much of the knowledge acquired by the early explorers and missionaries appears to have been forgotten, if not entirely lost, to the world as time passed, to be again rediscovered during the last fifty or sixty years.

Whilst it is comparatively easy to locate and describe geographical landmarks, such as mountains, lakes and rivers, it is admittedly difficult, in the absence of written records or monuments of any kind, to ascertain with precision the religious conceptions of primitive African tribes.

In most cases the saying holds good, "Quot homines tot sententiae:" different tribes have different beliefs; even members of the same tribe will be found to disagree on many points. Some tribes are most reticent in regard to their religious beliefs and practices; others bring their religion into almost everything, especially important domestic events, daily incidents and accidents. Moreover, those parts of the continent that have come under European sway may be said to be, at the present time, in a state of transition. Already there are signs that the younger generation of the tribes in Equatorial Africa that have been brought in contact with outsiders, whether Europeans or Asiatics, are losing interest in the old order of things. Many, fortunately, are embracing Christianity; others, not a few, are being seduced into the creed of Islamism. At any rate, old manners and customs are dying out, ancient observances are being forgotten by the grim utilitarianism of modern times and by pressure from the white man. Hut taxes and poll taxes have to be paid, public roads and bridges have to be constructed—and the white man

insists on fairly honest service being given before he pays wages—leaving in consequence little time, for example, for the mourning period of from three to six months spent in lamentation for a deceased chief, as was the custom in bygone days.

Hence it is extremely difficult, and in many cases impossible, to obtain an intelligent explanation from the people themselves as to the origin and existence of some of their strange beliefs. This is partly accounted for by the fact that they regard their religion, such as it is, as an essential part of their nature, and so do not trouble, nor do they deem it necessary, to ask questions concerning the reason for any particular belief. It is only when their self-esteem is touched by pointing out the absurdity of some rite or custom that they essay to give an account of the faith that is in them. But the inquirer needs to be on his guard, as some tribes, for example, are accustomed to magnify the importance of their minor deities to such an extent as to lead one to imagine they are polytheistic; whereas, the truth is their worship of these deities so-called occupies a much larger portion of their time and thought than does that of their Supreme Being, who is generally kept in the background. Much information has already been placed on record by learned officials, missionaries and other writers on the subject, while much more no doubt still remains unknown. Students of ethnography in Europe and America, with all their advantages of a wide range of comparative study of religions and possessing reference libraries of the works of the foremost writers on the subject, will often be able to see clearly in cases where the local observer with his limited vision finds himself in darkness, more especially when he tries to work back in order to find the origin of some religious custom now a mere relic of its former self to what it may have been in the beginning.

In general it may be said that in the philosophy of the African there is little distinction made between supernatural beings who have never been within a mould of clay and the spirits of their ancestors. The characters they ascribe to these beings are unconscious reflections of their own natures; they are kind or hostile, friendly or revengeful, as the case may be; and to win their friendship or overcome their vindictiveness, they use the same artifices and means as would be employed in earthly contests. The keystone of the religion of most heathens is fear—fear of the unseen, of the unknown. From their appearance in this world until their exit from it they are completely enslaved by the superstitions of their medicine-man, who poses as the representative of one or other occult power. In sickness or health, in peace or in war, they look for guidance to an arrant impostor, who, combining in himself the functions of priest, prophet and physician, sedulously instills into their minds fear of

the supernatural, dread of what will happen to them should they incur the anger of the spirits.

It has been stated that the only spirits the primitive Africans believed in or feared were those of deceased chiefs who had belonged to their own tribe. Having been powerful whilst in the flesh, they naturally supposed they were equally so in the other world. At their burial slaves were killed to accompany them; food, tobacco and other articles were placed in their graves for their use; and certain tribal ceremonies carried out, all tending to prove their belief in the continued existence of the souls of the chiefs. It has also been asserted by some authorities that by degrees these ancestral spirits developed into beings of an altogether superhuman character, and that a further distinction was made in regard to their relations with the living by dividing them into good and bad. That the souls of the dead of another tribe were considered inimical is certain, especially to the persons by whom, for example, they had been slain. Various sacrifices, such as the killing of a chicken or goat, and certain purifications, such as the shaving of the head or bathing in a stream, had to be made to avert the supposed evil influence of the enemy's spirit. In course of time the original system of ancestral worship seems to have been superseded by the cult of numerous tutelary deities, or supernatural agencies, which for the sake of clearness may be styled demon spirits. These spirits were usually associated with certain localities, such as hills, lakes or rivers; with various diseases, such as blindness, smallpox, bubonic plague; or with certain forces of nature, such as lightning, hurricane, earthquake and the like. The work of propitiating these spirits by making offerings of food at their shrines, and of warding off the evils which they were supposed to cause, unless presents were made to their earthly representatives, the wizards, constituted for the most part the sum total of their religious practice—so much so that the direct worship of the Creator was almost neglected. The African nature, in so far as he located the spirit world at all, placed God above the earth in the sky, but the spirits of his ancestors and the demons on or beneath the earth.

But whilst it is certain that most African tribes paid a kind of worship to tutelary deities—in some cases as numerous as the gods of Olympus, though not deserving to be styled gods—it is also true that above them all and greater than all was one Great Being in Whom they believed, and Who was independent of all others. When questioned on the point, every intelligent heathen, man or woman, will acknowledge that there is one God, and one only, and that He is good, merciful and powerful. Among all the tribes that I have come in contact with in Equatorial Africa during my fifteen years' missionary work in that country, the people were found to have a



special name for that one God, which name they invariably uttered with reverence. The Swahili tribe call Him *Muunget* (some *Mulunget*); the Masai, *Engai*; the Nandi, *Asista*; the Nilotic Kavirondo, *Chieng*; the Bantu Kavirondo, *Masave*; the Banyoro, *Ruhanga*, and the Baganda, *Katonda*. All these tribes, it is true, have not the same clear idea of the existence of God, their notions being more or less vague in proportion, it would seem, as they are the slaves or otherwise of degrading customs; but even though they may differ in their conceptions of His nature and attributes, they all agree in the essential fact of belief in the existence of one all-good, all-powerful Being.

In the regions surrounding Lake Victoria Nyanza there are dwelling tribes, some of whom, like the Baganda, before the advent of Europeans possessed a semi-civilization of their own; others, like the Masai, maintained at all times a standing army of warriors and were never overcome by slave-raiders. Not all are equal in point of intelligence, nor do they all obey the same strict tribal laws; but it is a misnomer to call them "savages" if by that term is meant people living a lawless life outside all the conventions and usages of domestic or social intercourse. Moreover, if they are "uncultivated," as we understand the word, at any rate they are civilized to an extent which suits their nature and conditions. The surprising thing is to find such a people, if not altogether monotheists in the same way as Christians, Jews and Mohammedans, at least with minds most receptive to the doctrine of one Supreme Being. In addition to this Being, some tribes have, as has been said, a numerous catalogue of demons or minor deities for whom they entertain more fear than love; others carry out an elaborate system of ancestor worship; others practice the rite of circumcision, whilst others offer on certain occasions sacrifices of animals or else gifts of such things as chickens, milk, beer or grain. Traces are found in their legends of certain primary truths, which when disentangled from a mass of superstition and necromancy may be regarded as having reference to "the creation of man," "the fall of our first parents," "the entrance of death into the world," "the survival of the soul after death" and "the donation in the beginning by God to man of all earthly goods." From the point of view of social ethics it need only be observed that in spite of tribal wars, slave-raiding and the continual struggle for existence, these tribes have increased and multiplied in a healthy, natural manner, whilst present day evidence proves that their kings, chiefs and elders from time to time formulated wise laws which caused their people to live according to a moral code of a fairly high order.

In the following pages we shall briefly review the heathen re-

ligious beliefs of four African tribes; many members of these tribes have already embraced Christianity; indeed, amongst some of them, like the Baganda, it may be said that heathens are few and far between. All these tribes reside in British territory in Equatorial Africa, and may be considered as typical Bantu and Nilotic tribes, representative of the many others found occupying the interior of the "Dark Continent," and all differing from one another in language, location, manners and customs.

The Baganda, a Bantu tribe dwelling in Uganda.

The A-Kikuyu, a Bantu tribe dwelling in British East Africa.

The Nandi, a Nilotic tribe dwelling in British East Africa.

The Masai, a Nilotic tribe dwelling in British East Africa.

## II. BAGANDA RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The Baganda dwell in the fertile country called Uganda (more correctly Buganda), which stretches along the north and north-western shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza and west of the Nile at its source. For hundreds of years they have had kings who ruled with despotic power and whose commands, however cruel, had to be instantly obeyed. The names of over thirty of these kings are known, as well as the approximate date of the reign of some, the line of dynasty stretching from Kintu, their supposed first king and founder, to *Daudi* (David) *Chua*, their present ruler under British protection. In some respects the Baganda are superior to other tribes round about them, and, although dwelling farther inland (at least 800 miles from the East Coast) than others, they excelled in the cordial welcome they gave the Catholic missionaries and in the fervor and earnestness with which they embraced Christianity.

Even before the arrival of Europeans in their country or before any known contact with the outer world, they had a most complicated system of self-government, in which King, chiefs and people took a part. The King or *Kabaka* ruled with absolute sway; whilst every chief had a special office to fulfill in a kind of graduated hierarchy round the throne, each exercised authority over his respective district or clan, but all were subject to the King and had to consult him regarding affairs of state. One of the head chiefs called the *Gabunga* filled the position of admiral in charge of the war canoes on the lake; another named the *Mujassi* was commander-in-chief of the army during war, whilst various other chiefs exercised functions about courts, such as chief butcher, chief builder, chief beermaker, etc. Among the minor officials not the least important were the musicians, the drummers, the sorcerers and the executioners.

The religious conceptions of the Baganda consisted chiefly in:

1. Belief in the existence of a Supreme Being for Whom they had reverence.

2. Worship of numerous spirits or tutelary deities.

3. Offering human sacrifices to propitiate certain spirits and to honor and aid the souls of deceased chiefs and kings.

4. Totemism, consisting of the superstitious reverence shown by the members of a family or clan for some particular thing.

1. *Belief in a Supreme Being.* As their legends and folklore testify, this tribe always had a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, Whom they called *Katonda* (lit. Creator), from the verb *Kutonda*—to create. Whilst their idea of the nature of this Being was vague and indistinct, still to their minds He was absolutely the first, the most widely known, and reigned above and independent of all other deities. He was regarded as being good, wise and powerful, but Who dwelt afar off, was difficult to approach and more or less indifferent to their individual wants or welfare.

Some natives even affirmed that when *Katonda* created all things He handed over the government and care of everything to the *Balubare* (spirits), who were therefore to be served and worshipped by all as having immediate influence. Thus through this false notion of theirs they separated the God of Creation from the God of Conservation. There were no temples erected in His honor, at least none have been found, nor does there seem to have been any definite form of public worship offered to Him. He was, it is true, spoken of with reverence as the great Creator of all things, Who in the beginning made the first man (*Kintu*) and the first woman (*Nambi*) of their race, and sent them down from heaven to the earth to live there and to bring forth children, giving them at the same time various kinds of food for their support. Later on, when the first man and woman disobeyed His command, and their children were being killed by an enemy called *Rumbe* (lit. death), *Katonda* sent them His son to protect them, Whom they called *Mulokozi*, meaning Saviour. Hence the Baganda revered *Katonda* as their Creator and also as their Benefactor who sends the rain from *Gulu* (lit. above heaven) to make their banana plantations and sweet potato crops grow which produce their food. As far as is known no human sacrifices were ever offered in His honor, as was the case with some of the spirits, though certain individuals were looked upon as His special representatives on earth, nor was he portrayed under any material shape or idol, nor supposed to dwell in any special locality. He was to them as to the American Indians the Great Spirit—invisible, all-powerful.

2. *Spirits or Tutelary Deities.* In practice, however, the religion of the Baganda—in so far as it can be called a religion at all—con-

sisted in the worship and pacification of various *Balubare* (demon spirits).

Throughout the country they had over forty of these spirits, each one having a particular shrine or locality, certain special recognized functions and an established place in the list of precedence from *Mukassa*, the first, to *Wamala*, the last. The name *Balubare* (sing. *Lubare*) implies something essentially evil, or the exercise of evil power, hence these spirits cannot be taken as beneficent deities. Most of them had their special representative or intermediary on earth, known by the generic name *Mandwa* (lit. wizard), or when combined with the practice of magic *Mulogo* (lit. sorcerer). These individuals, whilst sometimes administering really curative medicines, invariably exercised a most pernicious influence over young and old. Every wizard of a *lubara* (spirit) is said to have become at times possessed by the spirit he represented; most probably devil possession took place. There were also, no doubt, many cases of clever fraud, as the medicine-men excelled in all kinds of cunning and deception, as was well known. Until the time of King Mutesa, for example, it had been the custom in the country that after the death of a King a new *Mandwa* (wizard) appeared who declared that the spirit of the dead monarch had entered into him or did so periodically. On such occasions he talked in a strange falsetto voice or else roared frantically when the people, believing that the man's story was true, brought jars of *mwenge* (banana-beer) for the *musimu* (spirit of the departed) to drink—a spirit being supposed not to eat. Mutesa, however, before he died gave orders that in case any *Mandwa* should pretend that he had his (Mutesa's) spirit or soul, he was not to be believed unless he could speak Arabic—the King alone in the country having learned some few words of that language. Fear of certain death prevented any one from making such a claim after the decease of this monarch, nor was it made after the death of his son and successor, King Mwanga, who died in exile in Seychelles May 8, 1903. Some of these *Balubare*<sup>1</sup> were said to be good, others bad, but all needed gifts to propitiate their wrath. The fact is, the words good (*barungi*) and bad (*babi*) had relative meanings in these cases; the same spirits might be good to-day and bad to-morrow, or good in the eyes of some people and bad in the estimation of others, in proportion as the petitions of the suppliants were granted or refused. For instance, should a woman who had been barren have offspring after visiting the shrine of any particular spirit, she would say the spirit was good, whilst another woman who remained childless after her visit would regard the same spirit as bad.

<sup>1</sup> See "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," September, 1903—article on "Some African Languages and Religions."

The same also in regard to sickness; should a person recover after gifts had been made to a certain spirit, that spirit was spoken of as good; but in case the person was not cured or died, then the spirit was bad and vindictive.

Whilst undoubtedly cases of real demoniacal possession took place, it would be assuming too much to suppose that all were genuine. It is certain that many supposed cases were due to clever imposture on the part of the wizards. These crafty ones, seeing the immunity they possessed from danger of apprehension, and knowing that the office of *Mandwa* meant the reception of gifts from their credulous neighbors, readily learned to imitate the voice of deceased people or even the actions of a madman, their object being to gain respect through superstitious fear of their powers, as well as offerings of cattle, fowl and native beer. Moreover, as amongst all primitive and ignorant races, many forms of mania and other diseases are believed to be due to the presence or influence of some demon, so here also certain individuals at times suffering merely from mental disorders, come to be regarded during their fits as being possessed, and they themselves by degrees imagined they were at such times under the influence of an unseen spirit or *lubare*. That the functions and characteristics of these spirits were various as well as numerous may be seen from the following list of the *Ba-lubare* (spirits) of Uganda:

*Mukassa* was the principal spirit (after *Katonda*) and presided over the Lake Victoria Nyanza. Some accounts describe this *lubare* as a god, others as a goddess; we shall follow the former reading for the reason that according to their legends the Baganda never had a queen, though they have had many kings. *Mukassa* was known and feared all over the country, especially by the fishermen; he could calm at will the stormy lake; grant to his clients a propitious voyage; make rain or cure the toothache. Nothing was too great or too small for his powers. He had his special *mandwa* (wizard) whose shrine was on the Island of Bubembe, one of the Sese archipelago. The island is about four miles long and two broad; there is a high hill in its centre and dense forest along the lower level by the margin of the water. To this shrine were sent the gifts and offerings of the chiefs and people of the neighboring kingdoms. From time to time the Kings of Uganda sent presents of cattle, sheep and goats, sufficient when slaughtered to make a stream of blood flowing from the shrine to the lake. When it entered the water a great shout of delight went up from the assembled multitude, for it was then assumed that the deity was appeased. If necessary, a naval expedition might now take place, the sailors and fishermen might now venture upon the lake, for without the permission of *Mukassa* no one could hope for a prosperous voyage.

From the commencement of the spread of Christianity in the country, however, his influence waned, and in consequence of the decline of his power the cattle sent as offerings were not so numerous nor the blood shed so abundant as formerly. To prevent soakage in the ground, and as it was imperative that the blood should actually flow into the lake, the people laid the rinds of the banana tree along the earth—each end overlapping the other like the guttering of a house—and in this way the blood was still made to flow into the water. The spirit was believed to appear to his high-priest once in three months, and at these times only offerings and sacrifices were made. In the interval his *Mandwa* was merely a private individual of chief's rank and went about his business in the manner of ordinary mortals. But when the day for offering sacrifices came round he became possessed by the spirit of *Mukassa* and appeared a bow-legged, contorted creature. The god never visited any of the other islands in the lake; both chiefs and people had to go to his special shrine whenever they wished the *Mandwa* to ask him for favors on their behalf. From poor persons gifts of goats, cowrie shells and even rolls of bark cloth were accepted, while Kings and chiefs usually presented the deity with slaves and cows.

Many stories are told about the power of the god *Mukassa*. It is said that in the year 1879 he placed the lake in quarantine for three months, issued a kind of embargo on all vessels and would allow no one to touch its waters. At length, in order to have the ban removed, King Mutesa was obliged to send to the island an offering of 100 slaves, 100 women, 100 cows and 100 goats. The spirit then "untied" the lake and gave permission for the navigation of its waters. After that event the King built a shrine near his own residence at Mengo so as to have *Mukassa's mandwa* near himself and under control. There is hardly a trace of his shrine now anywhere, the grass and weeds have grown over it. The successor of *Mukassa's mandwa*, *Gugu*, became a Christian, and with his baptism the cult of this great African Neptune died out.

*Musisi*, the demon of earthquakes, corresponding to the dragon in Chinese folklore; when the ground trembled he was supposed to be shifting his habitation; and should a rumbling noise be heard, the people of a village rushed out of their houses and joined in a prolonged shout.

*Kaumpuli*, the demon of bubonic plague; this diseases, which is common in the country, is also known by the same name.

*Ndaula* or *Kawali*, the demon of smallpox; this disease carries off thousands of victims whenever an epidemic breaks out.

*Kibuka*, the demon of war and the guide of armies on the march—a kind of local *Mars Gradivus*.

*Mayanja*, the furious demon residing in the leopard. It is said that in former times when the King was about to finish a new palace it was the custom to have a feast, and at this particular feast it was laid down that the demon *Mayanja* should be appeased. To accomplish this object as many as 700 men and women were seized and slaughtered at one time. The bodies of the victims were then thrown to the leopards, after which the demon was supposed to be satisfied. Only the *Bakopi* or common people were caught; in case the sons of chiefs or petty officers were seized in mistake, they could generally purchase their freedom by the payment of a sheep or a cow.

*Musoke*, the spirit of the rainbow, who forced parents to give up their children and hand them over to others. He was appeased as soon as the transfer was made. This custom, the handing of one's children over to others, was the ruin of family life in the country and led to many abuses which are slowly dying out.

*Mwanga*, the spirit that presided over the future. His *mandwa* was a kind of soothsayer or fortune-teller, whose stock in trade consisted of a hundred cowrie shells loosely stitched to a piece of hide. When a client sought his advice he took the piece of hide in his hand and made a sign on himself by first touching his forehead, then his breast, then his right and left shoulders. He then flung it down on the ground, and according to the positions assigned to the shells the future good or bad fortune of the person was prognosticated.

*Wanema*—This spirit was regarded as a female having general functions. Her *mandwa*, when consulted, became bow-legged and contorted in body, but when the seance was over he became straight again.

*Kayindu*, the jumping demon; like the Indian fakirs, his *mandwa* could leap on thorns, broken glass or short spikes set upright and yet suffer no hurt.

*Kitenda*, the cruel demon residing in man-eating crocodiles. Whenever the King, on the advice of the *mandwa*, thought it necessary to appease him, a party of executioners scoured the roads and collected 200 or 300 men. These were then taken to the Lake Victoria Nyanza at a certain place, and after their legs and arms had been broken they were either thrown over a rocky cliff to the crocodiles in the water or left helpless on the shore for the crocodiles to come and devour. The bones of these unfortunate victims were seen there in piles until quiet recent times.

*Magobwi* was the snake demon. Offerings of fowl and goats were made to this spirit, and these were usually thrown into a ravine where a python was known to have his headquarters. Some tribes do not kill the snake; in fact, should they see one near their home

they regard it as a lucky visitor, and at such times they give it milk or other food and let it go away. They imagine the spirit of some of their ancestors has returned in the snake's body to pay them a visit or to bring them news, e. g., that there will be a birth in the family. In former times, anyway, there were some clans of the neighboring Basoga and Kavirondo tribes who offered a kind of worship to the snake, or rather to the spirit supposed to be in its body.

On certain occasions they obtained a huge python, placed it in a hut specially made, gorged it with food and held a feast of dancing, drinking and shouting (called the feast of *Rumbe*, lit. death) which lasted night and day for a week. The men invoked the snake's protection on their wives and children (whom they brought to the hut), telling them they must never injure it and must always address it as "*Mukama wafe*" (lit. our master). Nowadays, however, few natives fear or honor the snake; they have lost confidence in its supernatural powers, especially since they discovered the contempt the Christian has for the reptile.

*Nogodya* was supposed to be a daughter of the god *Mukassa*; she had her special votaries, and sacrifices of animals were offered in her honor.

*Lule* was the spirit of the rain; also of tears and mourning.

*Nagawonye*, the spirit of plenty; the natives placed jars of banana beer at the shrine of this spirit, generally under large trees, in order that their crops might be abundant.

*Nakayoga*, the demon of storms and whirlwinds—a kind of "will-o'-the-wisp."

*Kiwanka*, the spirit of lightning; should a person be struck it was said that he had done something to offend *Kiwanka*, and the flesh of animals killed by lightning was not eaten.

*Kagolo*, the spirit of thunder; it was believed the noise killed as much as the flash, hence cases were known of native soldiers in battle not bothering about bullets for their guns as long as they had gunpowder to fire off and make a noisy report.

*Kizito*, like *Mwanga*, also foretold future events.

*Wasiba*—This spirit had no *mandwa*, but was supposed to speak through the agency of a little bird which they never killed.

*Walusi*, the demon of meteorites and a red sky at sunrise and sunset. His shrine was on a hill called *Watusi*, in the province of *Bulemezi*, and the natives say that at certain times fire is seen issuing from its summit; probably an almost extinct volcano.

*Luisi*, the hungry demon in the hyena. The wizard of this demon when he became possessed walked on all-fours and crunched large bones with his teeth.



*Lubanga*, the dancing demon; his *mandwa* when he danced fastened little bells to his feet and waist and dressed himself up in the most fantastic style.

*Mbajwe*—This spirit was formerly a *jembe*, i. e., one of the King's charms, but was ultimately transformed into a snake.

*Nabamba*, the spirit invoked to find things lost; it is said his *manda* invariably found lost articles for a client.

*Kigala*, the spirit of deafness; he was deaf himself. Even at the present day one hears the expression applied to a deaf person, "*Kigala omukute*," i. e., "*Kigala* has him," or he is deaf.

*Wamala*, the last and least, but noticeable because he is the last of the *Balubare* of Uganda. There were about ten other demons in addition to the above, but known only as local spirits with uncertain functions. The small thatched shrines erected to all these spirits, or demons, or tutelary deities, were not of a permanent nature; merely flimsy structures of reed and wattle plastered over with mud and roofed with sticks and grass. There are few large shrines now in existence, but numbers of small *Lubare* huts about the size of a beehive may be seen about the country in heathen villages. Every household had at least one such spirit hut in front of his dwelling, in which were placed occasionally small portions of food or other simple articles. Many of these little huts or roadside shrines are also found under certain big trees supposed to be inhabited by some particular spirit. In the minds of the people these spirits watched over individuals as well as certain localities. They believed that all events happening around them or to them had their origin in some impulse from these spirits. Their influence was in some way connected with every action of human life, hence their aid was invoked on all occasions. The worship given to them by the people was founded on mere superstitious fear, fostered, as has been said, by the wizards, who mercilessly fleeced their victims for their own advantage.

3. *Human Sacrifices*. In connection with the worship of these spirits, and in consequence of their supposed power of causing good or evil, was the awful slaughter of human life that happened in Uganda in pre-Christian days. We can only refer briefly to that fearful custom of an otherwise fairly enlightened people, but it will serve to show to what excesses of cruelty an absolute monarch can go when guided by the advice of unscrupulous wizards. The holocaust of human lives that took place from time to time on certain hills around the capital by order of the King and his advisers was called a *Kiwendo*. When the King was ill he sent for his advisers, who invariably recommended a *Kiwendo* on the surrounding hills as the only way to propitiate the spirit that was causing the illness. The

King's executioners were then ordered to go out to collect victims. They laid in wait along the paths and highways, generally near the crossing of a stream, and seized all they could lay hands upon. Sometimes over 1,000 victims were caught in this way, the capture requiring several days, and when the number was complete, all were put to death on the same day. This shedding of human blood was usually made to propitiate the anger or to obtain the favor of one or more of the *Ba-lubare* (spirits). During the lifetime of King Mutesa, who died in 1884, and who was reigning when Stanley arrived in the country, there were so many innocent persons slaughtered that he was called by the people "*Mukabya*"—"the one who causes tears." His father, King Suna, also used to have many such *Kiwendo*, and of course Mutesa, after the example of his father, must exercise a similar power. It is recorded that after the King had embraced Islamism, a short time before Stanley's arrival—which he afterwards rejected—he one day ordered 200 youths to be burned alive, because they had gone a little further than himself in adopting the new creed, having been circumcised by the Arabs who were at the court. Some years afterwards he gave orders for a great *Kiwendo*, when about 2,000 men, women and children were seized and put to death.

Then again, later on at the rebuilding of the sepulchre of Suna, King Mutesa ordered a similar butchery. The King's tomb which I visited (Mutesa's) takes the shape of an enormous circular hut thirty feet high, constructed of palm posts, reeds and grass over the grave. When the work of erecting the tomb approached completion, executioners were sent out on every road approaching the capital to catch every one coming in from the country. At length enough were seized and a great *Kiwendo* was carried out, when some 2,000 innocent people were murdered on the site under the personal supervision of the King and his principal chiefs. All this was meant as an offering to the departed spirit of the late King. It is, however, satisfactory to be able to state that in those parts of the country where Christianity has obtained a foothold most of the superstitions mentioned above have died out, whilst human sacrifices and the other barbarous customs of heathen times have long since disappeared. The Light of the Gospel, with its attendant blessings, has now enlightened a people that at one time literally sat in the darkness of superstition and the shadow of death.

4. *Totemism.* Totemism as practiced in Uganda and neighboring countries seems to be partly a social and partly a religious institution. From a social or domestic point of view it creates a bond of union between the members of the same clan by which they may know one another after years of separation, and which helped to

prevent intermarriage amongst relatives through ignorance of their relationship. In its religious aspect it consisted of a superstitious reverence shown by the members of a particular *Kika* or clan for some particular totem or material object or thing which they called *Muziro*. Each of the thirty clans in Uganda had its special *musiro* (totem), which were regarded as quasi-sacred objects, such as beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects or vegetables, and which were considered as identified in some way or other with the original founders of the clan. The animal or plants chosen as totems varied in different tribes; some tribes practiced it systematically, whilst others seemed to have only faint traces of it. It was unlawful by custom for a native to kill or eat the totem of his clan; in other words, that particular thing was for that particular clan "taboo;" that is, something forbidden, something which they must not destroy or eat. On the other hand, they believed their totem gave them protection from evil, and that it was the visible representative of the invisible spirit or ancestor of the supernatural world.

### III. A-KIKUYU RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The important tribe called the A-Kikuyu dwell in the uplands of East Africa, 350 miles inland from the coast, about midway between the Indian Ocean and Lake Victoria. The people speak a Bantu dialect; they cultivate the soil to a large extent and are extremely superstitious.

They have an extraordinary confidence in the supernatural powers of their medicine-men, who, along with other occupations, practice the lucrative business of rainmaking. The tribe, which is numerous, was never ruled as a whole by one King, but by various chiefs, each one having independent sway in his own respective province. Though always suspicious of the European and never wholly trusting or loving him, they have submitted peacefully to British rule. So much did they object to white men entering their country in the beginning that the celebrated travelers, Count Teleki and Von Hohnel, as well as a previous traveler named Fischer, had to fight their way across it. They were, however, peaceful when our missionary party passed through their country in 1895. As the basis of their religious system the people hold four important beliefs, all of which enter closely into their daily lives:

First—Belief in God.

Second—Ancestral spirits.

Third—In sin and its transmission.

Fourth—Binding power of an oath.

1. *Belief in a Supreme Being.* The A-Kikuyu believe in the existence of one Supreme Being whom some call *Mulungu*, others *Engai*.

They say that God is the Author of all things; nothing can happen either of good or evil without at least His permission. But their idea of one God only is, unfortunately, limited to the one protecting themselves, not their neighbors. Until now, they say, there have really been two Gods—a black God, their own, and a white God, that of the Akamba and Masai; these two tribes, being their neighbors and invariably their enemies, were best known to them. Moreover, since the arrival of Europeans in the country, they have commenced to speak of a third God, that of the *Wasungu* or white men, whose God must, of course, be superior to the other two, seeing that the white men have conquered all the country. In the above notion of black and white Gods there is, no doubt, the germ of polytheism; but this comes most probably from the extremely selfish character of these people. They say that God does not live alone by Himself; that He has many children; that He is good, merciful and sends them the rain for their crops. He is to them an almost distinct personality and is supposed to dwell amidst the snows on the summit of Mount *Kilinyoga* (Kenya). They offer to Him numerous sacrifices, such as the first fruits of the harvest, but more especially sheep. With them the sacrifice to God is always public and solemn, and is usually made at the foot of a sacred tree. The object of this sacrifice is to beg for a blessing of a public or general character; for example, rain—during a time of drought—or cessation of an epidemic. It is offered exclusively by the elders of a district, although the women and children are sometimes allowed to take part in it. But private individuals may also offer private sacrifices to propitiate the ancestral spirits. As the A-Kikuyu people are not at all imaginative, one never hears them speak of any mythological monstrosities, nor does one see amongst them any vestiges of idols or fetishes, except indeed the wearing of a number of charms on their persons. In common with other tribes, they are never able to give a satisfactory answer as to the “why” and the “how” of their beliefs, although they do sometimes make an attempt to give an *a posteriori* reason. Should you ask a MuKikuyu man the question, “How do you know that God exists?” he will reply, “Because we have always known it,” and should you remind him that what he has said is no proof, he may do, as one did to a missionary on a certain occasion, when, taking hold of the latter’s hand, he examined the fingers, nails, joints and skin, and finished by asking, “And do you believe that He Who has made all does not exist?” To the further question why is it that there is one God for his tribe and another for his neighbor’s, he will reply, “Because there are days when it rains in the country of Masai and A-Kamba, whilst in our country we are suffering from drought. Besides that, whenever our warriors go to attack these tribes in their

territory, we get beaten, whereas when they come to our country we always defeat them, so that it is evident they have a God Who is not the same as ours." The A-Kikuyu being, as has been said, extremely selfish and very suspicious, their ungenerous nature could hardly allow them to share even a God with other people. They seem to know instinctively that there is a God and that He is the Master of life and death, since it is He Who gives or refuses the rain. In a country like Kikuyuland, where the people live on the products of the soil, the rain means life, while drought means death. The whole social problem for them is centred in how to obtain their food; and they believe that God alone is able to solve that problem and to answer their prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." For them the lofty snow-capped volcanic peak of Mount Kenya, with its ever-changing robe of mist and cloud, seems to be His most appropriate dwelling place. In regard to the origin of man, the A-Kikuyu say that in the beginning God created a boy and a girl who became the progenitors of the human race; that is to say, of themselves and the tribes living along their borders. Their present chief medicine-man can explain that this boy and girl had three sons. One became the ancestor of the A-Kikuyu and A-Kamba; the second, of the Masai, and the third, of the Doroba—a wild tribe of hunters who live in the forests. God, however, ordained that the A-Kikuyu and A-Kamba should cultivate the earth, hence both these tribes are agriculturists; to the Masai he gave the flocks and herds, and this tribe is pastoral; but to the Doroba nothing at all except to live by the chase. The Masai scattered themselves over the plains for the sake of the pasturage, and that this is why, he says, their language differs from the two former, who speak Bantu dialects.

2. *Ancestral Spirits.* The A-Kikuyu believe in the existence of spirits, or *ngoma*, as they call them. These spirits are, however, merely the souls of deceased members of their tribe, and they never speak of any others. As no fixed abode is assigned to them, they can wander about wherever they wish. Their nature may be partly inferred from the expressions used to describe them—*ruhuho*, meaning "wind," or *Keruru*, "shade." They attribute to them all their personal misfortunes, such as sickness, death, accidents. They offer to them numerous sacrifices, generally slaughtering a sheep or a goat, even sometimes an ox; but these sacrifices are as a rule private and propitiatory, though usually carried out in the middle of the village. All the members of the family, including all the little children, are bound to take part in the ceremony. This family sacrifice is not always propitiatory; it may be merely commemorative. In the latter case, as there is no domestic trouble in the family to be removed, their intention is to prove to the dead that they are not forgotten.

But this system of ancestral worship is found on examination to be almost identical with demon worship. For should a native be asked how does he know that death is not the end of all and that the dead become spirits, his first reply to the question will invariably be the same as that given for the existence of God—"Because we have always known it." Then to the further questions whether he has ever seen a spirit, and how does he know that they return to the village, he will relate the case of some man or woman who became possessed and fell down on the ground without sign of life. On being questioned, the spirit replied by the mouth of the possessed person, "I am such a one (naming a deceased member of the family); if you do not offer a sacrifice, I will kill this person in whom I am." Then they slaughter a beast, and after they have sprinkled some of the blood on the ground, the spirit departs, when the person returns to his or her normal state. In practice they make a wide distinction between the worship of God and the worship of ancestors. Their obligations towards the latter they scrupulously observe, because they believe the spirits can cause them all kinds of evils; but their duties toward God they practically neglect, except on special public occasions. They know nothing about either heaven or hell; it is the spirits, they say, who punish the wicked in this world, but not in all cases nor at all times, as they can be pacified by offerings. In general they easily overlook violations of the Decalogue, whilst on the other hand they are very severe in punishing breaches of their tribal customs, rites and observances.

3. *Sin and Its Transmission.* The people of this tribe have a peculiar notion about sin or wrongdoing. According to them, sin is the violation of any tribal law or custom whatever; but lying, stealing, killing and the like are not included in this definition. These latter, to their minds, are indifferent acts, regarded from the point of view of their consequences. They have separated the idea of sin from the idea of God because these two are contradictories. Hence they do not think they offend God when they rob from their neighbor; on the contrary, they imagine He assists them whenever they are successful; but they admit that they have done an injury to their neighbor from whom they have stolen. They distinguish in a sinful act three grades—(a) *mogiro*, the prohibition; (b) *noki*, the violation; (c) *sahu*, the punishment. Sin is therefore feared on account of the consequences which are sure to follow, such as sickness, death and other calamities, and these they call *sahu*. On this general idea of sin they have grafted two other complimentary notions, viz., that sin is transmissible and also remissible. For example, should the wife of a man become ill, her husband will suspect that his father-in-law has committed some sin and will at once start off to inquire

what he has done to cause his daughter's illness. Again, should a man or woman violate a tribal law before their marriage, then later on, in case one of their children falls sick, the sickness will be attributed to the act of the parent; that is, the child is regarded as undergoing the consequences of the sin of the guilty one. Hence they believe that sin is transmitted by generation. In all probability it is in consequence of this belief that they practice the rite of circumcision, which really depends or follows on their idea of sin. For since evil can be transmitted, as they say, by generation, it becomes all-important to purify the organs of generation, and this can only be done by the shedding of blood. With regard to the remission of sin, they believe that this can be obtained in two ways—either by a public avowal of the sin to a sorcerer, who expels it by a rite of which the principal part is the taking of a vomitive, or by a private confession to a friend. In this latter case the penitent considers that he will be free from punishment as long as the friend keeps silence about the matter, but no longer. For the sin of incest the culprit was considered deserving of death, but, having produced as a substitute a scapegoat, the animal was killed instead of himself, after which the culprit was allowed to go free.

The only reason they can give to account for their belief in sin and its effects is tradition; the belief has been handed down amongst them for generations; their forefathers believed in it and acted in the same way. But it is evident their idea of sin is absurd; it is contrary to good sense, to the actualities of everyday experience and to their own interests, since it demands from them the sacrificing of animals—their principal source of wealth—on all possible occasions. It is, moreover, utterly false, for sin—as they understand it—is not as they imagine the only cause of all their evils; neither is it transmitted nor remitted in the way they fancy. The truth is they do not understand the distinction between good and bad, between heaven and hell. For, seeing that they have detached the idea of God from the idea of morality, they cannot comprehend why a person should be rewarded for his good acts or punished for his bad ones.

4. *Binding Power of an Oath.* The people of this tribe have a strong belief in the binding force of an oath. The most solemn oath known to them is called *Kurunga-thengi*, and is imposed on them by the head chief only on special occasions when he wants them to fulfill certain obligations. The ceremony is usually performed by an old man, who must belong to a particular clan. On the appointed day and at a prearranged place the people assemble. The elder takes a male black and white goat and, having tied its four legs together, packs in between the legs and the body of the animal twigs cut from certain plants. As soon as the preparations are complete all the par-

ticipators in the oath move to the windward of the animal except the elder who conducts the ceremony, it being considered deadly to stand down wind while the performance is going on. The elder in question then takes a large stone and strikes the legs of the animal until they are broken, all the time calling out that any one who breaks the oath will have his legs broken in the same way. He then enumerates the obligations which it is essential they should discharge. He next proceeds to hammer the spine of the animal and finally the skull in the same manner, continually haranguing the assembly and threatening them with a similar fate if they break the oath by omitting to perform the duties he enumerates. When he has finished the assembled crowd marches off in a body chanting a song to a place about half a mile away, where another speckled goat has been slaughtered and the blood and contents of the stomach spread on the path. Each member of the party treads in this with his bare feet, and on all who do this the oath is considered binding under pain of death. The flesh of the two animals thus sacrificed is not eaten, but left in the bush to be devoured by hyenas.

It is certain that the practice of their religion is regarded as a necessary business by the A-Kikuyu, and of course such a people, such a religion. To explain the great problem of the existence of evil amongst them they have in their own way tried to give a solution. They are unable to give any satisfactory explanation of the truths known to us by Revelation and from the Bible. But one may sometimes find in their religious beliefs, though faint and indistinct, traces or at least resemblances of some of the great facts recorded in Genesis. The sin of Adam, for example, would be, in the opinion of these Africans, the violation of a veritable *tabu*, or thing forbidden. "If you eat of the fruit you shall die"—this is what they call *mogiro*. Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit; that is the violation—*noki*. Sin entered into the world by the disobedience of one man alone, and by sin the punishment of death followed—that is *sahu*. It may be said that should the A-Kikuyu ever all become Christians—and already a large number have embraced Christianity—their strong point will undoubtedly be dogmatic theology; when once converted to the true faith, they will most assuredly be staunch Christians; for even as heathens, their sacred tree, which may be seen in a conspicuous place, generally on the top of certain hills, appears to them as a perpetual reminder of the necessity and importance of religion.

#### IV. NANDI RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

About 100 miles farther inland than Kikuyuland there is the elevated region called the Nandi plateau, one of the most beautiful and



fertile districts in the whole of East Africa. The country, which has an altitude of from 7,000 to 8,000 feet above sea level, is hilly, well-watered by clear mountain streams and in places covered with dense forests. The tribe called "the Nandi" dwell on this plateau, except in certain parts which have in recent years been reserved by the Government for white settlers. I have traversed the country more than once, and during the five or six days which it took to cross through the territory of the tribe I found the natives friendly, though at one time considered, and rightly so, as most dangerous and treacherous. The climate is exceedingly temperate for a country situated on the Equator, whilst in point of natural beauty and wild, rugged scenery the country might be called the Switzerland of Africa. For although the plateau is cut by the Equator, the days are usually cool and cloudy when not wet or windy and the nights cold, sometimes down to freezing point. On the open grazing ground may be seen an abundance of wild clover; in the thickets, maidenhair fern, while evergreen shrubs are found everywhere in profusion. In 1896 a British military expedition was sent against this tribe, partly by way of punishment for crimes committed on passing European travelers and their men, and partly in order to bring this warlike tribe under subjection; but it was not until 1905, after three other expeditions had taken place, that the chiefs and warriors, after a crushing defeat by the British force, finally submitted to the administration.

The religion of the Nandi concerns itself chiefly with:

1. The worship of a Supreme Being.
2. The observance of certain commandments or tribal laws.
3. The practice of prayer and ancestral worship.
4. Belief in the existence of a devil and certain thunder gods.

1. *Worship a Supreme Being.* The Supreme Being is called *Asista*—a word composed of the noun *Asis* and the article *ta* (lit. "the God"). They believe that He dwells in the sky, that He created man and beast and that all the world belongs to Him. It may be observed that the same word *Asista* is also applied to the sun, but the language used in addressing *Asista* has little reference to Him as a "Sun-God." Men are supposed to pray to Him every morning and evening, and additional supplications are addressed on special occasions, such as when the warriors are away on a raid, after saving the harvest, or in time of cattle disease and drought. These prayers are mostly simple requests in the form of "God (*Asis*) give us health, offspring, cattle, milk, etc." "God (*Asis*) guard our children and cattle." They certainly imply that, however vague the personality of *Asis* may be, He takes a benevolent interest in the daily life of the Nandi. His name is invoked by young and old, and al-

ways with reverence. In acknowledgment of His power and as the Giver of all good things, offerings are at times made to Him. Every time a cow is milked or a beast bled, a few drops of milk from each teat or a few drops of blood are allowed to fall on the ground as an offering to *Asista* and the spirits of their ancestors.

2. *Tribal Laws and Commandments.* The Nandi have numerous tribal laws and regulations which are noticeable as showing how far their native customs and beliefs correspond with Christian ideas. Some of these laws are here given, and they are stated chiefly on the authority of investigators who are intimately acquainted with the customs of this tribe and on the personal experience of the present writer. Incidentally these laws show their belief in a Supreme Power capable of punishing any infraction of their moral code. There are no doubt many objectionable features to be found in the customs of these people as amongst other tribes, but if anything good can be said of them, it seems only just to say it, especially when true. The wonder is that one finds amongst them laws so wise and severe in their way, for it must be remembered we are dealing with a tribe that until a few years ago had absolutely no intercourse with the outside world. For convenience sake the writer has followed the order of the Ten Commandments:

1. The Nandi worship a Supreme Being named *Asista*.
2. They invoke His Name with reverence on all occasions.
3. No work is performed by them for twenty-four hours after an earthquake, hailstorm or death in the family.
4. Parents, elders and the maternal uncle are held in high respect, and young people may not look their elders in the face when they meet them. This has nothing to do with the evil eye, but is considered disrespectful. Old people say they can always tell when a person has committed a crime by the look in his face. The most terrible thing that can happen to a Nandi boy is to be cursed by his parents or maternal uncle. Children are taught by their mothers to respect and obey their fathers. On the death of a married man, his widows, children and relatives mourn for him sometimes for months.
5. For the crimes of murder of a relative or homicide, the murderer, if caught soon, was clubbed to death and several of his cattle slaughtered. If not caught soon, he was fined blood money; the price for a man's life was five cows, five bulls and thirty goats; for a woman's or child's, five cows, four bulls and fifteen goats. If a Nandi killed a member of his own clan, he was regarded as unclean for the rest of his life.
6. For adultery, incest, intercourse with a stepmother, cousin or other near relative, the man was flogged, his house and crops destroyed and his stock confiscated.

7. Theft from a member of the tribe is looked upon as a mean and contemptible crime, and the thief was severely dealt with. If a man was caught stealing, or if a theft was brought home to him, he was beaten and fined four times the value of the stolen property. The fine had to be paid by his relatives in case the man himself was too poor. If caught a second time, he was tortured; if a third time, he was killed and his goats and cattle slaughtered. If a woman stole, she was severely beaten the first time; on the second occasion she was tied up and thrashed with stinging nettles, her face and body being in a pitiable state before she was released. The same treatment was meted out to children guilty of theft.

8. In case a person is accused of having committed any crime except theft, he may demand a trial by ordeal. He searches for a human skull, which he takes to the house of the accuser and deposits it at his door, saying at the same time: "If I have done this thing, may this head eat me; if I have not done it, may it eat thee." If the accused is guilty, it is believed that he will surely die within a few days; but if he is innocent, his accuser will die. In the event of a man being falsely accused of theft, he will take a handful of grass, and whilst holding it at one end himself, will offer the other end and a knife to his accuser. Should the latter accept the challenge and cut the grass, which is regarded as sacred, it is believed that he will die if the accused is innocent. But if he does not die, the accused is considered guilty and punished accordingly.

9. As polygamy is allowed, a man may have as many wives as he can purchase and support. He has in the first instance to pay a certain number of cattle and sheep to the parents of the girl. Each wife has her own house, and with her children attends to a portion of her husband's property, both live stock and plantations. The first wife is always the chief wife and her eldest son is considered the eldest son of the family, even though one of the other wives bears a son first. A man may divorce a wife for certain reasons, though amongst the Masai tribe divorce seems to be unknown, but he cannot claim back the marriage portion unless he can find somebody else to marry her. A wife who has had a child cannot be divorced, though the husband and wife may live separated. When a man beats his wife, it is usual for the woman to take shelter with a member of her husband's clan, who is expected to act as intermediary and restore peace. If a man frequently ill-treats his wife, he is cursed by the members of his own clan. A married woman who has done wrong and expects to incur her husband's anger, generally goes to her father and begs an ox, which she takes to her husband as a peace offering.

10. Nobody dares to steal anything from a blacksmith, though

his forge is always left quite open, as the owner of the stolen article will heat his furnace and whilst blowing the bellows will curse the thief, who, it is believed, will surely die. Nor does any one steal from a potter, as the women who make the pottery will curse the thief the next time they heat their wares. The laws regarding the inheritance of property by the children and wives of a man are strictly observed, as also the inheritance by daughters of their mothers' ornaments and household utensils. Individual or family ownership in land is recognized. There is no penalty for assaults, even though the injured person loses an eye or a limb; but while he is suffering from the effects of the injury, the man who assaulted him has to slaughter animals occasionally to provide him with food. Should the person eventually die from the effects of the wound, it is regarded as murder and the usual fine of cattle has to be paid in full, notwithstanding the fact that a dozen bullocks may have been slaughtered during the person's illness.

3. *Worship of Ancestors.* The Nandi belief in the existence of ancestral spirits, called *Oïk*, is very strong. The spirits of departed ancestors and adult relations are held to be responsible for sickness and death; they are appealed to for protection and propitiated by offerings of milk, beer and food from time to time. The human soul is embodied in a person's shadow, and when adults die it survives, though the souls of children are believed to perish entirely. The *Oïk*, or spirits of the departed, are supposed to live under the earth and are rich or poor in their spirit-world in proportion as they were so in their human existence. Those of them who had great possessions on earth are equally blessed when they die, while the spirits of poor people have as hard a time of it after death as they had during life. The Nandi tell the story of a man who went to the country of the dead, but was sent back because he had arrived before his time. They say that years ago a young man fell into a river and was drowned, after which his soul went to the land where the spirits dwell. When he opened his eyes he found himself in a strange country where there were hills, streams, plantations and oxen, just as on earth. The spirits of his ancestors came to him and said: "Young man, your time has not yet come when you should join us. You are still far too poor. Go back to the earth and get cattle." Upon that they struck the ground and the man regained consciousness to wake up near the place where he had fallen into the river.

But the spirits of their ancestors cannot be wholly malevolent, for they are invoked to protect children and absent warriors. In their commonest form of prayer, which is supposed to be said by the old men daily, after addressing *Asista*, they continue: "Our spirits

(*oik-chok*) guard us; you died (naturally); do not say you were killed; protect us who are here above." As the spirits are supposed to be below, it is evidently implied that the spirit of a murdered man would be malignant and revengeful. Another prayer, accompanied by libations of beer poured on the ground, runs: "Our spirits, we have prayed to you; look at this beer; give us health." Still more definite is the offering of beer and corn to a spirit who is supposed to have caused sickness in a family. Should a woman be ill, the brother of the invalid takes some grain, beer and milk, which he sprinkles between the bed and the door and also throws some outside the house, saying to the spirit responsible for the illness: "Go away, so and so; look at this beer and grain! Beer and grain we have poured and sprinkled on thee; enjoy them as thou goest!" The ceremony is concluded by those present taking a handful of *eleusine* grain and throwing it away for the benefit of the angry spirit. Should any fall in the fire and crackle, it is regarded as a good sign.

4. *Thunder Gods*. Besides *Asista* the Nandi say there are two other superhuman beings—the one the kindly thunder god, which they love, heard when the thunder rumbles in the distance; the other the wicked thunder god, heard when it crashes high overhead and which they fear. The thunder gods are not worshipped nor are any offerings made to them. The loud crashing of the thunder overhead is said to be the bad god (*ilet-neya*) trying to come on earth through the dominions of the good god to kill people, whilst the gentle rumbling is the good thunder god (*ilet-nemie*), who is protecting them and driving away the other. Forked and sheet lightning are considered to be the swords of the bad and good thunder gods, respectively. Whenever forked lightning is seen, the people look on the ground, as it is thought wrong that they should witness the work of destruction which God (*Asista*) is allowing to take place. They believe also in the existence of a devil<sup>2</sup> called *Chemosit*, a wicked spirit who is supposed to live on the earth and to prowl around in the dark, searching for people to devour, especially children. He is said to be half man, half bird, to have only one leg and a red mouth, which shines at night like a lamp. He hobbles along by means of a stick resembling a spear, and which he uses as a crutch. His method of catching children is to sing at nighttime near where they are living, and the children, seeing the light and hearing the song, think that a dance is being held, and should they go to it, are lured to their destruction. It is very probable that it is their wily medicine-man himself or one of his emissaries who assumes the character of *Chemosit* during these nocturnal perambulations.

<sup>2</sup> The Baganda name for devil is "musota" (snake); the Christians say "masitani" (Satan); the Kikuyu, "ngoma" (spirit), and the Masai "Ol-manani" (demon).

## V. MASAI RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

Of all the tribes in East Africa the one called the Masai is perhaps the most important as well as the best known. At least it was the one most dreaded formerly, for long before the establishment of a British protectorate in the country, alarming news about the fierceness of the Masai warriors armed with six-foot spears and oval leathern shields, had reached Europe. Until a few years ago the tribe occupied the whole of the grazing ground in the Great Rift Valley, extending from Lake Baringo on the north to south of Mount Kilimanjaro, in German territory.

They are a pastoral people, except a small section, possessing, it is estimated, about 100,000 head of cattle and over 2,000,000 of sheep; but they are no longer nomadic, as the exigencies of the colonization of the country by white settlers necessitated the placing of the Masai in reserves. In former years the tribe kept up a standing army of warriors, ready at a moment's notice to defend their flocks and homes; and even still they preserve their military organization to some extent, whilst at the same time loyally observing the treaty entered into with the British administration when they agreed to withdraw from their extensive grazing grounds.

It is the opinion of most ethnologists who have touched on the subject that the Masai represent an early mixture of the Nilotic Negro and some Hamitic tribe of Northeast Africa. That the tribe drifted down from the direction of Abyssinia or Galaland is fairly well established, but there is nothing to show when the movement southward took place. It is admitted that they have been for a considerable period in the district known as Massailand. They have lost, however, all remembrance of their origin, except what is contained in their legends and folklore. Some writers regard the Masai as belonging to the same stock as the Hebrews and quote a number of their traditions respecting the creation of the world and the deluge which have a slight resemblance to the Biblical versions of these events. As many of both sexes have, it is true, a strikingly Hebrew cast of features, it would lead one to infer that the Masai, coming originally from the northeast of the Continent of Africa and possibly at one time in touch with tribes influenced by ancient Arabia or Palestine, may represent not only an improvement of the primeval African stock, but a debasement of some Asian race.

In common with the Nandi and a few other surrounding heathen tribes, the rite of circumcision is practiced amongst them. This ceremony, which takes place about every seven and a half years for the youths of the country, is regarded as the transition stage from boyhood to manhood, and there is little doubt but that it has also a

religious signification. The male members of the tribe are divided into boys, warriors and married men, named, respectively, in the singular, *lyoni*, *murani* and *moruo*. They are further divided into what are called "ages;" that is, all those who are circumcised the same year are said to belong to a certain "age" or period (of eight years), and this fact constitutes amongst them a sort of brotherhood. Great importance is attached to the circumcision ceremony, which all boys have to undergo when they are between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, but it may sometimes be delayed later should the youth's family be poor and unable to afford the necessary present of a goat to the operator and an ox for the feast. After circumcision a Masai youth becomes a warrior and remains so until he retires, about the age of thirty-two, when he marries. As a rule the warriors do not live in the villages of the married people, but in temporary kraals of their own with the cattle. Their diet consists almost exclusively of meat, milk and blood; whilst they remain warriors they are forbidden the use of tobacco, fish, eggs, fowl or intoxicating drink. On certain solemn occasions milk is poured on the ground by way of libation and grass is held in the hand when praying, these two articles being regarded as quasi-sacred, or at least as the two most precious gifts of God; hence the warriors say they must not till the soil, as it would be killing the grass, nor boil the milk, as it would be displeasing to their god *Engai* and a kind of desecration.

The Masai have a strong belief—(1) in the existence of a Supreme Being and pray<sup>3</sup> to Him frequently; (2) in a black and a red god; (3) in the immortality of the souls of their chiefs; (4) in the supernatural powers of their wizards.

1. *Pray to a Supreme Being.* Like nearly all other East African tribes, however, their religious ideas are vague and little has been developed amongst them in the way of religious cultus or mythology. The usual name used by them to designate God is *Engai*—a word composed of the feminine singular article *Eng* and the substantive *ai*. The name *Engai* (God) is applied to a Being whose power is far beyond those of their minor deities or ancestral spirits, and Who is regarded as their great Benefactor because He sends the rain to make the grass to grow which feeds their cattle. It is used by them in a definite sense to mean a Being associated with the heavens above Who hears their prayers and is able to grant their petitions. It is also used impersonally to describe the operations of nature, such as raincloud, thunderstorm, volcanic eruption. In this secondary sense the meaning seems to be rather that the phenomena observed is the work or production of *Engai* (God) than that it is

<sup>3</sup> See "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," March, 1912—article on "African Native Prayers."

*Engai* Himself, as He is able to produce results not attainable through inferior spiritual agencies. As a rule the people mention the name *Engai* only on solemn or ceremonial occasions, and then with the greatest respect and reverence.

2. *A Black and a Red God.* Another belief of the Masai is that there are two gods—a black one and a red one, the former being good and the latter malevolent. The spiritual function of the black god (*Engai narok*), who is kind and benevolent, is to send rain in order that the grass may grow to feed their flocks, while the red god (*Engai nanyokye*) endeavors to prevent the rain to kill them. These two gods correspond in their respective offices with the two thunder-gods mentioned in Nandi mythology. So when they see the forked lightning and hear the thunder high up in the heavens, they believe it is the red god who is trying to come to the earth through the black god's dominions to kill human beings; but when they hear the gentle rumbling, they say it is the voice of the black god, who is saying, "Leave the people alone; do not kill them." On this account the black god is loved, as he dwells near them in the dark cloud from which he sends the rain, whilst the red god, represented by the forked lightning, is greatly feared. This belief of theirs that the good god is close at hand and watches over them, whilst the bad god is far away, which is probably no accidental idea, but due to the fundamental characteristics of the Masai mind, has doubtless saved untold suffering, for it does away at once with the necessity for offering human sacrifices and all similar methods of propitiating cruel, unseen spirits, as was done formerly in Uganda, Dahomy and other places.

Besides the black and red gods, the Masai hold in veneration a certain quasi-divine personage named *Naiteru-kop*. He is apparently a kind of deified man and is supposed to dwell amidst the snow on Mount Kilimanjaro. His power is by no means as great as *Engai*, and although regarded as their Adam, he is not the creator, but merely the arranger of the present order of things in the world. *Naiteru-kop* is said to have obtained by some means a child, whom he called *Le-eyo*. This child when he grew up to be a man had two sons, the younger of which became the founder of the Masai tribe, whilst the elder, having lost his birthright—like the eldest son of Isaac—became the ancestor of the other inferior tribes. It was, they say, through an act of disobedience on the part of *Le-eyo* that death first entered into the world.

3. *Souls of Chiefs Immortal.* With regard to a future existence, the Masai believe that the souls of great chiefs, like the great chief Mbatian, go to some happy grazing ground after death and burial; that the souls of minor chiefs and medicine-men turn into snakes,



whilst the souls of ordinary people cease to exist as soon as the bodies are eaten up by the hyenas. It is believed that all is over with these poor people when they die, as with cattle, and that their souls do not come to life again. But when a rich person or wizard dies and is buried, his soul is turned into a snake as soon as his body rots and that the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. In consequence of this belief the Masai do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to drink, after which it will go away. It is thought that some of their more notable ancestors also return to the earth in the shape of snakes, either as pythons or cobras. The tribal snake of the Masai must be black, because they are black themselves. They imagine that light-colored snakes look after the welfare of white men.

4. *Sacred Objects.* They do not appear to have, to any great extent, belief in witchcraft, which causes so much crime and unhappiness amongst other tribes. Their *Laibons* (wizards) do not profess to detect witches like those of the A-Kamba and A-Kikuyu tribes; they are rather diviners who foretell the future by such methods as casting pebbles, inspecting entrails, interpreting dreams and prophesying while under the influence of intoxicants. They can also, according to popular stories, perform miracles, such as changing fruit into children, bringing on rain and similar performances. No one can give any explanation of their power; they are able to do such things simply and solely because they are medicine-men. The people say there are no such things as ghosts, because they do not see them, but cattle, when they all gaze towards the same spot, are supposed to be looking at some spirit invisible to human eyes.

The Masai hold in respect certain trees, and, as has been observed, regard grass as a sacred symbol. When wishing to make peace with an enemy or to appease the hostility of man or god, they pluck tufts of grass, which they hold in their hands while praying, or, in default of grass, green leaves. The trees they particularly reverence are the *subugo*, the bark of which has medicinal properties, and the *retete*, a species of parasitic fig somewhat resembling mistletoe. As with the Nandi, milk also is held by them in high esteem, for whenever Masai women milk their cows they take some milk from the gourd and pour it on the ground, saying, "God likes this."

But it is because they believe grass is the gift of *Engai* (God) that they love it so much. They say, "God gave us cattle and grass; we do not separate the things which God has given us." Not only is grass regarded as a sacred symbol when praying to God, but also

when making peace, whether privately or publicly. Should a man with grass in his hand ask forgiveness of another and his request be not granted, it is said of the man who refuses to listen to the prayer that he is merely a wild savage who knows no better. After a war, when the Masai made peace with other people, the warriors took two important elders—a cow which had a calf and a woman who had a baby—to the place of meeting; the enemy did the same. They then met together, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchanged the cattle; the enemy's child was suckled at the breast of the Masai woman and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy. When the proceedings were over they all returned to their homes, knowing that a solemn peace had been entered into by both parties. Hence grass occupies a prominent place in the Masai category of things sacred to *Engai*; it is often placed for good luck between the forked branches of trees along the road when a party of warriors proceed on an expedition, and it is always thrown after the warriors by their mothers and sisters wishing them a safe return.

#### VI. CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing necessarily curtailed sketch of some African religious beliefs the writer's object has been to give some idea, however inadequate, of the various forms of these beliefs as found amongst heathen tribes, and at the same time endeavor to show that deep in the heart of the untutored African there is the most important one of all—belief in a Supreme Being. It is evident that this belief in most cases has been almost destroyed by tribal superstitions and by the pernicious practices of crafty wizards who seem to have attained their power in comparatively recent times. Most African tribes can trace back the sway of their medicine-men only for the last six or seven generations. The view that there has been a corruption of revealed truths by heathen races seems highly probable. "In the beginning was God"—one only—but heathen nations, in their ignorance, like the Greeks and Romans, multiplied the number *ad libitum*. How far the Negro race was influenced—if at all—by the Israelites, the chosen people of God, or by anything contained in the Mosaic Law, it is difficult to say. Whatever may be the present religious ideas of the tribes we have been considering, at any rate their primitive religion was not polytheism. Hence the only rational account of the Africans' religious knowledge is that which has as its guiding principle the truth that religious beliefs were first set in motion by communications from God to man. The two great truths, viz., the original unity of the human race—as recorded in the Bible and proved by the comparative study of languages

—and the original unity of belief in one Divine Being—founded on revelation made to the ancestors of the human race—are corroborated even by the lowest type of African native. And the lowest type of native in an African forest is immeasurably above the highest type of baboon, all the arguments of Darwin and followers to the contrary notwithstanding.

We read in the Book of Genesis that the human family was originally one; that its members lived together for a considerable time, using a common language and having common occupations; that there was a deluge, in which all perished except one family, and that this family was the noblest and purest of the human race. Now the members of the family which survived the catastrophe were not savages nor barbarians. They inherited all the accomplishments of the most cultured portion of the human race during that long period which intervened between the Creation and the Deluge—a period during which we are told considerable progress had been made in arts essential to civilization. They alone knew all that was then known on earth about the Creator. All ancient traditions concur in the Biblical statement that this family separated not very long after the Deluge. Ethnologists admit after this separation the most striking characteristics of three great races became distinctly marked in the earliest extant documents. Leaving aside two of these races, we may reasonably suppose that after their separation the great fundamental truth—belief in the existence of the Creator and Ruler of the universe, which the events connected with the Deluge must have firmly fixed in their minds—was handed down also by Cham, the son of Noah, to his descendants, including the Negro race. Other truths were handed down as well, most of them to be overlaid in process of time by tribal customs and false superstitions, until now barely a trace remains of them.

Still one is glad to discover even a trace of religious belief amongst heathen tribes, warring with one another for so many ages, cut off from all sources of light and dwelling so long in utter ignorance of mind and darkness of soul. With them it has certainly been a case of the survival of the strongest as well as the fittest. Living, as most of them did, according to the patriarchal system of government, it was fortunate that many of their great chiefs formulated wise laws based on the belief that a Supreme Being existed and watched over them—laws existing to this day and which have helped to preserve from extinction the tribes that observed them. In all charity and sincerity we may express the earnest hope that a long-suffering and a long-neglected race of people like those we have been describing, possessing as they do many admirable qualities, may be afforded in the near future a full, if tardy, opportunity of embracing Chris-

tianity; for assuredly the dusky tribes in Equatorial Africa are also included in the loving words of our Divine Lord: "Other sheep I have that are not of this fold; them also must I bring; and they shall hear My voice, and there shall be one fold and one Shepherd." (St. John x., 16.)

LUKE L. PLUNKETT, S. S. J.

Pass Christian, Miss.

## Book Reviews

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**THE CATHOLIC'S READY ANSWER.** A Popular Vindication of Christian Beliefs and Practices Against the Attacks of Modern Criticism. By *Rev. M. P. Hill, S. J.* 8vo., cloth, net, \$2. New York: Benziger Brothers.

While there are many books in existence that answer questions asked by those seeking information concerning Catholic matters, and many sources on which the earnest inquirer after truth may draw, the book before us has a peculiar value and interest that make it stand out as worthy of special attention. Other similar books are generally courses of instruction in a formal sense, or are special treatises, but this book is compiled especially to furnish ready answers to those questions or objections that come up at this time, and in this country, and that cannot be answered readily, except by an educated man, or by one who has an extensive library with the time and ability to use it.

The history of the book will make its purpose and value clearer.

"It is not many years since Father F. X. Brors, of the German province of the Society of Jesus, sent forth to the world a small volume entitled 'Modernes A B C' (Modern A B C), of which the scope and to a great extent the contents were identical with those of the work which we now present to the English-speaking public. Written in German and intended to meet the controversial needs of the author's own countrymen, the little book soon justified its appearance in the field of polemics—at least, if we may so judge by its great popularity. German Catholics of average education found in the 'Modernes A B C' an arsenal from which they could draw defensive weapons which were not less effective than easily handled. The number and the variety of the subjects treated and the ability with which they were discussed enabled the reader to give apt replies to all manner of objections brought against revealed religion and the teachings of the Church."

"Recognizing the merit of the work, we very readily accepted the invitation to reproduce it in the vernacular. The mere translation was accomplished in a comparatively short space of time; and if we could have been satisfied with a bare rendering of the original into English, 'The Catholic's Ready Answer' would have seen the light of day long before the present date; but as we proceeded with the translation, we became more and more convinced that the new version, to meet the requirements of polemics in English-speaking countries, must diverge in some respects from the original. The need of much adaptation, of not a few omissions, and of a considerable number of additions seemed imperative."

"There was one peculiarity of the work which was quite distinctive

of it and to which it doubtless owed much of its success, but which, nevertheless, we thought might be a drawback in regard to one class of readers whom we were anxious to reach. In the treatment of important subjects, such as the Eucharist, Miracles and Socialism, the subject-matter was in each case broken up, distributed under a number of distinct captions and dispatched in short articles, which were crisp and to the point and served to equip the reader with ready answers, especially useful in an emergency. Very much of this character we have indeed sought to preserve in the work we have now sent to the press; but in order to meet the wants of sincere inquirers after the truth, who are very numerous in English-speaking countries, and who would probably prefer a more full, thorough and continuous discussion of the more important subjects, we have thought it advisable in some cases to unite the *disjecta membra* of the original in articles of exceptional length. In the place of the subordinate topics thus left untreated separately, cross-references, aided by the index at the end of the volume, will point them out to the reader in the logical position they occupy in the longer articles. This method we have adopted the more readily as we have desired to make the work serve the purpose of a treatise, brief but fairly complete, on the evidences of religion."

"Finally, notwithstanding the general comprehensiveness of the original, it left untouched a certain number of subjects, e. g., Christian Science, Pragmatism, Theosophy, which of late years have arrested the attention of the Christian apologist. Articles on these subjects we have thought it our duty to supply."

"In the pursuit of these aims we have not been unaware that our book has been gradually assuming the character of a new work instead of being simply an English version of the old one. If this has been, in some sense, inevitable, and if it compasses the object we have had in view, our act of contrition for having tampered with the able work of a skilled controversialist will perhaps be somewhat qualified."

"Both in the original and in the English adaptation the work, though chiefly polemical in its scope, does not strictly confine itself to controversy, but endeavors to inculcate right notions of individual duty, especially as bearing on situations in which conscientious persons often find themselves in the very complex life of the present age. This is particularly the case in the articles on Mixed Marriages, Divorces, Labor Unions and Education, which we trust will be helpful to those whose principles are in danger of being warped under the influence of their environment."

The book should receive a warm welcome. How often do we

hear the question asked, Where can I get an answer to that objection? How often the priest is puzzled for the moment when some modern objection is placed before him which he is expected to answer promptly? Of course, he can get the answer, but sometimes it means a patient search through one or more volumes, or perhaps a previous search for the book from which the answer is to be culled. "The Catholic's Ready Answer" is intended to meet this difficulty for both priest and layman. It will be of service to both, and should be in the hands of Protestant as well as Catholic.

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THE PRIESTHOOD AND SACRIFICE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. By *Rev. J. Grimal, S. M.* Adapted by the author from the third French edition. Translated by Rev. M. J. Keyes, S. M. 12mo, cloth, 400 pages; net, \$1.75. Philadelphia: John J. McVey.

The object of this book is set forth most eloquently by this quotation from P. Quesnal's Preface to Father Condren's work on "The Idea of the Priesthood and the Sacrifice:" "The masterpiece of God is Jesus Christ, and the masterpiece of Jesus is His Church and His religion. But that which is greatest, most holy and most august in Jesus Christ, in His Church and in the Christian religion is His priesthood and His sacrifice. His priesthood is the object of His Incarnation, as His Incarnation is the source of His priesthood. The Son of God is made man only to be the Priest of His Father, the Pontiff of the true religion; and He is a priest, as St. Paul teaches, only because He is the Son of God. But the end of the priesthood of the Son of God being His sacrifice, from this it follows that the science of the Christian religion consists in the true knowledge of the Incarnation, the priesthood and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ." Starting with this quotation the author continues:

"The whole religious history of the human race, its entire religious life, on earth and in heaven, is centred in the infinite sacrifice offered up by the eternal Pontiff. The Cross is foreshadowed in ancient worship; the Cross is the foundation of Christianity, to which, especially through the Blessed Eucharist, it gives light and life; heaven itself is but the glorious consummation of the Cross.

"To cover so vast a subject this study is divided into four parts:

"1. Preparation: Jesus, Priest and Victim, is prefigured and foretold by the ancient priesthood and sacrifice.

"2. Realization: Jesus, constituted a priest preëminently by the Incarnation itself, offers the infinite sacrifice on the altar of the Cross.

"3. Heavenly Consummation: Jesus, the eternal Pontiff, enters heaven as the true Saint of saints, there to bring to its perfection

and consummation the unique sacrifice of the Cross. This He does by opening heaven to the elect, who now through His death possess the promises of the New Testament; but above all, by eternally offering to the Father the homage of His holy humanity, united with the homage of the Blessed, His mystical body, in that state of glory which is the necessary confirmation and consequence of the efficacy of the Cross.

"4. The Eucharistic Continuation: In the Blessed Eucharist, Jesus, the High Priest, renews to the very end of time the oblation of the Cross. His aim in this is to constitute for His Church a perfect sacrifice, in which she may offer herself through Him and with Him; and to hold forth to Christians a means of being united with the Victim, who conducts them to the heavenly consummation by incorporating them with His death."

To the objection that the "Preparation" might better form an introduction and the "Consummation" an appendix, the author says:

"To go directly to the feet of our Pontiff and to prostrate ourselves there in contemplation of His sacred ministry both on the Cross and on the Eucharistic altar—this we could certainly have done. The central point of our study, that on which Revelation has thrown the most light and from which can be drawn the most practical conclusions, is the priesthood of Jesus Himself as He offers the infinite oblation on the Cross and renews it by the ministry of His priests to the end of time. But to treat the "Preparation" and "Consummation" summarily by way of introduction or appendix would seem to us to lessen the greatness of the dogma of Christ's eternal priesthood and infinitely efficacious sacrifice. The Sanctuary of our Pontiff is disclosed to us in all its beauty and true glory only when we approach it, as if by a majestic portico, through the religious life of ages past, and then behold above the altar of the Cross the eternal adoration in heaven like a dome of glory crowning all.

"Without Bernini's Colonnade and Michael Angelo's Cupola could St. Peter's be called "the only work of man which has something in it of the grandeur of the works of God?" Those long rows of columns, opening like gigantic arms to embrace the world, make a worthy approach to the Temple of the Catholic Jerusalem. The dome, colossal and light, while it strengthens, at the same time relieves the mighty structure; and it throws through the vast naves, on the polished marble and rich gold of altars and vaults, a special resplendence, bringing to mind the Living Light which illumines the Sanctuary of heaven. And just as columns and dome and nave and altar must not be viewed alone, but as parts which go to make up the beauty of man's masterpiece, so also the dogma of Christ's



priesthood and sacrifice, God's own masterpiece, must be seen in that harmonious and splendid entirety, which embraces the centuries of religious life upon earth and the eternity of adoration in heaven.

"Our purpose is not so much to prove the dogma of the priesthood as to cause it to be dwelt upon, so that from its consideration there may be drawn vital conclusions concerning our greatness, our obligations and our strength as priests. These pages were sketched in the first place by a professor for his students. He wished to help seminarians and young priests to prepare better for ordination or to understand more clearly their priesthood and sacrifice. The work has still the same character, still the same destination. It is only a treatise of dogmatic theology developed with a view to piety.

"First of all, the Epistle to the Hebrews shows us, in the *Second Part*, how Christ was constituted the supreme Pontiff of the Christian religion by His Incarnation itself. After this we dwell on our priesthood, the very priesthood of Jesus, which makes us other Christs, and we proceed to trace Mary's part in the foundation and exercise of our calling. Having proved against Liberal criticism that the idea of a sacrificial death is a real part of the message of Jesus, we devoutly contemplate Jesus as Priest and Victim in the great act of sacrifice, and we learn to follow Him in a priestly Way of the Cross. In the *Fourth Part* especially, the dogmatic thesis will be interspersed with practical applications on Mass and Communion, on preaching the Eucharist, on our own personal faith in that Living Bread, and lastly on our death, our final sacrifice."

This is a very strong book: it moves, it draws, it holds the reader, and it should convince and transform him. It is not negative—it is positive. It is not possible to take it up and lay it down without coming nearer to God, or going further from Him.

**PRAGMATISM AND THE PROBLEM OF THE IDEA.** By the Rev. John T. Driscoll, S. T. L., author of *Christian Philosophy, The Soul and Christian Philosophy, God, etc.* 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

"The present volume is the result of studies carried on for some years in an endeavor to show that the most recent Theory of Philosophy known as Pragmatism rests upon an erroneous philosophical basis.

That the groundwork of Pragmatism is a false conception of the idea was fully illustrated by the author in a course of lectures delivered at the Catholic Summer School of America during the session of 1902. This course is summed up in the chapter of the present work entitled *Absolute Pragmatism*. A critical analysis of the works published by the leading exponents of Pragmatism has fully confirmed the judgment of the writer.

"The plausibility of the arguments advanced, and the fact that in the last analysis God, in the Christian sense of the term, is excluded from human thought and life, make their theory especially dangerous.

"The proof that Pragmatism is fundamentally false is based on data taken from the writings of Professor Royce and the late Professor James, of Harvard; Professor Dewey, of Columbia; Professor Schiller, of Oxford, and Professor Bergson, of the College of France, who are recognized as the leaders of the new philosophy."

That Pragmatism is worthy of notice is clear from this list of leaders of the New Philosophy or Philosophical Tendency. Any system or quasi-system of philosophy which has been accepted and is being taught in leading universities demands the serious attention of thinking men. If it is true, it should be accepted; if it is false, it must be rejected; it cannot be a matter of indifference. As the author says: "The teachings of Professor James and of Professor Bergson are not confined to the classroom. They are read and discussed in business, professional and social circles. The nature of this influence is materialistic and sensual. Their writings are in harmony with a certain trend of modern life, and consequently seem to furnish a philosophical basis for and a justification of this trend."

"In the business and professional world to-day the ruling principle is success. To obtain results is the great purpose and aim. By results is understood material gain. Professor James and Professor Bergson present a Psychology and a World-Theory conformable to this frame of mind. This Psychology and World-Theory are really based on the principle that 'the end justifies the means.' The means employed are not judged with reference to a principle of right and wrong. They are considered to be true and good if useful or expedient to the purpose in view. Hence the truth or goodness of an action or of conduct is gauged by success alone, and this success is personal and always of a practical kind.

"In making the morality of action or conduct depend on material or practical success, the very notion of morality is destroyed, for there is one fact absolutely certain in human life—that there is a moral law of right and wrong based on the very nature of things.

"Moreover, in teaching that practical success is the only test of what is true and good, Pragmatism advocates a principle which leads to most disastrous consequences in individual, social and political life. It professedly proclaims that might is superior to right; that trickery and dishonesty are superior to uprightness and truth. The thoughtful reader is appalled at the results which would follow from the rigid application of such doctrines. Law and order would no longer exist. Personal and public conscience would be-

come words with no meaning and the practical man would rule them out of his vocabulary. Civilization would be shaken to its very foundations, for our civilization is based on the Christian moral law."

These quotations will give the reader some idea of the false foundation on which the system is built and the manner in which the author treats it. Those who are acquainted with Father Driscoll's philosophical writings need no assurance that he is at all times a safe guide in this very dangerous field.

**THE PERSONALITY OF CHRIST.** By *Dom Ansoar Vonier, O. S. B.*, Abbot of Buckfast. 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author thus explains his purpose:

"The four Gospels are the books most written about and most commented on in our own days. No age has produced anything superior, in finished scholarship, to the Gospel literature of our times. Even those exegetes from whom the fullness of the Christian faith is not to be expected are mostly reverent and often exhibit learning of the highest quality. Indeed, the modern system of 'meditation,' on the other hand, as an integral part of spiritual and ascetical life, has produced an endless variety of books in which Christ's Life is set forth in a way that ought to be most efficacious in making us understand the Gospels, as they are ransacked by the writers of 'Meditations' in order to compel us to more intimate love for and more close imitation of Christ. Some of those productions are really superior studies of the wonderful character of Christ, and they give us what mere exegetical learning could never give—an insight into Christ's intimate Life. The present work is neither exegetical, nor apologetical, nor devotional, but strictly theological. Catholic Christology has received less attention from the public, though our own days have seen the production of some first-rate treatises *de Verbo Incarnato* by professional theologians. Yet we cannot entirely neglect the theological view of Christ without grave dangers to both our exegetical and devotional efforts. In my own humble way I am trying to help in filling up the great gap with the present modest book.

"The English fathers of the Dominican Order are bringing out an English translation of the third part of the Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas, which is his treatise on the Incarnation. That there should be a demand for such a work, in the Anglo-Saxon world, is a thing to rejoice the angels; there are evidently men amongst us eager to penetrate the subtleties and sound the depth of the masterpieces of religious thought.

"My book is a very unconventional rendering of the most im-

portant points of the third part of the Summa; but I trust that I have at least succeeded in giving the spirit of the great mediæval saint and thinker, and if the following pages produce a desire in the reader to go to the Summa itself, I shall consider that I have had a notable success."

This last sentence is sufficient recommendation. St. Thomas and the Summa are magnets strong enough to draw even the most laggard student. With such a guide and such a map, one cannot go astray in the field of theology. But the author is too modest. He is not only a faithful follower of the great master, but also an efficient co-worker. He has given us a clear, concise, informing and satisfying treatise on the Personality of Christ. The importance of the book cannot be questioned, for we cannot base too much on the subject, and we generally have too little.

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**SISTER GERTRUDE MARY:** "A Mystic of Our Own Days." (The Sister of the Community of St. Charles, Angers, who foretold the Conversions of Caldey and St. Bride's). Extracts from Her Diary, translated by a Nun of St. Bride's. With a Preface by Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B. 12mo., pp. 230. Illustrated. New York: Benziger Brothers.

How often do we not hear the question asked, Why are miracles no longer worked? Why are there no modern saints? Why did all the mysteries die long ago? And these questions are asked, not by persons who are in doubt and seek information, but they are rather declarations in an interrogatory form.

Such persons are surprised when we answer that the age of miracles is not past, but that, in addition to the numberless unrecorded ones of modern times, we have the recorded and authenticated miracles of Lourdes, sufficient in number and variety to convince even the incredulous though earnest seeker after truth.

They are also astonished when we remind them that the majority of saints on earth, as in heaven, are uncanonized and unknown, and that even in modern times many holy souls have been beatified, which is practically canonization, though limiting the cult of the saint to a certain community or a certain locality. And now, perhaps, they will be still more surprised to learn that the mystics did not all die a long time ago, for here is one who was born in Anjou in 1870 and died in 1908. These extracts from her Diary, which was written under obedience to her Director, were made by a Nun of St. Bride's, because Sister Gertrude Mary had foretold the conversions of the Monks and Nuns of Caldey and St. Bride's.

The revelations here recorded are very wonderful, and there is a simplicity of thought and language about them that stamps them with the air of truth and makes them irresistible.

They cover a wide field, including Immolation, Purgatory, the Saints, the Angels, the Blessed Virgin, the Child Jesus, the Sacred

Heart, Holy Mass, Holy Communion, the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Family, and Divine Being.

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**THE GOLDEN LEGEND.** *Lives of the Saints.* Translated by William Caxton from the Latin of Jacobus de Voragine. Selected and Edited by George V. O'Neill, S. J., M. A., Professor of English, University College, Dublin. 12mo., pp. 293. Cambridge: At the University Press.

The title of this volume—a translation of the Latin words "*Legenda Aurea*"—recalls the custom in mediæval church and monasteries of gathering into a large volume records of the lives and deaths of saintly personages, and reading them aloud according as the ecclesiastical year brought round their memorial days.

The "*legendæ*" of particular churches or monasteries would naturally be of local and limited scope. The thirteenth century—an age of mental awakening—demanded something of wider range, an encyclopedic volume which would deal in attractive style with the saints of all times and places—their deeds, sufferings and miracles. Hence the "*Legenda Aurea*," or "golden," from the master mind and pen of Jacobus de Voragine.

The object of the present volume is to make a selection from the original work for popular though not unscholarly reading. The lives selected, twenty-two in number, represent about one-tenth of the "*Legend Aurea*," which with very copious notes and two introductions make up a volume of 300 pages. The lives are not only interesting and edifying, but the quaint style and odd spelling lend a charm to them which is quite becoming.

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**QUESTIONS OF MORAL THEOLOGY.** By Rev. Thomas Slater, S. J., author of "*Manual Theology for English-speaking Countries*," "*Cases of Conscience*," etc. 8vo., pp. 426. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"The doctrine taught by the Catholic Church is vitally necessary to the modern world. We have all been forced to see as with our own eyes what even the highest human culture becomes when it is deprived of the salt of Christian teaching. During the years in which I was engaged in teaching Moral Theology this truth was constantly brought home to me. From time to time I wrote down my thoughts on some particular question of Moral Theology, and sent the result to one of the Catholic magazines. The chief portion of this book consists of such articles. I hope that they will illustrate the truth which I have just stated, and that they will help to bring back to public knowledge truths that should never have been forgotten. Other articles treat of questions which were either specially difficult, or which formed subjects of controversy, but all of them treat of matters of importance, unless I am mistaken. They

are here reproduced not only for the clergy, but for the intelligent laity, both Catholic and non-Catholic." So far the author as to the history, the scope and the purpose of the work.

It is hardly necessary to add anything. Father Slater has already taken his place as the chief writer on Moral Theology for English-speaking people. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that he has earned that place. His ability and authority are unquestioned and his judgment is accepted. When, then, he singles out certain questions of morals as particularly important at the present time and treats them in that clear, authoritative and convincing manner peculiar to him, we owe him a debt of gratitude, because he is bringing the doctrine of the Catholic Church, vitally necessary for the modern world, nearer to it and nearer to men in the affairs of their everyday lives, and making the application of it to their daily affairs more easy and more efficient.

**A BOOK OF ANSWERED PRAYERS.** By *Oliver Katharine Parr*. 24mo., cloth; net, 45 cents.

That there are doubters and disbelievers in the efficacy of prayer is to the true Catholic a thing hard to understand. Perhaps it is partly accounted for by the fact that there is so little effort made at publicizing the countless instances where God has answered prayer—and that seems to end it all as far as the recipient is concerned. The present work is the result of gratitude for favors received from prayer, and it is given to the world to encourage all who need divine assistance to pray in season and out of season.

We read in devotional magazines, sometimes, of answers to prayers for special or urgent needs, and it is customary to announce in church, especially at particular shrines and at meetings of certain confraternities, the requests of members and the answers to them, but as far as we know this is the first book of a strictly personal nature devoted to the subject.

**THE MESSAGE OF MOSES AND MODERN HIGHER CRITICISM.** A Lecture Given in Houston Hall, University of Pennsylvania. By *Rev. Francis E. Gigot, D. D.*, Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y., author of several works introductory to the study of the Holy Scriptures. 8vo., paper, 15 cents, net. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Within its small compass this work supplies the information required for an accurate comprehension of the main points at issue between the traditional position concerning the message of Moses and the theories of Modern Higher Criticism. It likewise sets forth in a brief yet sufficient manner the principal grounds which can be appealed to in order to vindicate the correctness of Jewish and Christian tradition concerning Moses' literary work and monotheistic message.

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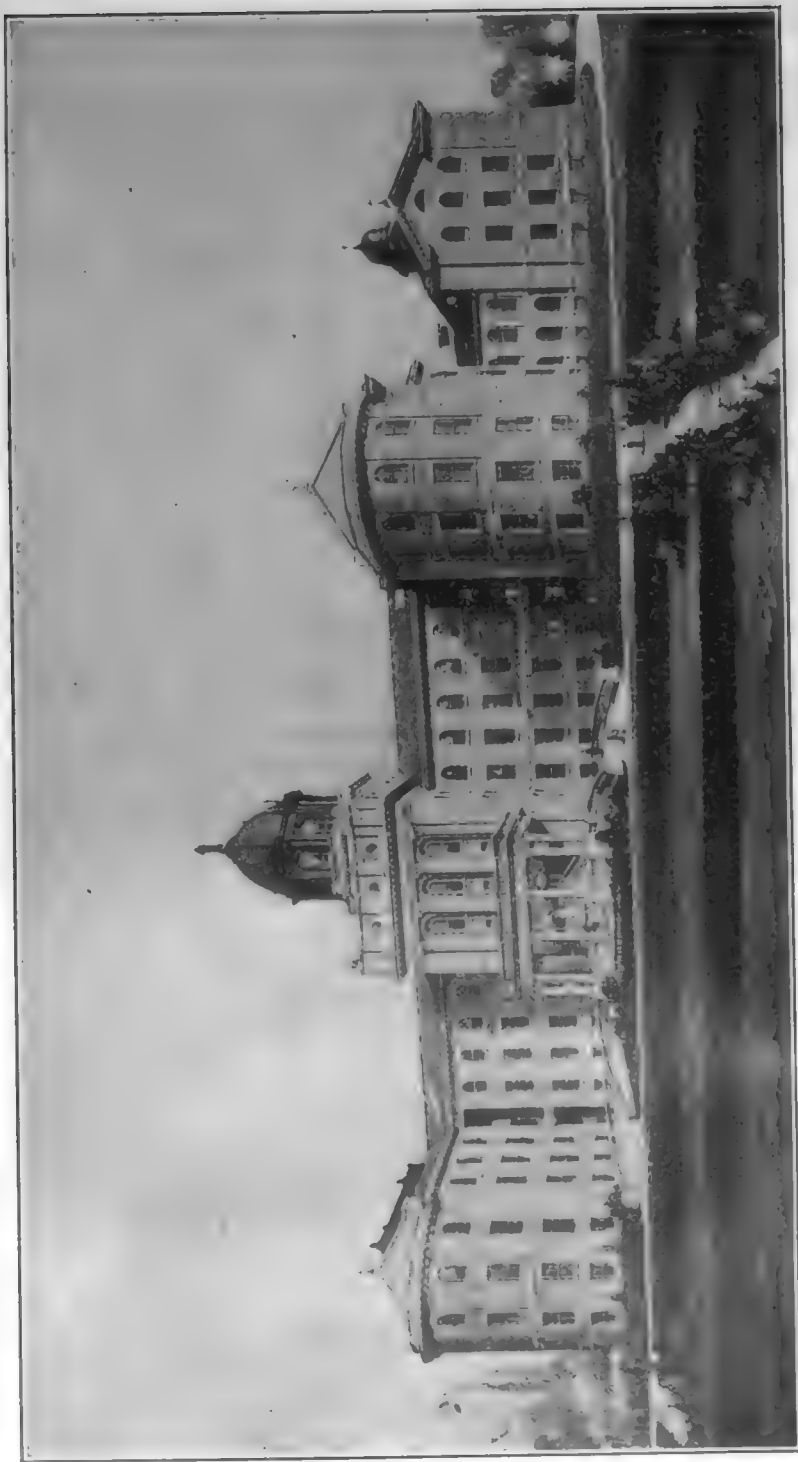
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(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ANTI-CLERICALISM.

ONE of the most lamentable results commonly attributed to the great French Revolution has been the cleavage, or estrangement, between the Church and democracy. It is at once a problem and a paradox. The problem is to discover its real cause and to find a satisfactory solution, and the paradox is that it is a contradiction in terms to assume an antagonism between Catholicism and democracy. A Church primarily democratic in its origin and constitution, and which is more of a great Christian Republic than a monarchy, cannot be out of harmony with democracy. The Church has relations with all forms of Government, with non-Catholic as well as Catholic States; it has, for instance, equal freedom of action in the countries which come under the sway of Protestant England as well as in the United States, a pure democratic Republic, even more than in some so-called Catholic countries. Although no quarrel can be found between the theory of the Revolution and that of the Church, as Mr. Belloc observes, an active quarrel did, in fact, spring up between the Revolution in action and the authorities of Catholicism—a quarrel which a hundred years has not appeased, but accentuated. He traces it to the Civil Constitution of the clergy in 1790, which he calls the true historical point of departure from which we must date the beginning of this profound debate between the Revolution and Catholicism.

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But we must go farther back to find the active genesis of anti-clericalism. Its origin dates from the decadence of faith and morals and the spirit of skepticism which pervaded the Church in France during the eighteenth century, when Voltaire, its evil genius, led the intellectual revolt against Christianity and lax Catholics enjoyed and encouraged the gibes and jeers of which a scoffing generation made the clergy the butt—not knowing that in sapping the foundations of belief, they were sapping the foundations of the throne and undermining the whole edifice of Church and State. The Church was then dominated by Gallicanism; it allied it with the monarchy, with which, in the minds of the people, it was confounded in the sequel. This compromising and too close alliance; the monopolizing of all the higher ecclesiastical offices by the *noblesse* for their personal aggrandizement and profit; the intrusion of worldly-minded and often loose-living scions of the noble families into the priesthood and into prelacies, without even the pretense of a vocation, like De Retz, Talleyrand, De Rancé (before he became the austere reformer of La Trappe) and many others; the endowing of mere youths with abbeys held *in commendam*, ruled or misruled by relaxed deputies, while the titular abbots drew the revenues and spent them in Paris or Versailles in the pursuit of pleasure; the scandals and abuses to which this unworthy betrayal of a sacred trust gave rise, and which brought the sacerdotal order into disrepute—these things, coupled with the neglect of their social duties by what were called the *classes dirigeantes*, and the wretched condition of the masses of the people, steeped in ignorance and debased by servitude, preluded the dreadful cataclysm of the eighteenth century. The Church shared in the odium and ruin which the great French Revolution visited upon the governing orders, civil and ecclesiastical. "The very fact that the Church had become in France an unshakable national institution," writes Mr. Belloc, "chilled the vital source of Catholicism. Not only did the hierarchy stand in a perpetual suspicion of the Roman See and toy with the conception of national independence, but they and all the official organization of French Catholicism put the security of the national establishment and its intimate attachment to the general political structure of the State far beyond the sanctity of Catholic dogma or the practice of Catholic morals. . . . Wit, good verse, sincere enthusiasm, a lucid exposition of whatever in the human mind perpetually rebels against transcendental affirmations, were allowed every latitude and provoked no effective reply. But overt acts of disrespect to ecclesiastical authority were punished with rigor. While in the wealthy, the bureaucratic and the governing classes, to ridicule the faith was an attitude taken for granted,

seriously to attack the privileges or position of its ministers was ungentlemanly and was not allowed. It did not shock the hierarchy that one of its apostolic members should be a witty atheist; that another should go hunting upon Corpus Christi, nearly upset the Blessed Sacrament in his gallop and forget what day it was when the accident occurred. The Bishops found nothing remarkable in seeing a large proportion of their body to be loose livers, or in some of them openly presenting their friends to their mistresses, as might be done by any great noble round them. That a diocese or any other spiritual charge should be divorced from its titular chief seemed to them as natural as does to us the absence from his modern regiment of some titular foreign colonel. Unquestioned also by the Bishop were the poverty, the neglect and the uninstruction of the parish clergy; nay—and this is by far the principal feature—the abandonment of religion by all but a very few of the French millions no more affected the ecclesiastical officials of the time than does the starvation of our poor affect, let us say, one of our professional politicians. It was a thing simply taken for granted. The reader must seize that moribund condition of the religious life of France upon the eve of the Revolution, for it is at once imperfectly grasped by the general run of historians, and is also the only fact which thoroughly explains what followed. The swoon of the faith in the eighteenth century is the negative foundation upon which the strange religious experience of the French was about to rise. France, in the generation before the Revolution, was passing through a phase in which the Catholic faith was at a lower ebb than it had ever been since the preaching and establishment of it in Gaul.”<sup>1</sup>

The semi-independence claimed and exercised by Gallicanism, when even a Bossuet appealed to the King against a mandate from Rome, had in it the germs of schism, in which the civic oath enforced under the Civil Constitution, to which Louis XVI. gave his reluctant consent, involved four of the Bishops and a large number, though a minority, of the time-serving and timorous clergy. The refusal of its non-juring priests to take that oath, which constituted an arbitrary infringement of the Church's autonomous discipline by a Power external to it, arrayed them in an attitude of apparent hostility to the democratic government which displaced the monarchical *régime*—it identified the Church as a corporate body with the court and reactionary intrigues. Many took it in ignorance or good faith, but no Catholic, with full consciousness of its scope and purport, could take it without being disloyal to the Holy See, which, by the Papal brief “*Caritas*,” had condemned the Civil Constitution of the clergy. The non-jurors paid the penalty of their fidelity in the

<sup>1</sup> “The French Revolution.” By Hilaire Belloc, M. A., pp. 225-7.

proscriptions and persecution which followed, and their successors to this day are paying it in the partial ostracism to which anti-clericalism subjects them. The chief events of the Revolution have passed into history, but the heritage of it has not. The Reign of Terror in Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulon and Nantes, the execution of Louis XVI.—an expiatory victim of atonement for the vices and wrongdoings, the faults and follies of his immediate predecessors—and other incidents of the great overturn have been forgotten, but the deep-rooted prejudice against the ecclesiastical order still lingers. Prejudice is an impalpable thing with which it is hard to grapple, but time, which brings with it many disillusionings, will eventually dispel this illusion. The great European war now being waged is helping to remove it. If it has arrayed nations in deadly conflict against one another, it has, as a counterpoise, united classes hitherto separated—it has brought priests and people together in a way that possibly no other event could. If civil war drove them apart in the eighteenth century, war in this twentieth century has drawn them together. Priests and laymen, clericals and anti-clericals have been fighting side by side, braving death and danger in the same cause, serving in the rank and file or leading companies and regiments into action, while Catholic chaplains in hundreds are ministering to the spiritual needs of the combatants at the risk of their lives.

It is computed that there are 20,000 soldier-priests in the French army, and that over 600 of these have fallen at the front. Ecclesiastics who have filled high offices in the Church are serving as privates, their inferiors in the priesthood being often their military superiors. A well-known anti-clerical general chose priests for difficult ambulance work on the ground that they are always steady under fire, indifferent to death, untiringly energetic and unfailingly cheerful. French and English papers record acts of heroism performed by these priest-combatants which have impressed and wrung admiration from irreligious men in the ranks and occasionally led many who had strayed away from the Church of their baptism to return to the devout practice of religion. Never have so many Catholic chaplains been permitted to exercise their ministry on the battlefield, with the consoling result that brave fellows by the thousand have fearlessly faced death with greater courage, constancy and confidence after previously making their confessions and receiving Communion, while among the survivors there is a general reawakening of faith which inspires hope for the future. With these examples of moral and physical courage before them, with this close association of priests and people sharing the same hardships, braving the same dangers and fighting side by side in a common

cause, France must recognize that the Catholic religion is not only compatible with patriotism, but intensifies and strengthens it. This war should make an end of anti-clericalism. Instead of "*le clericalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*" in Gambetta's deceptive phrase, it should now be "*le clericalisme, voilà l'ami!*" Unless Frenchmen are devoid of all sense of gratitude, they can no longer harbor suspicions of the loyalty of Bishops and priests who have so nobly and unselfishly served their country. The same change of sentiment should take place from the same causes in Italy, which has at length thrown in its lot with France and England. There are 10,000 priests in the ranks of the Italian army and hundreds of Catholic chaplains. Parties have disappeared or effaced themselves and the whole peninsula from end to end is united as it never was before in all its checkered history.

This should lead statesmen and politicians in France and Italy who, like the present French Premier, have assumed an attitude of hostility towards the Church, to reconsider their position. As has been pointed out, between the Church, *qua* Church, and the democratic movement which gave birth to the Revolution, there is no irreconcilability. Pope Leo XIII. removed any doubt on that point when by his far-reaching and far-sighted rally policy he recognized the French Republic as the expression of the will of the French people. It is to be hoped that the Triple Entente, by bringing English and French statesmen into close and confidential relations, will indoctrinate the latter with saner views of liberty and wiser methods of government; that they will be at length aroused from the nightmare of anti-clericalism and give up fighting with shadows now that they had something more substantial than shadows to fight against on the western battle front.

The dead past has buried its dead. The abuses of the old *régime* have long since been swept away, and the attempts to resuscitate it have failed. The Republic has triumphed; it is erect and visible; the old monarchy is only a memory. Although even at this distance of time the human mind recoils horror-stricken from the recital of the atrocities perpetrated by the first revolutionists, by homicidal maniacs like Marat, Carrier, Collot d'Herbois, much as one deplores the sanguinary excesses of the French Revolution, the frenzy and fury with which the maddened multitude, excited by demagogues, revolted against the Bourbon dynasty and overthrew throne and altar, it was not entirely disastrous. "The very violence of the modern reaction towards Catholicism," says Mr. Belloc, "has exaggerated the revolutionary persecution, and in doing so has made men forget that, apart from other evidence of the decline of religion, it is obvious that persecution could never have arisen with-

out a strong and continuous historical backing. You could not have had a Diocletian in the thirteenth century, with the spirit of the Crusaders just preceding him; you could not have had Henry VIII. if the England of the fifteenth century just preceding him had been an England devoted to the monastic profession. And you could not have had the revolutionary fury against the Catholic Church in France if the preceding generation had been actively Catholic even in a considerable proportion."

As Carlyle philosophically observes: "In the huge mass of evil, as it rolls and swells, there is ever some good working imprisoned—working towards deliverance and triumph." This is to be ascribed to that providential governance, or oversight, which, happily, will not abandon humanity at any epoch solely a prey to the forces of evil. The French Revolution illustrates this. It accomplished the deliverance of an oppressed and misgoverned people. It found the French peasant a serf; it made him a free man. The peasantry had been practically enslaved by the Crown and the aristocracy. The tiller of the soil had to quit his own fields and leave them untilled to slave as a laborer for the King or the nobles. The peasants had to be up all night betimes to beat the castle moat with long rods to prevent the frogs from croaking and thus disturb the slumbers of the *seigneur* after a day spent in the pleasures of the chase or a night's ball. In the old times the land belonged to the feudal baron, who had power to compel the villagers to work for the embellishment of his own grounds, so that the peasant had never a week he could call his own. The old French *noblesse* formed a caste as distinct from the people as the whites in America from the Negroes, only the color line in the United States is not so sharply drawn as the line of demarcation between the *seigneur* and the *roturier*, the noble and the plebeian, was. The nobles were a privileged order, and their privileges oppressively hampered and harassed the rural population. Until August 4, 1789, there existed a privilege called *le droit de colombier*, in virtue of which the nobles had the exclusive right to keep pigeons, which were free to feed unmolested on the peasants' corn. This accounts for the numerous pigeon-cotes adjoining French chateaux, reminders to the present generation of the unforgotten past. Then the noble had his *droit de garenne*, or right of keeping an unlimited rabbit-warren, the prolific occupants of which also fed on his neighbors' produce. Besides, he had an exclusive right to all other game. But, worst of all and most oppressive and exacting, was the *corvée*, or forced labor, which reduced the peasantry to the level of convicts. The nobles had the power to command *corvées* for the simple embellishment of their estates and grounds. They could compel the peas-

antry to leave their fields at the very seasons when it was most urgent that they should labor in them, in order to lay out ornamental grounds about the château or to build mills and baking-ovens.

Among the monopolies of the nobles, it is curious to note, was the baking and supply of bread. The peasant was not allowed to bake his own bread; the noble baked for him and fixed the price of the loaf. Neither was the peasant free to garner his own grain; his lord kept it for him and charged what he liked for storage. In addition to the *corvée seigneuriale*, there was the *corvée royale*. The King's intendants had power to impose the *corvée* at will for anything that might be construed into "the service of the King"—an elastic phrase, subject to a rather free interpretation. When they wanted a road, the peasants were impressed to make it; when barracks were needed, peasant labor was requisitioned. When a regiment was drafted from one garrison town to another, the peasants had to transport all the military baggage; when convicts were sent to the hulks at Toulon, the peasants had to provide horses and carts at every halting stage on the journey. They were taken from the most necessary labors of agriculture for all these compulsory and unpaid services. The fields had to be left untilled or unsown or the harvest ungarnered in order to give their unrequited labor to the nobles or the State. They had to labor almost without cessation and dare not refuse. The slaves on a Southern plantation before the war of secession were not more at the beck and call of their owners than the French peasantry under the old *régime*. The Revolution changed all that, and the French peasant of to-day knows it—knows it as well as the Irish peasant or tenant farmer knows that the land-purchase acts of the British Parliament have relieved or are relieving him of the thralldom of landlordism and its attendant evils, of rack-rents, ruthless evictions and wholesale clearances. Thousands of French peasants are land-owners themselves; thousands of Irish peasants or farmers are becoming owners of their own holdings. The change which was wrought in one country by a great social upheaval and much bloodshed—needlessly shed—is being wrought in the other by process of law, by a bloodless revolution. The French peasant can now work all the year round on his farm. He keeps his own grain, has no storage to pay any noble; he bakes his own bread and has not to go to the mill or bakery of any grasping lord, without being at liberty to go elsewhere, even in times of greatest pressure, having to wait his turn and obliged to take what he got, no matter how the grain was ground, the bread baked or the price fixed. He pays his taxes and is free to-day. The noble at the château has no compulsory power over him, unless he be his landlord, and even then his power is largely limited. Using

that thrift which is a distinguishing characteristic of the French, he can save money, knowing that he can keep the fruits of his own labor for himself and his children. "The French peasantry of to-day are, on the whole," says Mr. Hamerton, who made a close study of rural France, "as happy a class of people as their forefathers were wretched, and the improvement is simply due to those political reforms which have left the natural prudence and industry of the class full liberty to lead it to prosperity."<sup>2</sup>

It is the contrast between the past and the present, between France under the Bourbons and the self-governing France of to-day, which makes the French peasant Conservative-republican. Ownership has a steadying and conservative influence. It is the proletarian populace of the cities, the theorists and dreamers, the restless spirits who long for change, who hope to win a trick for themselves by the reshuffling of the cards, who make the later or minor revolutions, who "see red." The rural population recoil from what has been called "the White Terror," a reactionary revival or resuscitation of the dead past. One of the strongest reasons for the republicanism of the peasantry is that they fear a royalist restoration would lead the revival of the *corvées* and other obnoxious usages; and as they have been taught to identify legitimism with Catholicism, anti-clerical politicians used to play upon their fears and make party capital of them. But now that legitimism is as dead as Queen Anne, those fears should vanish.

The French peasant, like the Irish peasant, is shrewd and intelligent in his own way, though his mental purview may be narrow. Justin McCarthy said it would be impossible to find an absolutely ignorant Irishman, and the same may safely be averred of the French rural classes. The French peasant compares favorably with his English counterpart. "Talk to a French peasant," says Hamerton, "and he will enter into your ideas if he can; talk to Hodge, and he will stare at you." The French peasant is cast in a very different mould from the Frenchman of the large towns or cities. Rigid customs, handed on from sire to son and from son to grandson for ages, rule and regulate their lives. Education on modern lines and contact with city life breaks the mould. "The only way for the educated son of a peasant to remain rustic," says the writer quoted, "is to become a priest; then he can live in relations with the peasantry which are at the same time familiar enough for him to feel no painful separation, and yet of a kind which keeps him distinct and independent and allows him to read and think, with the infinite advantage of solitude, at will. . . . The rural French customs

<sup>2</sup> "Round My House: Notes of Rural Life in France in Peace and War." By Philip Gilbert Hamerton.



imply the constant practice of very great virtues—temperance, frugality, industry, patience, self-control and self-denial. In all these virtues the peasant acts as none but a saint or hero could act if he were alone, but he is wonderfully sustained and encouraged by the custom of his class.”

It was out of pious peasant-homes where simple virtues were practiced and the traditions of a thousand years preserved came such type of priests as St. Vincent de Paul and the Blessed Jean Baptiste Vianney, the *curé* who made the village of Ars famous by his holiness, his homely homilies and his unwearied devotedness to the confessional, the centre from whence radiated an influence felt by all who came in contact with him, for virtue went out from him as of old it went forth from One who emerged from an obscure dwelling in Judea to morally transform a world.

“It has been my fortune,” writes Mr. Hamerton, “to know a good many French priests and to be on terms of intimacy—indeed I may say friendship—with two or three. They are generally most respectable men, devoted to their work, living contentedly on wonderfully small incomes. . . . I well remember visiting quite recently, in the course of a pedestrian excursion with a party of friends, a curious little village perched on the very crest of a steep hill 1,500 feet high. There was an interesting Romanesque church, and service was going on when we entered it. At the close of the service the *curé* began catechizing and instructing a class of children, but he very kindly sent a man to say that if we would go and rest ourselves in the *presbytère* he would join us when his work was over. His home was quite a poor man’s cottage, without the least pretension to comfort. Another messenger came from the *curé’s* to say how much he regretted not to be able to offer us a glass of wine after our ascent of the hill, but he had no wine in the house. An English reader will realize with difficulty the degree of destitution which this implies in a wine-producing country like France, where common wine is not looked upon at all in the light of a luxury, but is considered, except by the frugal peasants, a part of necessary food. ‘We are expecting,’ his servant said, ‘a little cask of white wine from the low country, but it is a long time in reaching us.’ One of us observed ‘that the *curé* must be very hungry, for we knew that he had eaten nothing yet, as he had said Mass and we thought he would have done better to get his *déjeuner* before teaching the children. ‘This is his *déjeuner*,’ the woman said, lifting a plate from a basin that she kept warm upon the hearth. It contained nothing but mallow tea. The good *curé*, who was as thin as he well could be, was, in fact, one of those admirable priests who are so absorbed in the duties and charities of their calling that they

forget self altogether. Priests of that saintly character are looked upon by the more worldly clergy as innocent idealists, whose proper sphere is an out-of-the-way village. It is said by those who know the Church better than I do that they very seldom get much ecclesiastical advancement. Their self-denial is sometimes almost incredible. The following instances, which have been narrated to me by people who knew the *curés* themselves, will convey some idea of it:

"My first story shall be about a *curé* who was formerly incumbent of the parish where my home is situated. He is dead now, but when he was alive he was not remarkable for attention to personal appearance. His wardrobe (except, of course, the vestments in which he officiated) consisted of one old black cotton cassock, and when he was asked to dinner, it was his custom to ink over those places which seemed to need a little restoration, after which process he considered himself presentable in good society. This, however, was not the opinion of his brethren, who were men of the world. One day the Bishop invited him to dinner, so our good *curé* went in his old cassock, even to the Bishop's palace itself. The priests of the episcopal court drew the prelate's attention to that cassock, and the wearer of it incurred a severe reprimand for his *mauvaise tenue*. The ladies of his parish, who loved and respected him (with good reason), were much pained when they heard of this and subscribed to buy him a good new silk cassock to be worn on state occasions, especially at the Bishop's table. For a short time the *curé* remained in possession of this garment, but no invitation came from the Bishop. At last somebody told His Grandeur that the poor priest had now the means of making a decent appearance, so he invited him again. 'Alas, Monseigneur,' was the reply, 'a month since I could have come, for I had the new cassock, but now I possess it no longer, and so I cannot come!' On inquiry it turned out that some poor little boys who had come to be catechized had ragged waistcoats and could not make a decent appearance at church, so it struck the *curé* that the cassock was big enough to make several capital waistcoats for little boys, and he had employed it for that purpose to the advantage of *their* appearance, but to the detriment of his own.

"My next story, which is also perfectly authentic, concerns a priest who is still (1908) alive, and so incorrigibly charitable as to be the despair of his good sister, who tries in vain to keep him decent. He does not live quite close to my house, but I have authentic tidings of him from a very near neighbor of his who comes to see me occasionally. One day at the beginning of winter some years ago a lady came to this priest's house to see him on business, but, as he was absent, she had to wait for his return. The first

thing that struck him on entering his room was that the lady looked miserably cold. 'How cold you do look, madame!' he said. 'I wish I had a fire to warm you; but the fact is, I have no fuel.' When the lady went away she told the story to her friends, and they plotted together to buy the *curé* a comfortable little stove and a cartload of wood, which comforts were duly sent to the *presbytère*. Some weeks afterwards, in the severe winter weather, the lady thought she would go and see how the *curé's* stove acted and whether he was as comfortable as she had expected. On this visit the following little conversation took place:

"*Lady*: The weather is so bitterly cold that I thought I would come to see whether your stove warmed your room properly.

"*Curé*: Thank you, thank you! The stove you were so good as to give me is really excellent. It warms a room capitally.

"*Lady* (who by this time has penetrated into the chamber, which is the *curé's* bedroom and sittingroom in one): But, I declare, you have no fire at all! And the stove is not here! Have you set it up somewhere else?

"*Curé* (much embarrassed): Yes, it is set up elsewhere. The fact is, there was a very poor woman who was delivered of a child at the time you sent me the stove, and she had no fire, so I gave it to her.

"*Lady*: And the cartload of wood?

"*Curé*: Oh! of course, she must have fuel for her stove, so I gave her the wood, too.

"It is the simple truth that the good Christian man was quietly sitting without a spark of fire all through a bitter winter, because, in his opinion, the poor woman needed warmth more than he did. The same *curé* came home sometimes without a shirt—the shirt having been given to some very poor parishioner—and at least once he came back without shoes for the same reason. At one time he had a small private fortune—need I say that it has long since disappeared? He spent a good deal of it in restoring an old chapel which had been abandoned to ruin, but is now used again for public worship."

Of another *curé* who lives within a few miles of the one just mentioned, the author states:

"This one does not give his shirt or his shoes, does not reach the heroism of charity, but is a fine sample of humane feelings which professional customs have never been able to deaden. He has a poor parish—I mean a parish where there is a good deal of really severe poverty amongst the inhabitants—and he was complaining on one occasion of the extreme narrowness of his means. 'But you have a good *causel*, some one observed. 'You have a populous

parish, with plenty of funerals.' 'Alas!' he answered, 'it is true enough that there are plenty of funerals in my parish, but how can I charge burial fees to poor widows and orphans who have nothing left to live upon or to poor workmen who have had sickness in the house till they cannot pay their way?' English and American travelers on the Continent of Europe see the splendid ceremonies in the cathedrals and the gorgeous processions in the streets, but they do not see the obscurity acts of charity and self-denial which are only known to the local inhabitants, and not even to all these. From seeing the ceremonies and nothing else the foreigner readily misconceives their relation to the daily life of the rural clergy, which is simple enough in its poverty and isolation and is often dignified by an earnest endeavor to realize the Christian ideal. The rural clergy are, I believe, as respectable a class of men, from the moral point of view, as can be found anywhere. . . . A priest who has a large country parish has a great deal of walking to do. The one whom I mentioned as being the *curé* of a village perched on the crest of a hill 1,500 feet high descends and ascends that hill every time he goes out on his parish work, which he does every day. . . .

Every village has its funny stories about *curés*, either living or dead. The following would supply a good subject for a picture: In a hill village well known to me, where the hillsides slope down in very rapid declivities, diversified by grassy places and stony places, there lived a few years ago a venerable old *curé*, who, to eke out his wretched little income, kept a few animals, and amongst the rest a couple of goats. He used to take these goats out with him upon the hillside, and while they were feeding he read his Breviary, but whilst he was reading the goats sometimes strayed inconveniently far, and the inconvenience was all the greater to him that he could not see very well, so that it was not easy to find them. At last, however, he hit upon a capital expedient which seemed to reconcile completely the two occupations he wished to carry on at the same time. With two strong and rather long cords he tied one goat to one of his ankles and the other to the other, after which he sat down on the hillside and read his Breviary without much interruption from the animals, which soon knew the length of their tether. This device succeeded so well that the *curé* was rather proud of it and might often be seen on the hillside in this position on a fine afternoon. At length, however, an incident occurred which showed that the priest's invention might, under certain circumstances, be dangerous. Some huntsmen came suddenly over the brow of the hill with a small pack of beagles. The goats were much alarmed at these strange dogs and set off at full speed down

the steep slope, over the grassy places and the stony places, dragging the poor old *curé* after them. He was not killed, but he found that mode of traveling decidedly disagreeable.

"This good priest's successor, who is now living in the same parish, found that people complained of the length of his sermons, so he said to his old woman-servant: 'When I get a-going, I never know when to stop; you should make me a sign when I have preached long enough, and then I would stop.' After that the woman made her sign accordingly, and the *curé* broke off abruptly with the usual form. The effect, however, was strange sometimes, as on one occasion, when he said to his parishioners, 'If you do not conduct yourselves better, the devil will certainly take you.' Here the preacher glanced at his servant, who made the sign agreed upon, so he ended at once with the customary set phrase, *C'est la grace que je vous souhaite.*"<sup>3</sup>

This independent testimony of an English Protestant to the worth and work of the French rural clergy is creditable alike to the eulogist and the eulogized. Although he is somewhat sarcastic in his comments on the honors given to a French Bishop, who is addressed as "*Monseigneur*," as if he were a prince of the blood, or "*Votre Grandeur*," which, he says, "certainly expresses the idea of greatness more directly than any other form of address which human servility ever invented," he admits, however, that the splendor with which he is surrounded "is rather sacerdotal than worldly," and that a prelate may be really humble in spite of the external state and grandeur of the episcopal dignity inherited from long-established customs.

"There is one," he writes, "not many miles from my house who tries to realize what may have been the earliest and purest ideal of a Bishop, and who, I think, will not be soon forgotten as men in his station generally are. He is singularly and wonderfully unworldly, absolutely careless of those arts by which an exalted position is defended and maintained, rightly disdainful of the trifles and of the time-wasting ceremonies of society, always ready to give time and strength to real work that may lead to good, and to *payer de sa personne* when an indolent prelate would either do nothing or send a substitute. A young man I knew was dying of consumption. He was very religious, and in his last hours had a wish to possess some little thing that had been blest by the Pope. The priest who attended him had nothing of the kind, but reflected that as the Bishop had lately been at Rome, he was the right person to apply to. So the priest went and told his story. Before he had mentioned the

<sup>3</sup> The French equivalent of the familiar English peroration, "which is a blessing I wish you all."

name of the young man the Bishop had put his hat on and said: 'I will take it myself to him at once; where does he live? Show me the way.' As it happened, the dying youth was a young gentleman, but he might have been in the humblest rank. The Bishop did not ask who or what he was. On the other hand, great ladies were rather disappointed because this strange prelate gave so little time to society. When they called upon him he had the air of a busy man unpleasantly interrupted, and they said he was ill-bred. 'So much the better,' was his observation; 'that is just what I want them to think; they will waste less of my time.' 'Votre Grandeur will come to my drawing-rooms,' said one *grande dame*. 'No,' was the frank reply, 'I am too busy, and I don't much approve of drawing-room priests, or dining-room priests, either; there are too many of both sorts.' One rainy day he went on foot to a convent, and when he left there was a great fuss to find the Bishop's umbrella. The Sisters emulated each other's zeal. 'I think I can find it better than you can,' he said with a smile and fished up an old cotton one. Every ladies' priest has a silk one, as a matter of course, so the Sister had been misled by the material. Some amusing stories of his kindly ways ran about the diocese and made friends for him amongst reasonable people, while they earned for him the grave disapproval of proud and stuck-up people who believe in artificial dignity. One day he passed a tanner's yard, thought he should like to see the processes of the unsavory trade, and so entered and talked familiarly with the workmen. On leaving he gave them twenty francs to drink, which was much blamed by evil tongues as an encouragement to inebriety, but he accompanied his present with the following little speech: 'This to drink the Bishop's health, and now let me tell you how a Bishop's health ought to be drunk. You must not go and drink the money at the wineshop and leave your wives all by themselves, but you must buy a few bottles of really good, sound wine and drink it in your own homes and let your wives have their fair share.' It is impossible, I think, to reprove with more wisdom, tact and kindness the besetting sin of the *ouvrier*, which is to leave his wife alone whilst he drinks in the public house. On the other hand, the Bishop has the rare courage to reprove with some severity the tendency of a trifling exercise of the fancy which especially has so much invaded the Roman Catholic worship. Some ladies, aided by a ladies' priest, had made a wonderful *mois de Marie* in the cathedral during the prelate's absence. On his return he saw a mountain of flowers, ribbons, gilt papers, vases and other trifles which are the delight of French ladies who have nothing to do. One glance was enough. 'Let all that be removed at once,' he said; 'is this place a theatre?'

The writer tells how the same Bishop set himself to combat indifference and unbelief by lectures exclusively addressed to men, which drew together on an average 1,200 of the middle and upper classes. He dealt with rationalism in the tone of a man who knew what the world was and would not affect to be shocked by a fact so familiar as the existence of all manner of heresies. He never had recourse to denunciation, never rose into the region of mysticism, but spoke in a very clear, direct manner and always to the point. "I never heard more perfect elocution," says Mr. Hamerton; "indeed, I never heard any orator who so fully realized my notion of what public speaking ought to be. With the most beautiful ease of delivery, every sentence was constructed in such pure French that a literal report of the lecture might have been published, without correction, in a book. The speaker never once hesitated or went back to correct himself and every syllable was distinctly heard in every corner of the cathedral. This great oratorical charm was intensely appreciated by the strange congregation there assembled. All present listened willingly and went again and again. There were even, it is said, a few conversions."

These sidelights upon the religious situation, projected from an outsider's viewpoint, corroborate what we have been hearing, from time to time, about the religious revival which is steadily progressing all over the country. There is no other religious organization in France on a par with the Catholic Church. However affected by the skepticism of the epoch, the French laity, as a body, have no desire to get rid of the Church, which is still the Church of the majority, the Church of France, no matter who may be in power. Hugonotism is a memory. French Protestantism cannot compete with Catholicism. "Dissenters are so few in France," writes Mr. E. Boyd Smith,<sup>4</sup> "that party spirit has not that un-Christian venom which pervades some countries." Protestantism in France has only the same kind of position as Unitarianism in England, to which it assimilates. The skepticism and indifferentism which are more or less on the surface are only passing phases of thought. When they shall have passed, the Church which has providentially regained its freedom of action, unhampered by State interference in episcopal nominations, will have a still freer hand. It may be questioned if, in all the course of ecclesiastical history, the Church had more liberty in the purely spiritual domain in most countries than it has at present. No foreign Power can now veto the election of any Cardinal to the Papacy; no Minister of Public Worship in France dictate who shall or shall not preside over this or that see. The clergy are no longer the paid servants of the State, but, like the clergy in

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<sup>4</sup> "My Village."

Ireland, where the Church, for its material needs, depends upon the voluntary contributions of the faithful. This, as time goes on, should bring the Church and the democracy closer to one another and break down the barriers of anti-clericalism—an anachronism since the failure of dynastic rival factions and the summons of Leo XIII. to French Catholics to rally round the Republic have created an entirely new situation in France.

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## SIXTEEN CENTURIES OF DOUBT.

**P**LACE Constantius, a bitter Arian, at the head of the Roman Empire, set up the anti-Pope Felix in the chair of Peter, drive Athanasius from his see, remember that Arianism is sweeping over the world like a soul pestilence, and the stage is set for the signing of an heretical profession of faith by the exiled Pontiff Liberius.

Yet as we watch and wonder, in from the land of doubt and obscurity there rolls a mist, thick, heavy, impenetrable, screening the action from our eyes; of a sudden it clears away, the shackles are struck from the Pontiff's wrists and he reënters Rome in triumph.

How did it come about? What was the price of this return? Was the faith of Liberius as pure as his honor had been untainted when he was dragged from his throne and driven into exile?

The case of Pope Liberius offers no difficulty to a Catholic theologian; no *ex cathedra* pronouncement was made, therefore there can be no question of Papal infallibility. The Pope is infallible only when speaking *ex cathedra*; whatever Liberius may have said or done during the whole Arian controversy was not said or done *ex cathedra*. Some indeed maintain with Bellarmine that even in private belief a Pope can never go astray; others with Suarez claim that he may, while Palmieri naively remarks that we should not be too eager to claim for the Pontiffs a prerogative they have never claimed for themselves.

It is well, then, to bear in mind at the very outset that Liberius, since he did not speak *ex cathedra*, could have signed an admittedly heretical profession of faith without in any way going counter to the dogma of infallibility. But did he? To this the historian must reply, and his first answer will be a distinction—Liberius was presented with three distinct creeds, all Arian, commonly called the Three Formulæ of Sirmium. One of these was certainly heretical, and Liberius as certainly condemned it; the other two were of dubious orthodoxy, capable withal of Catholic interpretation; of these the one was presented to the Pontiff six years before his exile; had he signed it he would never have been banished from Rome; the other was submitted to him in exile, and this is the formula he is commonly accused of having signed.

This paper deals exclusively with this last formula, and it is our purpose to show that Liberius did not sign this third formula of Sirmium and condemn Athanasius as the price of his return to Rome.

Sozomen has a thrilling account of the fall of Liberius. Constan-

tius is in Rome besieged by a mob clamoring for the return of the Pontiff; the Emperor promises to recall him provided he will condemn Athanasius and embrace Arianism; Constantius then leaves for Sirmium and orders Liberius to admit that the Son is not consubstantial with the Father; Liberius stoutly refuses. A new creed is drawn up, ambiguous at best, not clearly heretical. Bishops crowd around the Pontiff—Arian, semi-Arian, orthodox. All urge him to sign, begging him thus to bring about peace and end the schism. Liberius signs, and, prolonging the stroke of his pen, condemns all who do not admit that the Son is like the Father in substance and in all things. He is then allowed to return to Rome.

The story reads well, but is not founded on fact. Sozomen followed the account of Sabinus. Sabinus was an Arian, dealing with Arian fables, exploiting Arian tales.

Far stronger evidence against Liberius is furnished by three of his letters, written in exile and found in a fragmentary work of St. Hilary of Poitiers.

The first is addressed to the Arian Bishops. "I do not defend Athanasius," writes Liberius, "but because my predecessor had received him I also acted in the same way. But when I came to see the justice of your condemnation, I immediately agreed in this, your decision."

In the second letter the exile writes: "From a love of peace, which he preferred to martyrdom, he had already condemned Athanasius, who was rejected by the whole Roman Church, as the priests at Rome could testify."

In the third we read: "I have given up the contest for Athanasius. Forward my letter to the Emperor, that I may be freed from this misery."

These quotations are riddled with withering anathemas hurled at the prevaricator, the apostate Liberius—anathemas which must have shriveled up his spirit and left him soulless.

One will already have concluded that the letters cannot be genuine else the Liberian controversy had not vexed the world these sixteen centuries. They are forgeries; they were not edited by Hilary; neither did Hilary, in consequence, ever anathematize Liberius.

Obviously, in a brief study such as the present, conclusions rather than premises must needs be presented, yet the testimony of these letters seems so damaging that to disprove their authenticity becomes of interest.

The original letters are in barbarous Latin, full of grammatical blunders, rich in solecisms—such, in fact, as an educated man like Liberius, whose mother tongue was Latin, could never have written. They are identical in thought, style and tone with "Studens

paci," a letter also attributed to Liberius, but admittedly spurious. They differ as widely from genuine letters of Liberius as does a tyro's first theme from the last line in *De Senectute*. More than this, they present the Roman clergy as rejecting Athanasius, whereas the Roman Church never condemned him; they are supposedly written by the Pontiff in exile, but why in exile, if, as they claim, he had done all that was required of him—signed the formula and condemned Athanasius? This was the hour for which the Arians longed. To effect this Constantius had broken every law, human and divine. Why hesitate to enjoy the triumph? The best critics have therefore concluded that these letters are forgeries, written by a Greekling, with little regard for grammar and less for truth, who then scattered them broadcast as part of a vast scheme to besmirch the honor of a man whose name was above reproach. The same critics go further and deny that St. Hilary edited the fragments and hurled the anathemas at Liberius. The fragment was written after the double council of Seleucia-Rimini, when Liberius for a third time had refused to yield to the Emperor's demand. Would Hilary in exile for the Nicene Creed anathematize Liberius in exile for that same creed? Yet St. Hilary seems to have condemned Liberius on other occasions, for in one of his genuine works we read that he (Hilary) "did not know which was the greater presumption on the part of the Emperor, the banishment of Liberius or his recall to Rome," intimating that the return of the Pontiff was most humiliating to one in his exalted position.

Only a mind persuaded of the guilt of Liberius can see any allusion to his fall in these words of St. Hilary. The Emperor is blamed for his presumption in having exiled the Pontiff, and blamed again for having brought him back under humiliating conditions. Hilary's only difficulty is to decide whether it were more brazen to drag a Pontiff from his throne and exile him or to bid him mount and share it with an anti-Pope.

Then there is Jerome, ever on the alert to crush the heretical egg. There is no doubting his meaning when he writes: "Liberius, wearied by exile, signed the heretical error and entered Rome in triumph." His meaning is not so clear when he says: "Fortunatian (Bishop of Aquileia) was infamous for having been the first to break the courage of Liberius and induce him to sign the heresy, and this on his way to exile." If Fortunatian broke the Pontiff's courage on the way to exile and induced him to sign then, how explain that the Pontiff remained two years in exile? The blunder is similar to the one made by the forger of the three Liberian letters. The Bollandists claim that the lines are interpolated; others admit their authenticity, but think that Jerome was deceived by Sozomen's

story and by the Arians. It seems more than likely that he saw the forged letters in the hands of Fortunatian, and then, ardent spirit that he was, without reflecting, without investigating, penned his injudicious censure.

Opposite to Jerome in every way stands Athanasius, that mighty man whom God raised up to guard the deposit of faith. For years he had withstood the wind and the sea, a powerful beacon-light, built in on the rock of Peter, warning the wanderers away from the reefs; lovers of darkness stormed at him and labored to overthrow him, but his light still flashed out its signals over the Arian darkness. Five times they dulled his light in exile, then they pounded at the base on which he rested; they hoped to shatter the rock of Peter and see lighthouse and foundation topple and fall into the swirling waters.

Liberius and Athanasius, bound together by love of truth and of the Nicene faith, had stood against the world. Arles condemned Athanasius, Liberius condemned Arles; Milan condemned Athanasius, Liberius condemned Milan. Athanasius was exiled, so was Liberius, and now from the quiet of exile Athanasius writes: "Liberius was banished; after two years he yielded and, from fear of death with which they threatened him, he signed." And again: "Even if he did not endure the miseries of exile to the end, still he remained two years in banishment." "Did not endure to the end" surely implies a breaking down, a yielding, a signing.

These are serious charges indeed coming from a man like Athanasius. May we doubt the authenticity of the extracts? They are found in a work written six years before the supposed fall of Liberius; whence the Bollandists conclude that they are interpolations inserted into the genuine work of Athanasius by enemies of Liberius—a practice not at all uncommon in those times. Others, on the contrary, and with good reason, maintain that though Athanasius first wrote the book before the fall of Liberius, he nevertheless recalled the manuscript after the fall, and then it was that he expressed his belief in the Pontiff's guilt.

Be this as it may, let us admit that the condemnation is genuine. When or where did Athanasius get his information? In exile, surrounded by Arians, cut off from communication with the orthodox. There he learns that Liberius has been exiled; later on he hears of his return. He who knows the Emperor's mind so well can think of only one solution—the Pontiff must have yielded. The Arians are quick to confirm the suspicion, hoping thus to shake his constancy. Forged letters of Liberius are at hand and shown; rumor has it that he has signed; he is in Rome; would Constantius have allowed him to return without signing? Would he himself be allowed

to return to Alexandria unless he signed? Therefore it was that Athanasius concluded Liberius had fallen.

A deeper study of the whole question would convince one of this explanation. If it seems weak, then to the testimony of Athanasius may be opposed a certainly genuine letter of Pope St. Anastasius, who ascended the Papal chair thirty-two years after the death of Liberius. It must be admitted that a Pope in Rome, living so close to the events under consideration, was in a better position to gather evidence and pass judgment than was Athanasius in exile. St. Anastasius writes: "It was by God's providence that all the efforts of Constantius to overthrow the Nicene faith failed; that Nicene faith for which those who were then proven to be holy Bishops gladly underwent exile—Dionysius, now a saint of God; Liberius, of holy memory, Bishop of Rome; Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilary of Poitiers and others who were all ready to be crucified rather than blaspheme the God Christ or say that the Son of God was a creature of the Most High."

This letter has only come to light within the last half century and must go far to lift the shadow that has long hung over the name of Liberius. One could not wish a stronger defense. "All efforts of Constantius failed," and surely his most persistent and determined effort was made against Liberius. "Those who were then proven to be holy Bishops, ready to be crucified rather than deny the consubstantiality of the Son," are mentioned by name, and prominent among them the name of Liberius—not of a vague, indefinite Liberius, but he of holy memory, Bishop of Rome. Surely Anastasius could not have spoken thus of Liberius in a public document had Liberius broken down in exile and signed an heretical formula.

Theodoretus tells the whole Liberian incident as dramatically as does Sozomen, but, and this is more to our purpose, with greater show of truth. Liberius is in exile, Constantius in Rome. Noble matrons beg their husbands to present a petition to the Emperor asking for the return of the Pontiff. The husbands hesitate between love of their lives and love of their wives. They know the Emperor's mind; he might condemn them to death for presenting their petition, yet if they do not present it, their wives will abandon Rome and live in exile with the Pontiff. Cleverly they play on womanly vanity. They persuade the insistent matrons to array themselves in all their finery and present their own petition to the Emperor. He could not refuse them, he would not kill them. Like other Esthers, then, they come before Assuerus. Assuerus demurs. Is not Felix Pope? Is not one enough? They insist. The Emperor yields and issues an edict ordering the illustrious exile to return and

share the throne with Felix. The Romans scorn the proclamation. The city rings with the cry, "One God, one Christ, one Bishop." "I have put down their very words," writes Theodoretus, and continues, "then that wonderful man Liberius returned."

The recorded speeches are probably as true as are similar ones in Tacitus or Livy; the point to be noted, however, is that the return of Liberius is not ascribed to the signing of any formula, but to the fact that the Emperor yielded to pressure brought to bear upon him by the matrons of Rome.

Socrates, another historian, assigns a more convincing motive—"Liberius was recalled from exile because the Romans revolted, drove Felix from the Church and forced the Emperor, though unwilling, to accede to their demands."

Still another historian, Sulpicius Severus, has a similar account, brief and clear. He writes: "Liberius, too, and Hilary of Poitiers were exiled, but Liberius returned on account of riots in Rome."

The testimony of Rufinus serves rather to show how early the fall of Liberius was debated than to vindicate the Pontiff's innocence. Yet it is favorable in this sense that it proves conclusively that even during the lifetime of Liberius there was no clear evidence of his guilt. It strengthens our belief, too, in the theory that there was a sinister move on foot to spread false rumors about the Pontiff's actions—rumors which gained credence even among the holy. Rufinus writes: "Liberius returned to Rome while Constantius was still alive. I can get no accurate information as to whether he was allowed to return because he yielded to the Emperor's wish and signed or because the Emperor yielded to the people's wish and allowed him to return."

In his youth Rufinus had known Liberius; he had studied under Fortunatian, who held the forged letters of Liberius, yet he could get no definite information; how, then, could Athanasius in exile or Hilary or Jerome in far-off Palestine?

Coming out of this maze of contradictory evidence into the clearer region of truth, study the man Liberius and see if he be such a one as would break down in exile and sign away his faith.

Study him as the Romans saw him immediately after his return. His entrance into the city was a magnificent triumph. The Romans, loyal supporters of Athanasius and staunch defenders of the Nicene Creed, would never have welcomed a man who had betrayed his friend and denied his faith; they would never have decreed a triumph to an apostate; neither would they have allowed a heretic to sit on the chair of Peter. They would not have lived in peace and closest union with him during the eight years that yet remained of his pontificate. They asked for no profession of faith, they de-

manded no recantation, they ordered no reparation of scandal, for there had been no scandal.

Furthermore, the conduct of Constantinus is psychologically impossible in the hypothesis that Liberius signed the formula. It should have been his triumph; it was the Pontiff's. He had labored like one possessed to shake the constancy of Liberius, yet he does not flaunt his victory before the world; nay, rather he renews his attack in another council. He boasted of other successes. He told of Osius of Cordova, who in an evil moment wavered in his faith, yet he never gloried in the fall of Liberius.

The whole pontificate of Liberius was a continued struggle with Arianism and Constantius. Scarcely seated on the Papal chair, he saw his legates and the whole council of Arles forced to a condemnation of Athanasius by the Emperor. Liberius alone stood out and wrote to express his sorrow at the action, hoping that he might die lest he be accused of having agreed to the act of injustice. Then came the council of Milan, where by similar tactics a like condemnation was secured. Again Liberius refused to sanction the action of the council. Constantius saw that to gain his point he must win over Liberius. He sent him his price. The Pontiff scorned the offer, demanded a free council and stipulated that the Arians be excluded. Exile was the answer. Later he returned. Two years passed. The council of Seleucia-Rimini was trapped into a condemnation of Athanasius, and for the third time the staunch Liberius condemned the findings of the council in spite of the Emperor's commands.

Now in all fairness such a man cannot be judged likely to have yielded in exile. The giant oak is not uprooted by the first great storm that blows. A man who twice defied the Emperor before exile and once after exile is not likely to have yielded during exile.

True, the blundering Sozomen, the forged letters, the hesitating Hilary, the ardent Jerome, the exiled Athanasius, all say that he did yield. On the other hand, Theodoretus, Sulpicius, Severus, Socrates and Pope St. Anastasius say that he did not yield. Add to this the failure of Constantius to avail himself of his supposed victory, the failure of the Arians to boast of their triumph, the acceptance of the Pontiff by the Roman clergy and his own consistent opposition to the Emperor before, during and after exile, and it must be admitted that Liberius signed no Arian formula as the price of his return to Rome.

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# JAN VAN RUYSBROECK, L'ADMIRABLE, A GREAT FLEMISH MYSTIC AND FRIEND OF GOD.

Contemplation is a science without mode,  
Above human reason remaining evermore:  
Unto our reason can it not come down,  
Neither above it can reason ever rise.

—"De vera contemplatione."—Ruysbroeck.

**R**UYSBROECK, the great Flemish mystic, was a Friend of God and a contemporary and friend of Suso and Tauler. He was born at Ruysbroeck, a small village on the Senne, between Brussels and Hal, in 1293, and as very little is known of his antecedents, the name of his birthplace is the only one by which history records him. It is not very strange that a veil of mystery should enshroud one who has been called "the greatest mystic the world has ever seen."

He received very little education, but was ordained priest in 1316, and became vicar of St. Gudule, in Brussels, where he remained until he was sixty. He then retired, by the advice of a hermit named Lambert, to Grunenthal or the Green Valley, in the forest of Soignes, and at first lived in a small wooden hut, but was soon joined by some companions who were kindred spirits and with them founded the monastery of Grunenthal, of which he became prior, and there they gave themselves up to the contemplative life. It was here that he composed in Flemish all his mystical works.<sup>1</sup>

The fame of his sanctity soon spread and drew many visitors to Grunenthal from Holland and Germany to consult him. Sometimes these intruders were actuated by curiosity, and some stories are told of the way in which he dealt with this class of visitor. On one occasion some friends from Paris came ostensibly to consult him as to what stage in the spiritual life they had reached, but all they could get out of him was "that they were as holy as they wished to be." This sounded too oracular to satisfy their spiritual curiosity and failing to catch the inner meaning of his words, they were angry. At last, seeing this, he vouchsafed to explain himself and said: "My very dear children, I said that your holiness was that which you desired it to be; in other words, it is in proportion to your good will. Enter into yourselves, examine your good will, and you will have the measure of your state."

Ruysbroeck was once lost in the forest, and after looking for him in all directions, a light like that of a burning bush attracted one of his most intimate friends, and his religious brethren advanc-

<sup>1</sup> *L'Ornement des Noces Spirituelles, de Ruysbroeck l'Admirable. Traduit du Flamaud et accompagné d'une Introduction par Maurice Maeterlinck. Bruxelles, 1911; pp. 21-22.*



ing to it, found him in an ecstasy under a tree and the tree was in flames.

His biographer Surius, a Carthusian monk at Cologne, who lived nearly two centuries later, tells us that when Ruysbroeck died, the bells of a Dutch convent were tolled spontaneously without the help of ringers. He also says that his body was exhumed and found incorrupt five years after his death, and sick persons who were brought to it were cured by its wonderfully sweet perfume.

Another Carthusian, Denis, said of Ruysbroeck: "He had no teacher but the Holy Ghost. He was ignorant and illiterate. Peter and John were the same. His authority, I believe, to be that of a man to whom the Holy Ghost has revealed secrets."<sup>2</sup>

Maurice Maeterlinck, who has translated his greatest work, "*L'Ornement des Noces Spirituelles*," into French and added a masterly introduction to it, thinks him as a mystic beyond all praise, though as a writer he criticizes him severely and says, "I have toiled in the sweat of my brow over his involved syntax," and that "he was entirely ignorant of the skilled methods of philosophic thought."<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps it was inevitable that Maeterlinck, the master of exquisite prose himself, should be somewhat severe in his criticism of Ruysbroeck's faults as a writer, though he acknowledges that his abstruseness is partly due to the heights of mysticism and the depths of human thought to which he conducts his readers. Paradoxical as it sounds, "Ruysbroeck," says Maeterlinck, "could only think the unthinkable and speak the unspeakable."

Those who are unaccustomed to the writings of the great mystics would find him unreadable and to thoroughly understand him, something more than an intellectual acquaintance with mystical works is necessary, for he dealt with matters which are beyond ordinary knowledge and penetrated into realms where what is heard, seen and felt human language cannot describe. And it is not always the mystics who are to be blamed when they are not understood; it is sometimes the reader's fault, because he has not sufficient experimental knowledge of spiritual things to follow the mystic's leading, and Ruysbroeck leads to unexplored heights of contemplation, where the air is too rarified for ordinary mortals to breathe.

In speaking of Ruysbroeck's marvelous mystical knowledge, Maeterlinck says: "This monk possessed one of the wisest and most exact and most subtle philosophic brains which have ever existed. He knew no Greek and perhaps no Latin. He was alone and poor

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Mysticism*, by Rufus Jones, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Maeterlinck, p. 2.

and yet in the depths of this obscure forest of Brabant, his mind, ignorant and simple as it was, receives all unconsciously dazzling sunbeams from all the lonely mysterious peaks of human thought. He knew, though he was unaware of it, the Platonism of Greece, the Sufism of Persia, the Brahmanism of India and the Buddhism of Thibet and his marvelous ignorance rediscovers the wisdom of buried centuries and foresees the knowledge of centuries to come."<sup>4</sup>

The true Catholic solution of this enigmatic knowledge of Ruysbroeck's would seem to be, that like that of St. Theresa, St. Hildegarde and St. Bridget of Sweden and other canonized mystics, his knowledge was infused. He is known as the Ecstatic Doctor. He was the link between the Friends of God and the Brethren of the Common Life, who were sometimes called "the Founders of the New Devotion," the most celebrated of whom were Gerard Groote and Florentius. In the *Life of Gerard Groote* by St. Thomas a'Kempis, there is a beautiful description of a visit of Gerard to Ruysbroeck, who was then the venerable Prior of Gruenthal. Gerard went to visit him because he had only known him hitherto by repute and by his books, and he longed to see him face to face and to hear his words, "and his voice as gracious as if it were the very mouth-piece of the Holy Ghost."<sup>5</sup> He took with him one Master John Cele, the director of the school at Zwolle, and a faithful and devout layman, one Gerard, a shoemaker.

We continue in the words of a'Kempis, so beautifully translated by J. P. Arthur, who has managed to preserve the charm of the original French version. "When they came to the place called Grunthal they saw no lofty or elaborate buildings therein, but rather all the signs of simplicity of life and poverty such as marked the first footsteps of our Heavenly King, when He, the Lord of Heaven, came upon this earth as a Virgin's Son in exceeding poverty.

"As they entered the gate of the monastery that holy father, the devout prior, met them, being a man of great age, of kindly serenity and one to be revered for his honorable character. He it was whom they had come to see, and saluting them with the greatest benignity as they advanced and being taught by a revelation from God, he called upon Gerard by his very name and knew him, though he had never seen him before. After this salutation he took them with him into the inner parts of the cloister as his most honored guests and with a cheerful countenance and a heart yet more joyful showed them all due courtesy and kindness, as if he were entertaining Jesus Christ Himself. Gerard abode there for a few days

<sup>4</sup> Ruysbroeck and the Mystics. M. Maeterlinck; pp. 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> Founders of the New Devotion, by Thomas a'Kempis. Translated by J. P. Arthur.

conferring with this man of God about the Holy Scriptures, and from him he heard many heavenly secrets which as, he confessed, were past his understanding, so that in amazement he said with the Queen of Sheba; 'O excellent Father, Thy wisdom and Thy knowledge exceedeth the fame which I heard in my own land: for by Thy virtues Thou hast surpassed Thy fame.'"<sup>6</sup>

So impressed was Gerard by the conversation of Ruysbroeck that when he reached home he wrote down all he could remember. The death of Ruysbroeck was divinely revealed to Gerard, who announced it to the inhabitants by tolling the bells, and he privately told some of his friends that the soul of the Prior of Grunenthal had passed into Heaven after one hour of Purgatory.

One of the results of this visit to Grunenthal was that Gerard Groote decided on his return to build a monastery for canons regular at Windesheim. He was moved to do so by the love and reverence he felt for the Flemish king of mystics and his followers, who lived so holy a religious life at Grunenthal, for he said, "He had observed in them a mode of life greatly tending to edification by reason of their deep humility and the wearing of a simple garb." Gerard did not live to accomplish this himself, for he died three years after his visit to Ruysbroeck, but he left his plans to his disciples and they carried out his wishes and built the house at Windesheim for canons regular, of which Thomas a'Kempis afterwards became the chief ornament. Windesheim was a desolate place, between Zwolle and Deventer, and there Florentius built the first house of the celebrated canons of Windesheim. They took no formal vows, but followed the rule of the canons regular of St. Augustine. In a sense they may be said to owe their foundation to Ruysbroeck, for it was he who by his example inspired Groote and through him the other Brethren of the Common Life to build this house. Ruysbroeck was also visited at Grunenthal by the great Dominican mystic and Friend of God, John Tauler.

The list of his works is a long one, containing twelve volumes. They were written in Flemish, but were translated into Latin by Laurentius Surius, and recently his most celebrated book, "The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage," has been translated into French by M. Maeterlinck, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century Ernest Hello, one of the greatest living French mystics, made a selection from the Latin version of Surius and translated extracts which appealed to him into French and published them.

According to M. Maeterlinck, who being himself Flemish and a great critic, is in a position to judge, Surius in his Latin version,

<sup>6</sup> *The Founders of the New Devotion, By Thomas a'Kempis. Opera Omnia. Volume II. Translated by J. P. Arthur, 1902.*

which the great Flemish master of style describes as noble and subtle in its Latinity, has been scrupulous to give the exact meaning rather than a literal translation of the original, and has sometimes in his anxiety to be accurate paraphrased Ruysbroeck and used two or three words where he employed only one, so that his edition is somewhat diffuse.

M. Maeterlinck by giving us a French translation of "The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage" from the original Flemish has conferred a great boon upon students of mysticism, and it is to be hoped that he will give us further translations of Ruysbroeck's writings. Even then for those who do not read French easily a second translation will be necessary, and in mystical works like Ruysbroeck's, where he endeavored to put into words thoughts that transcend every human language, it may easily happen that this double reflection of his meaning may occasionally be distorted before it reaches our understanding, and this is probably why "the most mystical of all the mystics" is found so difficult of comprehension even by those well versed in mysticism.

The titles of Ruysbroeck's books often vary according to the fancy of the scribe who copied them or the translator who translated them, and those of Surius generally differ from the Flemish titles, which, however, were not Ruysbroeck's, for he seldom gave his works any title. The following is a list of his works:

"The Book of the Twelve Béguines" is called by Surius "Of True Contemplation," a better and more suitable title.

"The Mirror of Eternal Salvation," sometimes called "the Book of the Sacraments," was sent by the author to a Poor Clare in the convent of that order in Brussels named Margaret van Meerbeke.

"The Book of the Spiritual Tabernacle" has in Surius a title three lines long, beginning "In the Tabernacle of Moses." This is Ruysbroeck's longest work.

"The Book of the Twelve Virtues" is simpler, and contains some beautiful thoughts on humility and detachment.

"The Book of the Sparkling Stone" is called by Surius "De Calculo, or Concerning the Perfection of the Sons of God," and is said by him to be an admirable little book.

"The Book of the Seven Steps of the Ladder of Love" is called by Surius the Seven Degrees of Love.

"The Book of the Seven Castles" resembles the Interior Castle of St. Theresa. Surius gives this book the title "Of Seven Watchmen."

To "The Book of Supreme Truth" he gives the name of "Samuel."

"The Book of the Kingdom of Lovers" was partly written in

verse and is said by M. Maeterlinck to be the most abstract of all Ruysbroeck's works.

"The Book of the Four Temptations" is a small one and deals with temptations which assail the contemplative life.

"The Book of Christian Faith" is another very short book.

"The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage" is Ruysbroeck's best known work, of which we shall say more presently.<sup>7</sup>

The two leading notes of Ruysbroeck's life and teaching were Love and Joy—Love for Our Lord and Joy in holy things. His rule of life was to do all for love of our Lord and to perform all the actions of his daily life as for Him.

Speaking of the mystic Joy which he so often experienced, he says: "I must rejoice without ceasing, although the world shudder at my joy." But before quoting passages from his writings to illustrate these characteristics, we propose to give a short analysis of his book, "The Ladder of Love." The leading idea of it is that by seven steps of ever growing Love we mount up to that consummation "in which we are burned up like live coals on the hearth of His infinite charity."

The seven steps are Good-will, Voluntary Poverty, Purity, Lowliness of Mind, Desire for God's glory, Divine Contemplation and the Unnamable transcendence of all thought and knowledge. On this Ladder there are three stages: 1, The Active Life; 2, The Inner Life, and, 3, The Contemplative Life. These are again divided into three ways according to the three ways in which the words "Ecce sponsus venit" may be interpreted. First, the Advent of Our Lord in the days of His flesh; 2, His coming by grace; 3, His coming to Judgment.

The Inner Life is also subdivided into three stages. The first of these stages is the illumination of the intellect by His coming. The second stage is the effort of the will in going out to meet Him, and the third the desire to be united brings about the actual meeting. The third stage is attained by only the few, and in trying to describe it, Ruysbroeck follows Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite, and Eckhart.

The three leading principles of the book are, first of all, zeal for the service of God in the active life. Secondly, the Son in us responding to the Father's call—in Ruysbroeck's own words "the abyss of God calleth to the abyss in us." And, thirdly, the retention of individual personality in union with God. Ruysbroeck has no pantheistic tendencies; he always insists that no matter how close and intimate the union between God and the human soul may be, the soul always retains its individuality. Neither does he savor

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<sup>7</sup> Maeterlinck, pp. 23, et seq.

of quietism; he is careful to emphasize the need for active service as well as for passive contemplation, and compares the contemplative life to breathing, where the expiration is the going out to active work for God, and the inspiration the return of man into himself until he comes into union with God.<sup>8</sup> He never ceases in all his books to speak of the joys of introversion.

The Book of the "Adornment of Spiritual Marriage" might almost be said to be a treatise on Joy, for there is a joyous smile on almost every page of it; there is joy even in suffering. The hermit of Grunenthal knew by experience that suffering and spiritual joy go together. Joy is but the obverse side of suffering, and as a modern pagan writer has said, "self-renunciation is joy."<sup>9</sup> Ruysbroeck in this beautiful book of his says: "Out of all sufferings and all renunciations the man will draw for himself an inward joy; he will resign himself into the hands of God and will rejoice to suffer in promoting God's glory. And if he persevere in this course, he will enjoy secret pleasures never tasted before: for nothing so rejoices the lover of God as to feel that he belongs to his Beloved."

It is not only suffering and joy that he associates together, but Love and joy also, but then love is often suffering. In the Book of the Seven Castles he speaks of the sufferings of love, which make man now hot, now cold, and brings him both hope and despair, but when the soul attains to union with God, he thus defines his love and his joy.

"This love is a wave boundless and calmed, of riches and joys, in which all the saints are swallowed up with God in an unlimited enjoyment. And this joy is wild and lonely like a wondering, for it has neither limit, nor road, nor path, nor rest, nor measure, nor end, nor beginning, nor anything which one can show or express by words."<sup>10</sup>

This man was a poet as well as a saint, like most mystics, whether they can express their thoughts in verse or not; the frenzy of the poet has something akin to the ecstasy of the mystic.

In "the Ladder of Love," his most beautiful work, he cries out in a rhapsody which, if the paradox may be forgiven, though prose rises higher than poetry, for surely it was inspired.

"The Holy Ghost cries in us with a loud voice and without words, 'Love the love which loves you unceasingly.' His crying is an inward contact with our spirit. This voice is more terrifying than the storm. The flashes which it darts forth open the sky

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<sup>8</sup> Maeterlinck, pp. 67-70.

<sup>9</sup> Matthew Arnold.

<sup>10</sup> Maeterlinck, p. 71.

to us and show us the light of eternal truth." \* \* \* \* "For the more we love, the more we desire to love, and the more we pay of that which love demands, the greater becomes our debt to love. Love is not silent, but cries continually, 'Love thou love.' To love and to enjoy, this is to labor and to suffer. Our work is to love God; our enjoyment is to receive the embrace of love."<sup>11</sup>

He was a true artist, though his medium was neither the brush nor the chisel, and like all artistic natures, he loved color, especially green, though he was probably ignorant of the physical effects modern science has discovered green has on the recuperative forces and its restful qualities. He attributed mystical meanings to colors and speaks of the golden color of love, the white color of innocence, the purple that is violet or blood red color of generosity, the red color of burning love. He associates yellow with obedience, because he was a poet and saw that yellow was the color of the sunflower, which obediently turns to the sun as he rises, all of which he brings out beautifully in his "Book of the Spiritual Tabernacle."

He lived in an age when mystical qualities and symbolical meanings were attributed to precious stones, and doubtless the work on Precious Stones by Bishop Marbod, from which other mystical writers have drawn, had reached him. As green was his favorite color, so was the emerald his favorite gem, and after the emerald, the jasper, which, he says, is also green, though we should have said it was a reddish yellow.

As he thinks the emerald the most beautiful precious stone he compares it to Our Lord in "the Spiritual Tabernacle," where he says: "In this article we compare to the Son of God that beautiful stone which is called the emerald and which is so green that no leaves nor grass nor any other green thing can compare with its viridity. And it fills and feeds with its greenness the eyes of those who behold it. Now when the eternal Word of the Father was made Man, then was seen the greenest color ever known on earth. That union of natures is so green and so lovely and so joyful that no other color can equal it, and so in a holy vision it has filled and fed the eyes of such men as have prepared themselves to perceive it. And in another article we compare Christ to the jasper, which has a green color very pleasant to the eye, and it almost equals the emerald in its greenness. And so we compare it to the ascension of Our Lord, Who was green and beautiful in the eyes of the Apostles and so pleasant that they could never forget Him during all their lives."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Maeterlinck, p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> L'Ornement des Noces, pp. 47-49.

Both Virgil and Pliny mention jasper as a green stone. In the *Eneid* Virgil speaks of a sword studded with jasper. Probably he and Ruysbroeck meant the stone we call aqua-marine, a kind of beryl which is a greenish color, though compared with the green of the emerald, the true beryl, it is as water unto wine.

In the *Book of the Sparkling Stone*, which Surius describes as an admirable work, Ruysbroeck says some very strange and beautiful things about what he says he calls the contemplative life, but even in this description of the very highest form of contemplation he does not separate it from the active life, for he had no patience with people who spend their time waiting for visions and was wont to say that love cannot be idle. After saying that "God sends us out to keep His commandments as His faithful servants, and He calls us in as His mysterious friends to obey His counsels," he continues thus:

"And in the repose of our spirit we receive the incomprehensible splendor which envelops and penetrates us, just as the air is penetrated by the brightness of the sun. And this splendor is merely a boundless vision and a boundless beholding. What we are that we behold and what we behold that we are; for our thought, our life and our essence are closely united with that truth which is God and are raised along with it. And that is why in this pure vision we are one life and one spirit with God, and that is what I call a contemplative life."<sup>18</sup>

Ruysbroeck was the prototype of the modern mystic, *Conventry Patmore*, for the theme of the poet in "The Angel of the House" and of the Flemish mystic in "The Adornment of Spiritual Marriage" was *Spiritual Espousals with the Divine Bridegroom*. M. Maeterlinck says that the first twenty chapters of this work of Ruysbroeck, which he has translated into French, contain little more than mere mild pious commonplaces, and that it is full of repetitions and apparent contradictions, and he fears that only those accustomed to the works of the Neo-Platonist will penetrate far into it. But the fact is that no Neo-Platonism, no mere study of mystical works will enable the reader to penetrate into the transcendental mysteries here clothed in language inadequate to express them; no effort of the imagination nor of the reason will avail us; nothing but experimental knowledge of the ways of God with the soul which only the very few possess is of use. Ruysbroeck himself uttered a great and pertinent truth in those words of his above quoted: "What we are that we behold and what we behold that we are." He beheld more than it is often given to man to behold, because he was worthy to behold it, and he tried to translate

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-63.



his visions into human speech. Words often fail to express the deepest thoughts of ordinary men and women; how much more feeble are they to express the unutterable spiritual truths revealed to this holy man. As M. Maeterlinck happily says, "This book is not too far from us; it is we who are too far from the book. There are passages of incomparable beauty in it which can be understood by all, and throughout its pages these two leading figures of Love and Joy go hand in hand."

Here is a lovely passage on the Soul's hunger for God:

"Here there begins an eternal hunger which shall never more be satisfied. It is the yearning and the inward aspiration of our faculty of love and of created spirit towards an uncreated good. And as the spirit desires joy and is invited and constrained by God to partake of it, it is always longing to realize joy. Behold then the beginning of an eternal aspiration and of eternal efforts, while our impotence is likewise eternal. For a created vessel cannot contain an uncreated good, and hence that continual struggle of the hungry soul and its feebleness which is swallowed up in God."

Much spiritual consolation and comfort may be gleaned from this book, for the writer knew the human heart with all its longings, its doubts, its fears, its misery and its sufferings as well as he knew the only Source from which that comfort and consolation can be derived. For instance to timid souls who fear they love not God he says: "There are, nevertheless, some righteous men who believe that they neither love nor rest in God. But this thought itself springs from love, and because their desire to love is greater than their ability, therefore it seems to them that they are powerless to love."

To suffering souls who have learnt resignation he has much to say. "Out of all sufferings and all renunciations the man will draw for himself an inward joy; he will resign himself into the hands of God and will rejoice to suffer in promoting God's glory. And if he perseveres in this course, he will enjoy secret pleasures never tasted before; for nothing so rejoices the lover of God as to feel that he belongs to his Beloved." A little further on he describes how consolation and desolation are all one to the truly resigned, and illustrates it by a beautiful poetical simile.

"At this season the sun enters into the sign of Libra, for the day and night are equal and the day and night equally balanced. Even so for the resigned soul, Jesus Christ is in the sign of Libra, and whether He grants sweetness or bitterness, darkness or light, of whatever nature His gift may be, the man retains his balance, and all things are one to him with the exception of sin, which has been driven out once for all."

It would be easy to multiply these extracts, but it is time now to examine Ruysbroeck's best known work, "The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage," translated a few years ago into French by Maurice Maeterlinck, for which work all lovers of mysticism owe him a debt of gratitude. The treatise is divided into three books, of which the second is by far the longest, containing 172 pages, while the first book consists of only 73, and the third of only 14 pages. There is a short prologue to both the first and second books, and they are all divided into very short chapters, some only half a page in length. This arrangement greatly simplifies a book which has little method or plan in it, for construction was not the strong point of the great Flemish mystic, but to those accustomed to mystical writings the book will not we think be so incomprehensible as M. Maeterlinck appears to have found it. Parts of it are undoubtedly obscure, where the author treats of highly interior experience which cannot be translated into human speech; on the other hand, much is exceedingly simple, particularly the first book, which treats of the active life and the virtues.

The text upon which the whole treatise is founded is "Ecce Sponsus venit, exite obviam ei." In the first book he treats of the way in which the Bridegroom comes—first, in the flesh at the Incarnation; secondly, to every loving soul daily and frequently in graces and gifts according as man can receive them, and, thirdly, at the Last Judgment. Then he speaks of the spiritual going out of the soul towards the virtues as one way of going out to meet the Bridegroom, and in the following chapter he deals with the virtues themselves, such as humility, generosity, diligence, purity, patience, sweetness, meekness and compassion. Here Ruysbroeck is true to the principles of the Friends of God in teaching that good works are essential to the higher contemplative life and comprehended in it.

In chapter 25 he speaks of the spiritual meeting between God and the soul which takes place in three ways. First, we must love God in everything wherein we shall merit eternal life; secondly, we must attach ourselves to nothing which we could love as much as or more than God, and, thirdly, we must rest in God with all our zeal above all creatures and above all the gifts of God and above all the works of the virtues and above all the sensible grace that God can bestow upon the body and the soul.

The last chapter in the first book is beautiful and describes how we desire to know the Bridegroom in His nature when we have gone forth in all the virtues to meet Him. It is not sufficient then to a man to know Christ in His works; then he will do as Zaccheus did, who desired to see Jesus; he will go before all the

crowd—that is to say, all the multitude of creatures, for they make us so small and so short that we cannot perceive God, and he will mount upon the tree of Faith, which grows from the top downwards to the bottom, for all its roots are in the Divinity. The lower branches of this tree speak of the humanity of God; the upper part of the tree speaks of the divinity of the Trinity of Persons and of the unity of the Divine nature. The man will rest himself on the Unity at the top of the tree, for it is there that Jesus will pass with all His gifts. “Here He arrives and sees the man and tells him in the light of faith that He is according to His Divinity, immeasurable and incomprehensible, inaccessible and abyssal and that He surpasses all limited comprehension. It is the supreme knowledge acquired in the active life to recognize this in the light of faith that God is inconceivable and unknowable.”<sup>14</sup>

In this light Christ says to the desire of the man, “Come down, for to-day I will dwell in thy house.” This rapid descent to which God invites him is nothing else than a descent by desire and by love into the abyss of the Divinity that no intelligence can attain in created light. But there where the intelligence remains outside, love and desire enter.” Ruysbroeck concludes this chapter by saying: “If you have met Christ by faith and the intention of love, you dwell in God and God dwells in you and you possess the active life, which is the first kind of life of which He desired to speak.”

In the prologue to the second book he strikes the note on which all the chapter more or less resounds, namely, the word “Ecce,” for here he treats of vision. “In the middle of the night, that is to say, when we least expect it, a spiritual cry sounds in the soul: ‘Behold the Bridegroom cometh.’ We are going to speak of this vision of the interior arrival of Christ, and of the spiritual going out of man to meet Jesus, and we are going to elucidate and explain these four conditions of an interior life, elevated and desiring what all cannot attain to, but where nevertheless many do arrive, thanks to the virtues and to interior courage.”<sup>15</sup>

He then goes on to explain briefly what the four conditions are, and the whole of this second book is devoted to the development of this theme; but as M. Maeterlinck says, Ruysbroeck follows no definite plan, for even when he has made one, he digresses from his point constantly to penetrate into regions where it is sometimes very difficult to follow, since when he reaches these heights, words often fail to express his meaning.

The first of these four conditions is: Our Lord in this word

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<sup>14</sup> L'Ornement, etc., p. 149.

<sup>15</sup> L'Ornement, p. 152.

'Ecce' wishes that our intelligence should be illuminated with a supernatural light. In the second place in the words "Sponsus venit" He tells us what He wishes us to behold, namely, the interior arrival of our Bridegroom. In the third place, He orders us to go out, and in the fourth place, He teaches us that the end of all these works is the meeting of Jesus Christ in the unity of the Divinity.

One of Ruysbroeck's methods of teaching is by divisions and subdivisions of subjects, and in the first chapter of the second book, which is very short, he tells us of three things necessary to him who would behold in a supernatural sense—first, the light of Divine grace; secondly, the abandonment of all interior images and, thirdly, the turning of the will to God with all our strength.

A few chapters later on he speaks of three methods in which Our Lord comes to the interior man and their effects, each of which raises man to a higher state and to a more intimate kind of prayer. We may sum up these chapters briefly in the words of St. Edmund in his "Mirror," where he says, "Prayer or Orison is nothing else but love-longing,"<sup>16</sup> for it is by love that the soul goes out to meet the Bridegroom. In them he treats of the soul's love for God and of the obstacles that it meets with and of how it must behave under these circumstances.

In chapter 28 he speaks of the fourth advent of the Bridegroom, which corresponds with the Dark Night of the Soul of St. John of the Cross, where the soul is deprived of all comfort and feels itself deserted and often suffers great exterior trials at the same time.

In chapter 35 he speaks of yet another kind of advent which he compares to a fountain from which flow three rivers, and which is the fulness of Divine grace in the unity of our spirit.

In the chapters following chapter 40 he teaches the four ways in which a man who is confirmed in grace should go out to meet the Heavenly Bridegroom. First, he must direct himself to God and all the saints; secondly, he must come down from these heights and go forth among sinners and labor among them; thirdly, he must go out spiritually to the souls in Purgatory and pray for them, and, lastly, he must pray for himself and for all men of good will.

After this come some beautiful chapters upon how Christ was and is and ever will be the Lover of our souls and in what manner He abandons Himself to us in the Blessed Sacrament; and another

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<sup>16</sup> The Mirror of St. Edmund, p. 40. Burns & Oates, London. He also says "Contemplation is nothing else but the sight of the goodness of God." Ibid., p. 13.

chapter treats of the Unity of the nature of Almighty God in the Blessed Trinity and of the eternal hunger for God which the soul experiences and which can never be fully satisfied. We shall here quote a paragraph on this subject which shows how lucid Ruysbroeck can be sometimes even when treating of very high matters:

"Here begins an eternal hunger which can never be fully satisfied. It is an interior avidity and aspiration of amative force and of the created spirit towards an uncreated good. And as the soul desires the enjoyment of the love of God and is invited to it and forced to it by God, it wishes always to realize it. Behold here begins an eternal aspiration of eternal efforts in an eternal want of power. These are the poorest men that can be, for they are insatiable gourmands and they have a craving hunger. Although they eat and drink, they are never satisfied in this world, for this hunger is eternal. For a created vase cannot contain an uncreated good, and this is why there are these eternal hungerings after God, Who inundates them all with a want of power."<sup>17</sup>

In the latter chapters of this second book the Ecstatic Doctor considers the fourth and last point of his text, namely, the actual meeting of Christ, our Bridegroom, and the soul, for this he says is the end of all our internal spiritual vision both in grace and in glory, for He is our eternal rest and the end and reward of all our labors.

This coming of our Lord and our meeting with Him takes place in two ways, namely, with and without an intermediary, and Ruysbroeck proceeds first to describe this meeting without an intermediary, and here he soars to sublime heights of philosophical contemplation only to be followed if the whole chapters dealing with it are quoted, which is here impossible. When he comes to describe the meeting with an intermediary he is much clearer; the first meeting is the essential meeting of God and the human soul; the second is the active meeting and the intermediaries are the graces and interior gifts which God showers upon the soul and which He is ever renewing, and these intermediaries are indispensable to all men and to all souls for without the intermediaries of divine grace and of free and loving conversion of the soul to God no creature can be saved. The concluding chapters of the second book deal with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and with three kinds of very interior exercises.

The last book, which contains only six chapters, teaches how we are to arrive at a contemplative life, which he describes as a singular adornment and a celestial crown and the eternal reward of all the virtues. He insists, as all the mystics insist, that no one can arrive

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<sup>17</sup> *L'Ornement des Noces Spirituelles*, p. 258.

at this life of contemplation by human knowledge or subtility, but only by the Will of God, and very few attain to it. He then describes the divine meeting which takes place in the most secret part of the soul and he is certainly quite as comprehensible as either Eckhart or Tauler or any other mystic who has attempted to put into words such unutterable truths.

Such is a brief summary of a book which it is exceedingly difficult to analyze, and the process is something like dissecting a flower to discover to what order it belongs, whereby all the form, the fragrance, the beauty and the delicate coloring are destroyed. To do anything like justice to its author, the book requires to be read as a whole, and then it will not yield up all its beauty at a first reading, for, as we have seen, it treats of very high spiritual matters. Perhaps enough has here been said to induce those who are unacquainted with any of the works of the Ecstatic Doctor to study for themselves this volume which M. Maeterlinck has so ably translated into French from the Flemish.

DARLEY DALE.

## CATHOLIC USES OF THE ADESTE FIDELES

TO THOSE who have been familiar from childhood with the most "Christmassy" of hymns the title of this paper might well appear foolish. Which of us will not take it for granted that a Catholic hymnal must include both the text and the tune of this old favorite? Whatever judgment an editor may pass on the popularity and appropriateness of any other hymn, and therefore on its availability for inclusion in his volume, we might well suppose that he would consider the inclusion of this one as *de rigueur*.

The title, however, is not quite so foolish as might at first sight appear. In my study of the hymn I have come upon some variations of use that are interesting, some that are fairly striking and some that suggest practical considerations for hymnal editors.

## THE LATIN TEXT.

So far as we now know<sup>1</sup> the earliest form of the Latin text comprised four stanzas, beginning with the words *Adeste fideles*, *Deum de Deo*, *Cantet nunc Io*, and *Ergo qui natus*, respectively. This is the form found in various manuscripts written by John Francis Wade, the earliest one of which is authentically dated 1750. The name of this diligent scribe is apparently English, although he signs it in the Latin form, *Joannes Franciscus Wade*. The present locales of the manuscripts are in Scotland (Euing Library, Glasgow, "1750"), England (Stonyhurst College, "1751;" St. Edmund's, Ware, "1760;" Henry Watson Library, Manchester, undated), and Ireland (Clongowes Wood College, Sallins, County Kildare, undated).<sup>2</sup>

The earliest known appearance of the French form of the hymn (which comprises stanzas beginning respectively with the words: *Adeste fideles*, *En grege relicto*, *Stella duce Magi*, *Aeterni parentis*, *Pro nobis egenum*) is in an Office of St. Omer (St. Omer's, 1822.) More than threescore and ten years—the full Scriptural lifetime of man—intervene between the Euing Library manuscript and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf., "The Text of the Adestes Fideles" in the *REVIEW* for October, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> I include the Clongowes Wood College manuscript, although its present locale is unknown. Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood referred to it in his article on the hymn in "The Dolphin," Vol. VIII., 1906, p. 709, and Dom Gregory Ould, O. S. B., refers to it in his "Book of Hymns With Tunes" (London, 1913), as the source of his words. A letter which I addressed to the college in 1914 asking for certain details, however, resulted in the information that the manuscript cannot now be found, and that the same reply had to be given to Dr. Flood, who had also asked about it in 1914.

first known appearance of the French form of the hymn. We may fairly conclude that the English form is the original.<sup>3</sup>

Now let us follow the story of the English form of the Latin text. It appears in the manuscripts cited; also in an "Evening Office" of 1760 published in London; also in Coghlan's "Essay on the Church Plain Chant" (London, 1782) and in the reissue of that volume in 1799; and meanwhile in Webbe's "Collection of Motetts or Antiphons" (London, 1792). In Ireland it appeared, says Dr. Flood, in P. Wogan's book of 1805.

In view of all this it is curious to note that in the United States of America it should have waited so long for publication. The library of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia has two rare volumes of Catholic music published in Philadelphia in 1787 and 1791.<sup>4</sup>

Neither volume contains the "Adeste Fideles." This seems the more remarkable in view of the evident scarcity of Catholic hymns at hand in Philadelphia in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

It was my impression for many years that the hymn could be found, both in Latin and in English, in every hymnal meant for the use of English-speaking Catholics. To my surprise, however, I find neither Latin nor English in the following volumes:

1. A Compilation of Litanies, Hymns. (Philadelphia, 1787.)
2. A Compilation (revised edition of above). (Philadelphia, 1791.)
3. A Collection of Hymns (revised edition of above). (Philadelphia, 1814.)
4. The Pious Guide to Prayer. (Georgetown, "Potowmack," M.DCC.XCIII.)
5. True Piety, or the Day Well Spent. (Baltimore, 1809.)
6. L'Ange Conducteur. (New York, 1856.)
7. Catholic Youth's Hymnal. (New York, 1891.)
8. Cantate (English and Latin hymns). (New York, 1912.)
9. Cantemus Domino (English and Latin hymns). (St. Louis, 1912.)

The omission of the "Adeste Fideles" from these books appears to me surprising, in view of the popularity of the hymn from the middle of the eighteenth century in England down to the present day. That it should not appear in Nos. 1 and 2 might be explained by the disturbance caused by the War of the Revolution. It should, however, appear in No. 3, as it had been published in Philadelphia, apparently before the year 1800, by John Aitken. The "Stabat Mater" is given in No. 4. No. 5 has the corresponding Easter hymn, the "O Filii et Filiae." No. 6 has many liturgical Latin hymns. But the omission is still more surprising when we find Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 9 giving the Easter hymn ("O Filii"),

<sup>3</sup> All this is told more fully in the article in the REVIEW for October, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> "A Compilation of Litanies and Vespers, Hymns and Anthems as they are sung in the Catholic Church. Adapted to the voice and organ. By John Aitken." The volume contained 136 pages, small quarto. It was issued again, much revised, in 1791, by the same publisher.



although it is no more liturgical than the "Adeste" and is, I am convinced, much less popular.

I have also found a large number of hymnals that give only the Latin text. Sometimes this text is that which I have styled, for the sake of convenient reference, the "English Cento," and sometimes, but less frequently, that which I have styled the "French Cento."<sup>5</sup>

(a) Latin text (only) of the French Cento.

The Roman Hymnal. (New York, 1884; 21st edition, c., 1906.)  
Vade Mecum (for Four Male Voices). (New York, 1905.)  
Katholisches Gesangbuch. (Philadelphia, 1907.)  
Caecilia. (New York, 33d edition, 1909.)  
Parish Hymnal. (St. Louis, 1915.)

(b) Latin text of the English Cento.

Cantica Sacra. (Boston, 1865.)  
Sodalist's Vade Mecum. (Philadelphia, 1882.)  
Laudis Corona. (New York, 1885.)  
Crown of Jesus Music. (London, s. d.)  
Catholic Hymns (ed. Tozer). (London, 1898.)  
Catholic Church Hymnal (ed. Tozer). (New York, 1905.)  
Oratory Hymn Book. (Birmingham, Eng., 1906.)  
Hymns for the Ecclesiastical Year. (New York, 1908.)  
The Book of Hymns. (Edinburgh, 1910.)  
The Book of Hymns With Tunes. (London, 1913.)  
Crown Hymnal. (Boston, 1912.)  
Catholic Choir Hymnal. (New York, 1914.)  
Holy Name Hymnal. (Reading, Pa., 1914.)

It may seem strange that the Oratory Hymn Book should not include Father Caswall's beautiful translation, as it is found in several Protestant hymnals.<sup>6</sup>

Let me add here a list of hymnals in which I find only an English translation of the hymn:

Manual of the Sodality B. V. M. (New York, 1897.)  
Psallite (ed. Roesler, S. J.). (St. Louis, 1901.)  
Holy Family Hymn Book. (Boston, 1904.)  
Sursum Corda (ed. Bonvin, S. J.). (St. Louis, 1911.)  
Hosanna (ed. Bonvin, S. J.). (St. Louis, 1912.)

The translation in the "Sursum Corda" and the "Hosanna" is from the Latin of the French Cento.

TRANSLATIONS USED IN OUR HYMNALS.

I have noted<sup>7</sup> the appearance in "The Evening Office of the Church in Latin and English" of what apparently was the first translation of the Latin text into English, and the subsequent versified translation ("Come, faithful all, rejoice and sing") in

<sup>5</sup> Cf., "The Text of the Adeste Fideles" in the REVIEW for October, 1914.

<sup>6</sup> In "Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book." (Boston, 1885, p. 28) it is set to the traditional tune, but in "The Hymnal . . . as used in Trinity Church, New York" (New York, 1893, No. 50), it is set to a tune ("Roxburghe"), by Henry Smart, which agrees rather better with its rhythm than does the traditional tune.

<sup>7</sup> Cf., "Protestant Uses of the Adeste Fideles" in the REVIEW for April, 1915, pp. 257-258).

"Every Families' Assistant at Compline, Benediction," etc., issued in 1789. I do not know of any repetition elsewhere of either of these versions. I also called attention to an excellent version which first appeared, it would seem, in America ("Hither ye faithful, haste with songs of triumph"), which deserves a separate heading:

I. "HITHER YE FAITHFUL, HASTE WITH SONGS OF TRIUMPH."

I do not know the source of this version. Julian's "Dictionary of Hymnology"<sup>8</sup> ascribes it to a Presbyterian hymnal published in Philadelphia in 1843. One may fairly assume that, as Julian knew of no earlier appearance, the translation is of American origin. I found this version in a Catholic choir-book published by Benjamin Carr in Baltimore in 1805, and as this date preceded by thirty-eight years its appearance in the Presbyterian hymnal, I declared my opinion that it was probably of Catholic origin. Subsequently, however, a reference to it in Hobart's "Festivals and Fasts" (1804) to the effect that it had been frequently sung in Episcopalian services on Christmas Day led me to a change of view. Once more, however, the question is put in the melting-pot by the fact that a Philadelphia publisher issued it in large music-sheet form apparently before the year 1800. This publisher was John Aitken, who had issued two editions (1787, 1791) of a large choir-book for Catholic use, although himself, doubtless, not a Catholic, as he also published the King James version of the Bible. The version of the hymn may have been a Catholic one.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Second edition, London, 1907.

<sup>9</sup> The point is one of so much interest to American Catholics that I may be permitted to set down here some bibliographical details. In Willis P. Hazard's revised and enlarged edition (Philadelphia, 1884) of Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time" we read (Vol. III., p. 151): "Blake and Willig were among the earliest music publishers in Philadelphia. Mr. Blake died nearly one hundred years of age, at No. 13 South Fifth street. Mr. Blake stated that Messrs. Carr and Shetkey were publishing music previous to 1800, and that John Aitken was their predecessor for several years at No. 3 or 5 South Third street." The large quarto page (issued by John Aitken) of the "Adeste Fideles" is headed: "The celebrated Portuguese Hymn for Christmas Day." It also bears the statement: "Philadelphia: Published by John Aitken, and sold at his Musical Repository, North Second street, No. 76, and to be had at Charles Taws, Walnut street, No. 60." As this "celebrated Portuguese Hymn" is not included in Aitken's Catholic choir book of 1787 or 1791, we may fairly suppose that its celebrity was not known to him at those dates, and we may conjecturally date his publication of the hymn as later than 1791. Having examined the early Philadelphia Directories, Mr. James Warrington writes me concerning John Aitken: "He appears to have been a Silversmith and Copper Plate printer, and apparently conducted his business with other persons. I searched the Directories from 1791 to 1806. Charles Taws, whose name is on the sheet of 'Adeste Fideles' with

If so, it is to be regretted that it did not continue in use in our hymnals and that it was replaced by a much inferior translation, to which we may next direct our attention.

## 2. "WITH HEARTS TRULY GRATEFUL."

This translation appeared in a Catholic hymnal published at Washington in 1830.<sup>10</sup> It is unkempt from a poetical standpoint, but its rhythm was fairly adapted to the musical accents of the traditional tune, and perhaps this is the reason for the great favor shown to it by American editors of Catholic hymnals. It is not too obtrusively offensive to a poetical ear when it is sung; but when it is printed apart from the music (for example, in the small books used by a congregation merely for the words) its mimicry of rhyme is most unpleasant:

With hearts truly grateful,  
Come all ye faithful,  
To Jesus, to Jesus in Bethlehem.  
See Christ, your Saviour,  
Heaven's greatest favor.  
Let's hasten to adore Him, our Lord and King.

God to God equal,  
Light of Light eternal,  
Carried in Virgin's ever spotless womb;  
He all preceded,  
Begot, not created.  
Let's hasten to adore Him, our Lord and King.

Angels now praise Him,  
Loud their voices raising;  
The heavenly mansions with joy now ring;  
Praise, honor, glory,  
To Him who's most holy.  
Let's hasten to adore Him, our Lord and King.

To Jesus, born this day,  
Grateful homage repay;  
'Tis He who all heav'nly gifts doth bring;  
Word increated,  
To our flesh united.  
Let's hasten to adore Him, our Lord and King.

We, joyfully singing,  
Grateful tributes bringing,  
Praise Him and bless Him in heavenly hymns.  
Angels implore Him,  
Seraphs fall before Him.  
Let's hasten to adore Him, our Lord and King.

The third and fourth stanzas give rhymic closes to the symmetrically placed third and sixth lines. The other stanzas have no

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that of Aitken, appears at 60 Walnut street, up to and including 1800, but in 1801 the name becomes John Taws. Aitken's name appears at various places, but I do not find No. 76 North Second until 1801, when at that address the name of V. Blanc, Coppersmith, appears. I think we are safe, therefore, in assuming that the sheet was published not later than 1800."

<sup>10</sup> Cf., "Protestant Uses of the 'Adeste Fideles'" in the *REVIEW* for April, 1915, p. 259, where fuller details are given.

rhyme in these places. The fourth stanza rhymes the first two lines; the fifth rhymes the first two of the first half and also of the second half of the stanzas. It therefore seems clear that the translator aimed to produce a rhymed version. But, unfortunately, we find such mimicries of rhyme as *grateful* and *faithful*, *Saviour* and *favor, equal* and *eternal*, *preceded* and *created*, *praise him* and *raising*, *glory* and *holy*, *increated* and *united*. Again, the first two lines of the fourth stanza cannot be made to fit in with the tune unless by improperly giving the musical accent to the word *this* and to the syllable *re* of *repay*.

I do not know of any English editor who has used it for a hymnal. It appeared, however, in the "Catholic Choralist" (Dublin, 1842), and Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood declares<sup>11</sup> without qualification or hesitation that the translator was Father William Young. The date (1840) he assigns is nevertheless ten years later than its appearance (1830) in the hymnal published at Washington, D. C. How long it may have retained a vogue in Ireland I do not know. The hymnal<sup>12</sup> compiled by the Rev. C. Gaynor, C. M., uses a different version.

In his "Dictionary of Hymnology"<sup>13</sup> Julian lists it among the translations not in common use. This may be true of the British Isles, but it is very wide of the mark if we consider American Catholic hymnals and prayer-books. I have found it, for instance, in the following:

1. A Collection of Psalms, Hymns. (Washington, 1830.)
2. The Morning and Evening Service. (New York, 1840.)
3. Catholic Choralist. (Dublin, 1842.)
4. Key of Paradise (prayer book). (Baltimore, 1842.)
5. Manual of Catholic Melodies. (Baltimore, 1843.)
6. Catholic Sunday School Hymn Book. (Philadelphia, 4th ed., 1850.)
7. Manual of Catholic Piety (prayer book). (New York, 1850.)
8. Sacred Wreath. (Philadelphia, 1863.)
9. Key of Paradise (prayer book). (New York, 1874.)
10. Catholic Youth's Hymn Book. (New York, 1885.)
11. Sursum Corda. (New York, 1888.)
12. Spiritual Treasure. (Doylestown, Pa., 1888.)
13. Holy Face Hymnal. (New York, 1891.)
14. Manual of the Sodality B. V. M. (New York, 1897.)
15. Psallite. (St. Louis, 1901.)
16. Catholic Boy Choir Manual. (New York, 1901.)
17. Holy Family Hymn Book. (Boston, 1904.)
18. St. Basil's Hymnal. (Toronto, 10th ed., 1906.)
19. Parish Kyrial and Hymnal. (Rochester, N. Y., 1912.)
20. Prayer Book for Religious. ed. Lasance. (New York.)
21. American Catholic Hymnal. (New York, 1913.)
22. English and Latin Hymns. (New York, 1914.)

In an edition of the "Manual of Catholic Piety," edited by Father Gahan, O. S. A., in Dublin, in 1839, I find only the Latin text

<sup>11</sup> Cf., "Notes on the Origin of the Melody of the 'Adeste Fideles'" in "The Dolphin" for December, 1905, p. 711.

<sup>12</sup> St. Patrick's Hymn Book, Dublin, 1906.

<sup>13</sup> London, second edition, 1907.

(English cento) of the "Adeste Fideles." Possibly it had not appeared by that date in the "1830" translation in Ireland. Dr. Flood suggests the year 1840 as that of Father Young's "translation;" and it may be that Father Young espoused the cause of this "1830" translation in some fashion, and thus gave occasion to Dr. Flood's view that he was the translator. The American edition of the "Manual" in 1850 takes the trouble to include the "1830" version.

Before dismissing the subject of this long-lived and unquestionably popular version, I perhaps should say that in the "1830" volume the English cento of the Latin text (p. 74) has four stanzas, but the Washington hymnal renders it in five stanzas (p. 75), and then follows with the French cento (p. 76, the stanzas beginning with "Adeste," "En grege," "Aeterni," "Pro nobis"), and follows on (p. 77) with a translation of these "French" stanzas in a different metre: "To Bethlehem haste on this auspicious day," etc.

The "Psallite" of 1901 and the "Parish Kyrial" of 1912 change the first two lines into: "Come, all ye faithful, Come with hearts all joyful," and thus eliminate the objectionable appearance of rhyme ("grateful" and "faithful.") But in order to eliminate all such objectionable features, the whole poem should be similarly altered. Better still, it should be replaced by another translation.<sup>14</sup>

Looking at our list of books including the 1830 version, we perceive that every decade of years from that day down to the present is represented and that the vogue seems to increase as we compare the dates. For the four representatives of the forties and the two of the fifties, we have the twentieth century already giving us eight volumes that include it. And meanwhile we have had the translations of Oakeley, Caswall, Donahoe and the "Missal for the Laity" (London, 1903), as also that of the Arundel Hymns, and any one of these is very much better than the apparently deathless one of 1830.

### 3. FREDERICK OAKELEY'S TRANSLATION.

It is convenient to give as a title here the name of the author rather than the first line of his version; for the hymn has suffered

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<sup>14</sup> As illustrative of the popularity of the "Adeste Fideles," it is worthy of note that the Rev. J. M. Petter, S. T. B., gives only twenty-three English hymns and five Latin hymnal texts in his "Parish Kyrial and Hymnal" and that our hymn is found both in Latin and in English separately (pages 80 and 54 respectively). Similarly, the "Andachten und Gesaenge . . ." (Philadelphia, 1905), which has six Latin hymns, nevertheless includes two stanzas of the Latin text of "Adeste."

so many changes at the hands of hymnal editors that its first line would be no longer a clear direction to the reader.<sup>15</sup>

Julian declares that the original text is to be found in "The People's Hymnal" of 1867, and forthwith adds that it is also to be found in the "Wellington College Hymn Book" of 1863. The translation, however, had been written by Oakeley in 1841 for use by his (Anglican) congregation of Margaret Street Chapel, in London. As Oakeley became a Catholic four years later, it seems probable that his translation would appear in a Catholic hymnal or prayer-book of earlier date than the years of publication of the Protestant hymnals mentioned by Julian. I find it, for instance, in the "Vade Mecum," a Catholic prayer-book published at Baltimore in 1866; and this volume is merely an enlarged edition of a volume published in London for Catholic use, which had already attained great popularity<sup>16</sup> and may be supposed, therefore, to have appeared several years previous to 1866.

Now the version in the "Vade Mecum" is different in some places from that which is given in "The People's Hymnal" of 1867 and described by Julian as "the original text."<sup>17</sup> However, I shall take Julian's authority and print the form as given in "The People's Hymnal" of 1867, and, in order to illustrate the changes which the translation has undergone, compare it with the form given in our "Catholic Westminster Hymnal" of 1912:

<sup>15</sup> Frederick Oakeley was born in 1802 at Shrewsbury, England, the youngest son of Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart.; was graduated at Oxford in 1824 and elected Fellow of Balliol in 1827; was made incumbent of Margaret Chapel, Margaret street, London, in 1839, and entered the Catholic Church in 1845. In 1841 he had translated the "Adeste Fideles" for use in his own chapel, but never published his version. It came into use, says Julian, by being sung in his chapel: "The original text was included in the 'People's Hymnal' (1867, No. 24), the 'Wellington College Hand-book' (1863), etc., and has also been repeated in several Roman Catholic collections of recent date." Mgr. Bernard Ward mentions twelve of his works in the Catholic Encyclopedia, s. v. Oakeley, but does not refer to his authorship of a translation which is the most popular of all, both in Anglican and in Catholic use. He died in 1880.

<sup>16</sup> The Preface to the American edition says: "The 'Vade Mecum' has great popularity with the Catholics of Great Britain, and may be safely recommended to American Catholics as one of the best in the English language."

<sup>17</sup> I merely call attention here to a question of precedence which I am not able to settle by any final historical evidence. Julian says that the version was never published by Oakeley, but came into notice through its use in Margaret Street Chapel, and he apparently is unable to refer to any earlier hymnal than that of Wellington College of 1863—twenty-one years later in date than the written (and doubtless printed on leaflets) version. Has the manuscript of Oakeley or any one of its duplications (in manuscript or leaflet form) survived? If not, who shall say that the "Vade Mecum" version is not the original form?

## THE PEOPLE'S HYMNAL, 1867. WESTMINSTER HYMNAL, 1912.

1.  
Ye faithful, approach ye,  
Joyfully triumphing,  
O come ye, O come ye to Bethlehem;  
Come and behold Him  
Born the King of Angels:  
O come, let us adore Him,  
Christ the Lord.

2.  
God of God,  
Light of Light,  
Lo, He abhors not the Virgin's  
womb;  
Very God,  
Begotten, not created:  
O come, let us, etc.

3.  
Sing, choirs of Angels,  
Sing in exultation,  
Sing, all ye citizens of Heaven  
above,  
Glory to God  
In the highest:  
O come, let us, etc.

4.  
Yea, Lord, we greet Thee,  
Born this happy morning:  
Jesu, to Thee be glory given,  
Word of the Father  
Late in flesh appearing:  
O come, let us, etc.

1.  
Come, all ye faithful,  
Joyful and triumphant,  
O hasten, O hasten to Bethlehem;  
See in a manger  
The Monarch of angels.  
O come and let us worship  
Christ the Lord.

2.  
God of God eternal,  
Light from light proceeding,  
He deigns in the Virgin's womb  
to lie;  
Very God of very God,  
Begotten, not created.  
O come and let us, etc.

3.  
Sing alleluia,  
All ye choirs of angels;  
Sing, all ye citizens of heaven  
above,  
Glory to God  
In the highest.  
O come and let us, etc.

4.  
Yea, Lord, we greet Thee,  
Born this happy morning;  
To Thee, O Jesus, be glory given;  
True Word of the Father  
In our flesh appearing.  
O come and let us, etc.

The form given in the "Vade Mecum" differs from that of the 1867 volume only in the following: In the first stanza, "behold ye" for "behold Him"; in the second, "disdains" for "abhors"; in the third, "quires angelic" for "choirs of angels," and "lo sing exulting" for "Sing in exultation"; in the fourth, "In our flesh appearing" for "Late in flesh appearing." The refrain throughout is "O come, let us worship" for "O come, let us adore Him."

What is the original source of the form given in our "Westminster Hymnal" I do not know. Julian refers to several variant forms of Oakeley's translation in Protestant hymnals.<sup>18</sup> In our Catholic hymnals there are many variants. As the "Westminster Hymnal" is "the only collection authorized" for the Catholic dioceses of England and Wales, so is the (Baltimore) "Manual of Prayers" "the official prayer-book of the Catholic Church" in the United States. It will be of interest to see how this prayer-book

<sup>18</sup> The form commencing: "O come, all ye faithful, joyfully triumphant," is, he says, "the most popular arrangement of the 'Adeste Fideles' we possess. It first appeared in Murray's 'Hymnal' (1852), and has passed from thence into a great number of collections, both in Great Britain and other English-speaking countries, the second line sometimes reading 'Joyful and triumphant,' and again 'Rejoicing, triumphant.' The 'Parish Handbook' (1863-76) adopts this latter reading, and in addition it includes other alterations of importance." Oakeley was rewritten also for Choep's "Hymnal" (1854).

treats Oakeley's text. With the exception of "behold ye" for "behold Him," the first stanza is unchanged, and the last stanza is also unchanged save in the third line ("O Jesus, now to Thee be glory given") and the fifth ("In our flesh appearing"). For easy comparison, therefore, it is necessary to print here only the second and third stanzas:

## MANUAL OF PRAYERS.

2.

God of God eternal,  
Light from light proceeding;  
Lo, He deigns in the Virgin's  
womb to lie,  
Very God, yea,  
Not made, but begotten:  
O come, let us adore Him,  
Christ the Lord.

3.

All ye choirs of angels,  
Come, allue! sing,  
Sing all ye citizens of heaven  
above,  
Glory to God  
In the highest heavens:  
O come, let us adore Him,  
Christ the Lord.

Now the "Westminster Hymnal" credits its form to Oakeley, without a hint anywhere that the form given is not that of Oakeley as originally written. The "Oregon Catholic Hymnal" (Portland and New York, 1912) uses a much-changed form and simply credits it to Oakeley. Catholic and Protestant hymnals are careless in this respect.<sup>19</sup> The "Manual of Prayers"<sup>20</sup> does not mention the authors or translators of the sixty Latin hymns it includes, and cannot therefore be criticized for changing the text (as it does) without mentioning the fact. The advisability of the changes may well be challenged, nevertheless, from the standpoint of singableness. Let the reader try to sing line 3 in the second stanza, or line 2 in the third stanza, and he will experience not a little difficulty in properly adjusting the accents of the words to the melodic accents. The original Oakeley is much easier to sing. Why, then, were the changes—wherever they may have originated—made?

<sup>19</sup> Some Protestant hymnals are more careful. Thus "Hymns Ancient and Modern" indicates that the form it uses is to be credited not simply to "Oakeley," but to "Rev. F. Oakeley and Compilers;" the "English Hymnal," which gives almost the exact form of the 1867 volume, nevertheless takes the trouble to indicate that a very few changes have been made (see page 49), and, later on, giving a translation of seven stanzas (four of the English Cento and three of the French Cento), places at the head of the compilation the legend: "Tr. F. Oakeley, W. T. Brooke and others." On the other hand, "The (Episcopalian) Hymnal . . . with music as used in Trinity Church, New York," changes Oakeley somewhat, but simply credits the form to him. This is true of many other Protestant hymnals. It is interesting to find the latest edition (1911) of "The (Presbyterian) Hymnal" giving the 1867 form without any change whatsoever and faithfully attributing it to "Rev. Frederick Oakeley, 1841." I need not add further illustrations, but it would have proved helpful if the "Westminster Hymnal" had indicated that its form is not the original of Oakeley.

<sup>20</sup> The "Parochial Hymn Book" (Boston, 1898) gives exactly the form of the "Manual of Prayers."



In the foregoing illustrations of variant forms, as also in the following additional illustrations, I must confess ignorance of the origin of the changes, and therefore I do not mean to attribute them to the editors of the Catholic hymnals in which I have found the variants in their multiplicity of forms. The exhibit with which we are confronted is nevertheless curious and interesting. One wonders throughout at the apparently anarchical spirit of the editors—whoever they may be—that originated the changes. And, meanwhile, we wonder that Oakeley's original was not simply retained, as, for instance, "The (Presbyterian) Hymnal," in its latest edition (Philadelphia, 1911) finds it convenient to do. As I do not know the sources of the changes I am about to note, I have not seen any reason for chronological order in the citation of the following Catholic hymnals.

I find at hand, then, "Fifty-one Miscellaneous English Hymns" (New York, 1901), in which I observe "The Westminster Hymnal" form with these variants: The third line of the third stanza is: "O sing all ye citizens" etc., and the fifth line is: "In the highest heaven."

I turn to "St. Patrick's Hymn Book" (Dublin, 1906) and find a different arrangement. In the first line of the first stanza an "O" is prefixed ("O come, all ye faithful") to the line as found in the "Westminster Hymnal;" the second line is the same in both; the remainder of the stanza is that of Oakeley's original text. In the last stanza the first two lines are those of Oakeley; the third is: "Jesu, be glory ever given to Thee;" the fourth line is that of Oakeley; the fifth is: "Now in flesh appearing." The second and third stanzas are so much varied that it may be well to quote them as they stand:

## ST. PATRICK'S HYMN BOOK.

2.

True God of true God,  
Light of light eternal,  
Lo! He disdains not the Vir-  
gin's womb;  
God uncreated,  
Ere all time begotten,  
O come, let us adore Him,  
Christ the Lord.

3.

Sing, all ye angels,  
Joyous allelulias,  
Sing thro' the high court of  
Heav'n above:  
Now to our God be  
Glory in the highest.  
O come, let us adore Him,  
Christ the Lord.

I turn next to "A Treasury of Catholic Song," edited by the Rev. S. S. Hurlbut (New York, 1915). In the first stanza we have the first two lines of "The Westminster Hymnal;" the third line (ex-

<sup>21</sup> As Oakeley was a Protestant when he made his English version of the "Adeste Fideles," he chose, happily enough, the word "abhors" from the English version of the "Te Deum:" "When thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb." Oakeley translates the Latin of the 'Adeste:' "Gestant puellae viscera" not literally (namely,

cept the initial "O") and the rest of the stanza is Oakeley. The second stanza is that of Oakeley, except that in the third line "disdains" replaces the "abhors" of Oakeley.<sup>21</sup> The third and fourth stanzas are those of Oakeley, except that in the last stanza "Jesus" replaces "Jesu" in the third line, and "Now" replaces "Late" in the fifth line.<sup>22</sup>

I turn to "St. Mark's Hymnal" (New York, 1910) and find Oakeley's original text throughout, except the first two lines of the first stanza: "O come, all ye faithful, joyful and triumphant," instead of "Ye faithful, approach ye, joyfully triumphing;" and the fifth line of the last stanza: "Now in flesh appearing" instead of "Late in flesh appearing." This hymnal has thus very slight changes, which can easily be recognized as improvements. Substantially we find in it Oakeley's original text, and the effect is good. This is the form which I find almost exclusively used in American Protestant hymnals.

In "Peters' Sodality Hymn Book" (New York, 1872) I find the "Westminster Hymnal" text, with slight variations: "True God of true God" instead of "Very God of very God" (fourth line of the second stanza); "In the highest, glory" instead of "In the highest" (fifth line of the third stanza); "Word of the Father, now in flesh appearing," instead of "True Word of the Father, in our flesh appearing" (fourth and fifth lines of the fourth stanza).

In the "Catholic Youth's Hymn Book," edited by the Christian Brothers (New York, 1885) I find the revision of "The Westminster Hymnal," except that in the third stanza "O" is prefixed ("O sing, all ye citizens," etc.), and "heaven" is added to the fifth line ("In the highest heaven").<sup>23</sup>

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"the womb of a Virgin bears"), as he endeavored to render literally the whole poem, but in the exact phraseology of the English "Te Deum:" "Lo, he abhors not the Virgin's womb." The word "abhors" may sound, at the present time, rather strong to pious ears. It has, nevertheless, a splendid energy in it and a suggestion of the infinite abasement of the Incarnation, and the Marquess of Bute retains "abhor" in the translation of the "Te Deum" in his "The Roman Breviary . . . translated out of Latin into English" (Edinburgh, 1879), as does also the editor of our official prayer book, the (Baltimore) "Manual of Prayers" (1896). The Catholic hymnal entitled "Arundel Hymns" (London, 1905) also retains the word: "Lo! He doth not abhor the Virgin's womb."

<sup>22</sup> It may be stated here that Father Hurlbut gives the eight stanzas of the Latin text and supplies an unrhymed version of the four stanzas belonging to the "French cento," in order to have all eight English stanzas in the unrhymed and unrhymed form of Oakeley.

<sup>23</sup> Just here we meet a curious fact. The melody in Peters' volume is not the traditional tune, but a new one by Henry Leslie. This new tune is taken by the "Catholic Youth's Hymn Book," but the accompanying text is somewhat changed. Finally, in the "De La Salle Hymnal," a revision (New York, 1913) by the Christian Brothers of the 1885 hymn

Turning next to the "*Sursum Corda*," edited by the Rev. Ludwig Bonvin, S. J., (St. Louis, Mo., 1911), I find three of the four stanzas of the "French cento" translated in the unrhymed and unrhymthed form of Oakeley, preceded by the following variation of Oakeley's first stanza:

O come, all ye faithful,  
Joyful and triumphant;  
O come ye, O come ye all to Bethlehem;  
Come and behold Him:  
Born is our dear Saviour.  
O come, let us adore Him, our Lord and King.

This is but a slight variation on the translation given by the "*Arundel Hymns*" (London, 1905) of the French cento. The two are identical in the first stanza, except that the form of the "*Arundel Hymns*" has "Born the King of Angels" instead of "Born is our dear Saviour" for the fifth line. The second stanza of both is identical throughout except, similarly, in one line: "Bounding with gladness" ("*Arundel Hymns*") for "With exultation" ("*Sursum Corda*"). The fourth stanza is identical in both, except that we find "For man poor and needy" ("*Sursum Corda*") instead of "For us poor and needy" ("*Arundel Hymns*"). The third stanza is rather more varied:

## ARUNDEL HYMNS.

The Splendor Immortal,  
Son of Sire eternal,  
Concealed in mortal flesh our  
eyes shall see  
God is an Infant,  
Swaddling clothes enfold Him;  
O come, let us adore, etc.

## SURSUM CORDA.

The Splendor Immortal,  
Son of God eternal,  
Concealed in mortal flesh our  
eyes shall view.  
See there the Infant,  
Swaddling clothes enfold Him;  
O come, let us adore, etc.

It is not easy to perceive, in general, the necessity for even the slight changes observable in the four stanzas I have here compared. May we indulge a hope that at some future day we shall have an "official" hymnal in America, whose texts will be either those of their authors or revisions made after much careful deliberation by a competent committee? At present every editor appears to consider it a solemn duty to change his texts in word or phrase.

It is interesting to observe that the "*Arundel Hymns*" keeps the English Cento of the Latin text separate from the French Cento and gives to the former its traditional tune, while the French Cento of the Latin is set to a tune by R. L. de Pearsall. The version of the

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book, the tune is retained, but we find a new revision, with great alteration, of the 1885 text. The last stanza will serve to indicate that the version is based on Oakeley, and will also illustrate how far afield the revision goes:

Dear Lord, we greet Thee, born this happy morning;  
To Thee, O Jesus, be glory given;  
Salvation comes from Thee, Thou heaven-sent Redeemer.  
Oh, come and let us worship Christ the Lord.

Latin text of the "English Cento" is substantially that of Oakeley. The changes are, I think, peculiar and the stanzas are therefore given here in full text (lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4 being printed as single lines):

Second Stanza.

True God of true God! Light of Light eternal!  
Lo! He doth not abhor the Virgin's womb:  
God uncreated, very God begotten:  
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

Third Stanza.

Sing, choirs of angels, sing in exultation,  
Sing, all ye citizens of Heav'n above,  
Glory to God, and in the highest glory!  
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

Fourth Stanza.

Therefore we greet Thee born this happy morning,  
Jesus! to Thee all glory be outpour'd:  
Word of the Father now in Flesh appearing,  
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

I fear to have taxed too heavily the patience of my readers in the minute details of the variations I have thus far given in Oakeley's text. But I wished to illustrate fully a curious fact, namely, that all of our Catholic hymnals using Oakeley's text differ, so far as I am aware, from one another in the form they give. It is strange that no two should agree in giving an identical text. This lack of agreement has its unpleasant features, quite apart from the question of propriety involved in altering an original text without permission of the author and without indication to the reader. Anarchical changes of the kind I have called attention to make the task of congregational singing more difficult than it needs to be. Especially is this true in the case of an unrhymed and unrhymed translation, such as is Oakeley's version of the "Adeste Fideles." A glance at the first two lines of the second stanza of Oakeley's translation shows us the unrhythmical character of the lines. The words must be so spaced as to cover the music assigned to two full lines, like those of the first stanza. Gradually eye and ear are taught to coöperate, however, and then the memory is enabled to retain the arbitrary assignment of words to musical phrases. Any change in the words will, of course, disturb this memorized arrangement, and each new variation will call for particularized and minute attention. A new lesson will have to be learned; but it is rendered more difficult by the fact that an old lesson has meanwhile to be unlearned. Also, the spacing of word to tune must be, in an unrhythmical translation, an arbitrary matter. Once a traditional spacing has been achieved, it is unwise to invade the tradition by a series of words of unlike numerical syllabication, even though the new words should be better fitted to the tune. The invasion tends

towards anarchy; for each singer will have to space his words to the tune according to his best lights—and the lights differ for each singer, or all will have to be trained by one instructor. How can we hope to achieve such a thing congregationally?

In America, our separated brethren appear to have agreed on a unique form of the tune, while of nine hymnals<sup>24</sup> of ours appearing in the past five years I have not found any two adopting exactly the same form of the traditional tune. Similarly, the editors of the Protestant hymnals seem to have chosen the same form of the version of Oakeley.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4. FATHER CASWALL'S TRANSLATION.

Although it is an excellent piece of translation and versification, the editors of our Catholic hymnals seem not to have relished it for hymnal use. After his conversion to Catholicity in 1847 Caswall became (early in 1850) an Oratorian. His translation is not included, however, in the "Oratory Hymn Book" (Birmingham, 1906).

1.  
Oh, come! all ye faithful!  
Triumphantly sing!  
Come, see in the manger  
The Angels' dread King!  
To Bethlehem hasten!  
With joyful accord;  
Oh, hasten! oh, hasten!  
To worship the Lord.

2.  
True Son of the Father!  
He comes from the skies;  
The womb of the Virgin  
He doth not despise.  
To Bethlehem hasten!  
With joyful accord;  
Oh, hasten! oh, hasten!  
To worship the Lord.

3.  
Not made but begotten,  
The Lord of all might,  
True God of true God,  
True Light of true Light!

4.  
Hark! to the Angels!  
All singing in heaven,  
"To God in the highest  
High glory be given."

5.  
To Thee then, O Jesus!  
This day of Thy birth,  
Be glory and honor  
Through heaven and earth.  
True Godhead Incarnate!  
Omnipotent Word!  
Oh, hasten, etc.

<sup>24</sup> I have mentioned them in the *REVIEW* for January, 1915, p. 123.

<sup>25</sup> E. g., "The Sunday School Hymnal and Service Book" (Medford, Mass., 1885, No. 212), "The Hymnal of the Church" (New York, 1889, No. 49), "Hymns of the Faith" (Boston, 1887, No. 55), "In Excelsis" (New York, 1900, No. 70), "Hymns and Tunes for the Children of the Church" (Philadelphia, 1886, No. 56), "The (Episcopalian) Hymnal" (Oxford, 1889, No. 49), "Hymns of Worship and Service" (New York, 1908, No. 52). The version used in these hymnals changes Oakeley but slightly: Only the first two lines of the first stanza are changed to "O come, all ye faithful, Joyful and triumphant," and the word "late" in the last stanza is changed to "now." "The Chapel Hymnal" (Philadelphia, 1898) and "The (Presbyterian) Hymnal" (Philadelphia, 1895) change only the first two lines of Oakeley (as above), so that these two differ from all the others mentioned only by having "late" (Oakeley's word) instead of "now" in the last line of the last stanza. These (and the last edition of "The (Presbyterian) Hymnal," which gives Oakeley without change) are all that I have consulted of those that use Oakeley. How wonderfully they agree!

The rendering is faulty from the hymnodal standpoint; for while the refrain (which I have quoted entire for the first two stanzas) is unchanged in the fifth stanza, the stanzaic form suggests that it is changed. The full metre implies a kind of breathless haste also, which the singer may unwisely, but very naturally, make his own rule of action.

I know of several Protestant hymnals<sup>26</sup> which employ this version, but I am not aware of any Catholic book that does so, although a fairly wide knowledge of its beauty must have been diffused by its appearance in various editions of Caswall's "*Lyra Catholica*" (London, 1849; New York, 1851; revised edition, London, 1884) and in his "*Hymns and Poems*," 1873. The form as given above is that in the revised edition (London, 1884) of the "*Lyra Catholica*." The form in the 1849 edition omitted stanza 3, and had "All" instead of "High" in the fourth line of the fourth stanza. Schaff pays it the notable tribute of inclusion in his "*Christ in Song*" (New York, 1869, p. 49), alone of the various translations of the hymn. He simply says: "Another translation in the *Hymnal Noted*."<sup>27</sup>

Catholics have not taken Caswall's version to their bosoms. They prefer the multifarious and multiform printings of the translation of Oakeley, although this was written while Oakeley was still a Protestant minister and did not aim at either rhyme or rhythm. Oakeley seems to have considered the "*Adeste Fideles*" an ancient hymn of the Church and therefore deserving of a close literal translation. Perhaps, too, he desired to imitate in English the unrhythmical lines of the Latin and their lack even of medieval rhyme or assonance. Oakeley's translation, frankly disregarding rhyme and even rhythm, is immeasurably superior to the 1830 translation, which aims at both rhyme and rhythm, and succeeds in attaining neither.

I think that the 1830 translation is now used only in American (including Canadian) hymnals and that Caswall's translation is not used in Catholic hymnals anywhere, although it is used in Protestant ones. Oakeley's version, altered in innumerable ways, is used to-day very largely in both Catholic and Protestant hymnals. It is

<sup>26</sup> E.g., "*The Hymnal*" (Oxford, 1889, No. 50), "*The Church Hymnary and Psalter*" (New York, 1894, No. 179), "*Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book*" (Boston, 1885, No. 20), etc.

<sup>27</sup> Is it possible that he was not aware of Oakeley's version? Schaff's form of Caswall includes some slight changes (e. g., the opening line is: "Come hither, ye faithful"). Perhaps it was from Schaff's volume that the version passed into "*The (Protestant Episcopal) Hymnal*," 1872. Julian notes that the original form of Caswall's translation "is in several collections and sometimes slightly altered, as in the '*New Mitre*,' 1874, and others."

unquestionably the prime favorite amongst all the many translations into English of the eighteenth century Christmas hymns.

UNRHYMED TRANSLATIONS.

We have considered the unrhymed and unrhythmed rendering of Oakeley. In the "Arundel Hymns" it has been altered so as to give exactly rhymed stanzas (cf. above, stanzas 2, 3, 4).

The Rev. S. S. Hurlbut gives the eight stanzas of the Latin text (No. 17) in his "A Treasury of Catholic Song" (New York, 1915) and also (No. 18) an English rendering of the eight stanzas. The version of the four stanzas of the "English Cento" is that of Oakeley (with slight changes) and that of the four stanzas of the "French Cento" is, like Oakeley's, unrhymed. Two stanzas will serve to illustrate:

3.

See how the shepherds, summoned to His cradle,  
Leaving their flocks, draw nigh with holy fear:  
We too will thither bend our joyful footsteps.  
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

4.

Lo, star-led chieftains, Magi, Christ adoring,  
Offer Him incense, gold and myrrh:  
We to the Christ Child bring our heart's oblations.  
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

The "Missal for the Use of the Laity" (London, 1903) gives a new version of the "English Cento." No attempt is made to attain symmetrical rhythm within a stanza, but the homologous lines of the stanzas have the same number of syllables. Two stanzas will illustrate sufficiently the method employed (I combine the divided lines into four):

1.

12. O come all ye faithful, raise the hymn of glory,  
9. Come view your Saviour in Bethlehem:  
11. Born there, behold Him King of men and angels,  
11. O come, let us adore Him, our Lord and God.

2.

12. The womb of the Virgin bears Him, true God of God,  
9. And light of true light, a child on earth.  
11. He is our true God, not made but begotten.  
11. O come, let us adore Him, our Lord and God.

In stanzas 3 and 4 the first line counts only eleven syllables, and the last two stanzas are therefore more rhythmical than the first two.

In his "Early Christian Hymns, Series II," (Middletown, Conn., 1911, p. 197) Judge Donahoe similarly chooses stanzas without rhyme. I shall quote the first two for illustration (combining two lines in one):

1.

Appear, O ye faithful, raise your hymns in triumph,  
And hasten, O hasten to Bethlehem.

Born is the Christ Child, monarch of the angels;  
Bow down in adoration of God our King.

## 2.

Lord everlasting, Light of Light supernal,  
Born of the Virgin Immaculate;  
True God eternal, begotten, not created;  
Bow down in adoration of God our King.

## SOME RHYMED TRANSLATIONS.

In two old copies of the "Key of Heaven" (one wanting the title-page, but of date of 1840; the other dated Glasgow, 1846, I find a translation not listed by Julian:

Ye faithful souls rejoice and sing:  
To Bethlehem your trophies bring,  
Before the new-born Angels' King:  
Come let us adore Him, etc.

True God of God, true Light of Light,  
Born in womb of Virgin bright:  
Begot, not made; true God of might.  
Come let us adore Him, etc.

Angelic choirs with joy now sing,  
The heavenly courts with echoes ring:  
Glory on high to God our King:  
Come let us adore Him, etc.

Jesus, whose life this day begun,  
The Father's co-eternal Son;  
Glory to Him be ever sung:  
Come let us Him adore, etc.

The refrain, "Come let us Him adore," etc., is not printed in full, and one can only surmise what the concluding phrase should be. But the fact that this is taken for granted seems to imply that it was well-known, and that this version was sung in the churches.

In "The Catholic Manual," published by F. Lucas, Jr., at Baltimore in 1825, I find another version—this, however, being a translation of the "French Cento," the Latin text of which is also given—not listed by Julian. It requires some dexterity to fit the refrain into the traditional tune:

To Bethlehem haste, on this auspicious day;  
Begone despair, our joy and hope are near:  
The King of Angels earthward bend His way.

## Chorus.

A God, a God! by love and justice sent!  
In heaven, on earth, in hell let every knee be bent.

Hark, softly stealing on the midnight air,  
Celestial voices catch the shepherds' ear!  
Their flocks forgot—the crib is all their care.

Splendor eternal of th' eternal King,  
By mortal shape obscured! a God in rags!  
To Thee our thanks, our humble praise we bring.

Clasp to your hearts the Babe who laid on straw,  
A life of woe for us already drags;  
So lov'd—to love be now our sacred law.



The translator was thinking of the poetry only—and not the music—when he so constructed his verse as to have the second lines of a pair of stanzas rhyming.

In his "Annus Sanctus," Mr. Orby Shipley includes the Catholic translations of J. C. Earle (1881), J. Richard Beste (1839), Charles Kent (1870-1883) and Robert Campbell (?). The version of Campbell was probably made before his conversion. With the exception of Campbell's, I do not think that any of these translations have come into hymnal use, as their rhythms do not fit in with those of the Latin text, and doubtless were not meant to fit in. That of Earle translates all the eight stanzas of the Latin text. All the versions are fully rhymed, except that of Campbell, which simply rhymes the second and fourth lines. To illustrate them, I may be allowed to avoid monotony by taking stanzas in the order of the "English Cento":

1. (J. C. Earle).

In triumph, joy and holy fear,  
Draw near, ye faithful souls, draw near;  
The Infant King of heaven is here:  
None treads aright but Bethlehemward;  
Come hither and adore the Lord.

2. (J. R. Beste.)

God of the Godhead, true Light unabated,  
Mary the Virgin has borne the Adored;  
True God eternal, begot, uncreated—  
Oh, come and kneel before Him;  
Oh, come and all adore Him;  
Oh, come, Oh, come, rejoicing to honor the Lord.

3. (C. Kent).

Hark, angelic paeans sounding  
Fill heaven's vault with song astounding,  
Song sweet peace to earth now bringing:  
Chant thou, "Glory in the highest,"  
To the God for whom thou sighest:  
Come, with thoughts to heaven upsoaring;  
Come, with lowly knees adoring;  
Come, angelic anthems singing.

4. (R. Campbell).

All glory forever to Thee, Blessed Jesus,  
Born to rescue the fallen from woe and despair;  
True Word of the Father, eternal, incarnate;  
With glad alleluias His glory declare.

All of these translations are excellently rhymed. But while the version of R. Campbell is given in "The Westminster Hymnal for Congregational Use," edited by Henri C. Hemy (London, s. d.), the rhythm is not the same throughout. The first stanza can be well set to the traditional tune; but the other stanzas can be sung to the tune only with the greatest difficulty. Let me conclude this section of my theme by quoting from an original translation (it is given in full in the "Catholic Educational Review" for January, 1915, p. 16) which is fully rhymed, but is so rhythmized as to fit in

with the musical accents of the traditional tune. The first stanza will suffice to illustrate:

## 1.

Come ye with gladness,  
Banishing all sadness;  
Joyful to Bethlehem your praises bring:  
See, to us given,  
Christ, the King of Heaven!

While angels hover o'er Him  
And shepherds kneel before Him,  
O let us, too, adore Him,  
Our God and King!

## TUNES OTHER THAN THE TRADITIONAL ONE.

The "Arundel Hymns" makes a distinction which, for ears accustomed (as those of English-speaking people are) to an inseparable union of the traditional tune with the "English Cento" of the Latin text, is worthy of commendation. We find in this volume that the English Cento is set to the traditional tune, and that the French Cento and its English translation are printed on a page facing a melody composed by R. L. de Pearsall, of Willsbridge, and marked "Second Tune."

The "De La Salle Hymnal," edited by the Brothers of the Christian Schools (New York, 1913) gives the traditional tune to the Latin text, but has a different melody for the English translation. This setting is ascribed to "Lerler." Let me quote a stanza:

Come, all ye faithful, join the march triumphant,  
And hasten, hasten to Bethlehem;  
Within the crib there lies the true, the great Messiah.  
Oh, come and let us worship Christ the Lord.

This hymnal is a revision, well executed, of the "Catholic Youth's Hymn Book" (New York, 1885) previously edited by the Christian Brothers. They have very felicitously omitted the translation, "With hearts truly grateful," which had appeared in the 1885 volume. The setting of "Lerler" (without his name being given) is in the 1885 volume, to a simpler (and, I think, a better) stanzaic form:

Come, all ye faithful, joyful and triumphant,  
O hasten, O hasten, to Bethlehem;  
See in a manger the Monarch of angels.  
O come and let us worship Christ the Lord.

The setting is an abbreviated form of the music as given in "Peters' Sodality Hymn Book" (New York, 1872) and as there ascribed to "Lerler." This, in turn, appears to have been taken from "The Popular Hymn and Tune Book" edited by Frederick Westlake for Catholic use (London, 1868). The mystery of "Lerler" is there solved, the setting being ascribed to Henry Leslie. How

"Leslie" became transformed to "Lerler" experts in handwriting may surmise.

No less than three tunes are assigned to our hymn in "The Hymnal (Episcopalian), with music as used in Trinity Church, New York" (New York, 1893). First of all, we have Oakeley's translation, revised and altered, to the traditional tune, which here is ascribed to "J. Reading, 1680" (while the Latin text is ascribed to the "seventeenth century"). Next we find the same version set to music by J. Barnby, 1866. Finally, we have Father Caswall's translation set to music by H. Smart (with additions).

Not a different setting, but rather an invasion upon the prescriptive rights of the traditional tune, is given in the "Holy Face Hymnal" (New York, 1891). The first eight measures are given to *solis*, and are then repeated by *chorus*. The *solis* take the rest of the stanza, and a *chorus* of three voices takes the repetition ("Natum videte," etc.)

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## THE CATHOLIC ELEMENT IN ENGLISH POETRY.

THE subject of the Catholic element in English poetry is indeed a vast and extended one. It involves an investigation as to how far Catholic truth has pervaded the great body of English poetry from the days of Chaucer to our own. It will be found, too, that many English poets, while not professing the Catholic faith, have directly or indirectly been inspired by its teachings and guided by its sane and lofty tenets. Because a great and true poet, no matter at what altar he may kneel, works towards the ideal of Catholic truth. For all great Christian poetry is but the flowering of Catholic truth.

The schism of the sixteenth century darkened the stream of English literature, but it did not entirely cut off the vision of the poet from that eternal beauty whose abode is the bosom of God. Glints of Catholic truth then will be found running through all English poetry.

Aristotle says that all great poetry has a philosophy. Yes, and poetry, being one of the greatest of the arts, stands also for an ideal. This ideal embodies the soul of the people, whether that people be Oriental, Greek, Roman, mediæval or modern. To understand a poem properly we must re-create it in the times and under the skies which yielded their nurturing dew. How can we expect to understand Aristophanes if all do not know Greek life, or Horace if we do not know Roman life, or yet Dante if we have not studied mediæval life? To know the times is to re-create the poem.

Every race or people, then, stand for an ideal. In the East it was fatalism, in Greece it was beauty, in Rome under the Cæsars it was the majesty of law. To-day in German literature the dominant note is the philosophical, in English literature it is individualism, in French literature it is the social, in Italian the artistic and in Spanish the chivalric.

In ancient pagan days all art ministered to the senses, but the primary purpose of Christian art is to minister to the soul. With the advent of Christ a new meaning was breathed into art. It took "ten silent centuries" to give the world a Dante, the first great poetic flower raised in the gardens of Catholic truth. It took as many centuries to give us the "Summa" of St. Thomas Aquinas. All art is a century plant, with its roots deep in the past. What are the "Canterbury Tales" but a reflection of mediæval England? They are Catholic because mediæval England was Catholic. Nothing could be so absurd as to doubt the Catholicity of Chaucer. The late distinguished Chaucerian scholar, Professor Lounsbury, of

Yale University, settled forever this question. Chaucer criticizes the monks, and Dante puts a Pope in hell. Notwithstanding this both are orthodox Catholics. Chaucer belonged to a rival order of the monks, the military order, and the Ghebbeline Dante makes his damned talk politics in hell. Surely this sufficiently explains the reason for the attitude of these two points. Both Dante and Chaucer died in the bosom of the Catholic Church.

To understand fully what part Catholic truth has played in English poetry we must realize that it has been from the altar of Catholic truth that the spiritual torch of poetry has gone forth and been handed down the centuries—from Chaucer across those twilight years when England was more concerned in the affairs of war than in the arts of peace to Spenser, and from Spenser to that myriad-minded dramatist, William Shakespeare, whose mind has been likened to an ocean whose waves touched all the shores of human thought and upon whose bosom played all the sunshine and tempest of passion, and from Shakespeare to that chief of English epic writers, who trod the heavens shod in the rainbow light of epic glory, John Milton, and from Milton across the dry Pompeiian period to that high priest of nature, William Wordsworth, whose altar lamp had burned unheeded during the reign of the correct school of poets, and from Wordsworth down to the poets who seemed to have passed away but yesterday—to Rossetti and Tennyson and Browning.

It is worthy of noting that the value of art depends upon the spiritual endowment of its age or epoch. It is the Olympian and Pantheistic Goethe who tells us that "The epochs in which faith prevails are the marked epochs of human history, full of heart-stirring memories and substantial gains for all after times. The epochs in which unbelief prevails, even when for the moment they have put on the semblance of glory and success, inevitably sink into insignificance in the eyes of posterity, which will not waste its thoughts on things barren and unfruitful.

If we take, for instance, the three periods in literature represented by Dante, Spenser and Shelley—that is, the Middle Ages, the English Renaissance and the Age of Revolution—it will be seen at a glance that the time of Dante, which is known as the Ages of Faith, is because of its great spiritual endowment the greatest art epoch of the three. Take, for instance, the representative poems of these three periods—"The Divine Comedy," "The Fairie Queene" and "Prometheus Unbound." As Miss Veda Scudder points out in her scholarly work, "The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets." When you compare the representative works of these three poets, there is no doubting which is the greatest age and which is

the greatest poem. "The Divine Comedy" was completed in 1319, the "Fairie Queene" in 1596 and "Prometheus Unbound" in 1819. The age of Dante was an age of contemplation, the age of Spenser an age of adventure and the age of Shelley an age of revolution. The problems in these three poems reflect the spirit of the times. With Dante the problem is the purification of the soul; with Spenser, the routing of the powers of wrong, and with Shelley, the liberation of the soul. Miss Scudder sums up her estimate of the two protagonists in "Prometheus Unbound" and the "Divine Comedy" in these words: "Prometheus is an abstraction, Dante is a summary. Prometheus is a man as dreamed by a poet, Dante is a man as created by God. And the thought of God proves the greater." It will thus be seen that poetry is never greater than the spiritual endowment of the age in which it takes form. In truth, it derives its very accent from this spiritual endowment.

All art reflects the times in which it has birth, but it draws its nourishment from the past. Its roots strike deeply down. Take, for instance, Shakespeare. While he belongs to the Elizabethan age of literature, his genius has been fed and enriched by the centuries of Catholic faith in England, when men's souls joyed in the things of God, when the shrine of the Blessed Virgin stood by the wayside and the mystery and morality plays of Chester and York touched and stirred men's souls.

Yet it is very doubtful if there is any satisfactory evidence that Shakespeare was in any way attached to the Catholic Church. It is pretty certain that his father and mother were Catholics. But this was an age in England of the disintegration of the ancient faith. No doubt Shakespeare had a warm place in his heart for the Church of his fathers. In no instance does he ridicule her tenets in his masterly dramas. However, from this fact we cannot conclude that Shakespeare was a Catholic. Great art demands Catholic truth, and Shakespeare would not be the great dramatist that he is had he stooped to the ridiculing of the tenets of the Catholic Church in his dramatic creations. This fidelity to fact and truth of life, this sympathy with the spiritual tenets of the soul, marks the work of the supreme artist in every age.

We know full well that there are many scholars and writers who hold that Shakespeare was a Catholic. I must say that I cannot accept this judgment or conclusion. Shakespeare lived at a time when to my mind religion touched very lightly the souls of the English people. Many of the dramatists of the time were profligates, and profligacy and the practices of the Catholic faith do not go very well together. Men of genius, unfortunately, are often not very religious. They realize better far than ordinary mortals

what a part the spiritual plays in the growth of the soul and in the profession and growth of character, but often in proportion as God has dowered them with vision beyond men, they are dragged down by the tyranny of the flesh. But if Shakespeare was not a Catholic, he certainly in his plays, as Carlyle says, voices the Catholicity of the Middle Ages. Queen Elizabeth, by Act of Parliament, destroyed the ancient Church in England, but her decree could not touch the Catholic life of England in the past, for the Catholic Church is the most immortal of things, and her life and the fruit of her life in art live on forever. It was this Catholic life that inspired Shakespeare and in many instances gave him plot and story.

If we appeal to Shakespeare for internal evidence to prove that he was a Catholic, we but weaken and make ridiculous our position, for every dramatist must be true not only to the setting of his drama, but to the psychology of his characters. It is no proof, then, to cite the case of Hamlet's father coming from purgatory to tell his son of his "murder most foul" that Shakespeare believed in purgatory. The tragedy of Hamlet belongs to a time in Denmark when all its people professed the Catholic faith, and, besides the need of bringing Hamlet's father from purgatory for dramatic purposes, Shakespeare was compelled by the very setting of his drama to touch its life in the unfolding with the chrism of the ancient faith.

Let us suppose that three centuries hence a discussion arose as to the religion of the poet Longfellow. We can imagine some one citing passages in his touching idyll of "Evangeline"—the one, for instance, describing the heroine's beautiful countenance, "when after confession homeward serenely she walked with God's benediction upon her," or that beautiful and sympathetic picture of Father Felician, the village priest, whom all the children greeted as he passed down the street, and who with uplifted hand reverently blessed them. Surely, too, these passages, so full of Catholic life and color, might be well cited to prove that Longfellow was a Catholic. They are certainly as convincing as the Ghost in "Hamlet." But the truth is that neither affords any evidence of the religion of Shakespeare or Longfellow.

When we pass from Shakespeare to John Milton, we pass to a poet not only entirely devoid of Catholic sympathy, but a poet whose rigid Puritanism deprived his epic art of those Catholic symbols and Catholic legends and Catholic traditions which give color and life and artistry to the highest dreams of the soul. Milton's great epic, "Paradise Lost," is but a torso. It lacks artistic unity. It is only great in passages or patches. Unlike to the "Divine Com-

edy," which has all the artistic unity of Catholic truth, this splendid English epic, though rioting in imagery and the supernatural, lacks this artistic unity, and, lacking this, falls below as a work of art the supreme achievement of the great Florentine poet.

Passing from Milton to Alexander Pope, the culmination of the Correct School of Poetry, we are face to face with a truth well worth observing. It is this: A poet may live a Catholic and die a Catholic and yet put nothing of his faith into his work. Pope is certainly a case in point. Pope professed and practiced the Catholic religion, and yet you will look in vain for any evidence of it in his poetry. He seemed to be under the spell of the false philosophy of Lord Bolingbroke, his chief poem being saturated with this.

Now William Wordsworth, the head of the School of Nature and Romance, is a case in point where a poet may not profess the Catholic faith and yet teach Catholic truths—nay, give evidence in his work that the beautiful truths, teachings and dogmas of the Catholic Church may inspire at times the soul of the poet no matter at what altar he kneels.

I remember that when I visited the Wordsworth land in the summer of 1903 I was fortunate enough to meet a venerable octogenarian who had been an intimate friend of the Wordsworth family. In our conversation touching Wordsworth I elicited from him the fact that while the poet was an Anglican, there was not anything of the Ritualist in him. He was rather what might be termed a Broad Churchman to-day. In view of this Wordsworth's beautiful sonnet on the Blessed Virgin, where he pays tribute and homage to the Mother of God as "Our tainted nature's solitary boast," is indeed remarkable. Despite the fact of Wordsworth's anti-Catholic prejudice, which is revealed in some of his ecclesiastical sonnets, this High Priest and Vicegerent of Nature pays homage to the Mother of God in lines that might have been penned by a Cardinal Newman or a Father Faber.

When we turn to the poets of our own time—to the poets at whose graves we seemed to stand, as it were, but yesterday—Dante, Gabriel Rossetti, Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson—we see what a large part Catholic truth played in their best work. It was Rossetti that restored to English poetry the mediæval temper of wonder, and this is peculiarly a characteristic of the Ages of Faith. In reading Rossetti's poetry you feel something of the mystery that lurks in the dim aisles of a Gothic Cathedral.

Browning was of Nonconformist origin, and in many a poem does grievous wrong to the Catholic Church, yet his most considerable poem, that massive epic, "The Ring and the Book," which is essentially Catholic in theme if not wholly so in treatment, bears



witness to the fact that the great monologist was at his best when he was most sincere and faithful in his portrayal of Catholic character.

Tennyson went to a Catholic subject to build up what he regarded as his best and noblest poem, "The Idylls of the King." No need to say that this is essentially Catholic. It has its setting in Catholic times, and you will do well not to read it through the glasses of twentieth century doubt and skepticism. But even Tennyson's splendid elegy, "In Memoriam," though regarded by many as a poem of doubt, beats and pulses in many a passage to the divine music of Catholic truth. When the sorrow in it sinks or passes from the sensuous to the sanctified, we feel the truth of Dante's words, "In sua volontà è nostra pace." Surely indeed the Catholic element in English poetry is very considerable.

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## PLATO AND BERGSON—A COMPARISON AND A CONTRAST.

Plato .....	Dialogues
Plato .....	Republic
Bergson* .....	Creative Evolution
Bergson .....	Introduction to Metaphysics
Bergson .....	Matter and Memory
Kallen .....	William James and Henri Bergson
Father Gerrard .....	Bergson
Hibbert Journal .....	October, 1911
Perrier .....	Revival of Scholastic Phil.
Paulsen .....	Introduction to Ethics
Chesterton .....	Heretics
Chesterton .....	Orthodoxy
Schiller, F. C. G. ....	Studies in Humanism

**A**T FIRST glance no two leaders in Philosophy could seem further apart than the author of the Dialogues, with his insistence on the "colorless, formless, impalpable existence" which is unsensed, changeless, eternal, and Bergson, that brilliant modern Heraclitus, the reviver of the ancient doctrine of the perpetual flux under a new title of his own contriving—"Creative Evolution." And yet with all their divergences, these two have many points of contact. They agree, under occasional modification, in positing:

(a) The essential inadequacy of mechanistic theories of life and the universe.

(b) The ideal genesis of matter.

(c) The natural incommensurability of philosophy and science and the value of supra-intellectual vision or intuition.

(d) Antagonistic cosmic currents of ascent and descent as explanatory of consciousness and matter, freedom and necessity, good and evil.

Though these agreements are vital, Bergson has penned many a philippic against Plato and Platonism. "There is," William James writes somewhere, "very little difference between one man and another, but what little there is, is very important." The ascendant differences between Bergson and Plato lie along two main lines:

I. Being vs. Becoming. (Duration—Time.)

II. Causality—Final vs. Proximate (Reality).

The first significant parallelism in the two systems concerns the inadequacy of materialistic and mechanistic theories of life and the universe. Mechanistic explanations regard past and future as calculable functions of the present, thus claiming that all is given. There is no place for freedom. In the Platonic schema, the creation of the world is a resultant of the goodness of God harmonically

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\*Note: In text, C. E.—Creative Evolution, Bergson's principal work.

reflected in time, "the moving image of eternity." God made the world good, wishing everything to be like Himself. To this end, He brought order into it and endowed it with soul. (Tim. xxix., 30.) It is made after those eternal and unchanging patterns—the perfect, invisible Ideas. Matter is, in one sense, "an elusive nothing that creeps between the Ideas, creating endless agitation, eternal disquiet like a suspicion insinuated between two loving hearts." Ideas, the divine Ideas, are the whole of intelligible reality, that is to say of truth, in that they represent the theoretical equilibrium of Being. As to sensible reality, it is a continual oscillation from one side to the other of this point of equilibrium. A non-mechanistic theory as truly as Bergson's own, for all that Plato derives motion from the immutable, becoming from being, as a sort of falling from grace, while Bergson makes the creative evolutionary whirl initial in every instance. As against mechanism, Bergson points out that in considering reality, it is obsessed by the mere facts of similarity and repetition. But since all changes, the concrete actuality never recurs in time. Repetition is impossible, therefore, save in the abstract. The unforeseen, the adventure which is life itself, is forever unfolding as a refutation of the logic and the geometry of the mechanists. "The more the geometry in mechanism is emphasized, the less can mechanism admit that anything is ever created, even pure form. Inasmuch as we are geometers, then, we reject the unforeseeable. We might accept it assuredly, insofar as we are artists, for art lives on creation and implies a latent belief in the spontaneity of nature." (C. E., 45.)

Plato and Bergson agree, in the second place, as to the ideal genesis of matter. "Extension," says Bergson, "appears only as a tension which is interrupted." (C. E., 245.) The real, he holds, can pass from tension to extension, from freedom to mechanical necessity by simple inversion. "What then," he asks, "is the principle that has only to let go its tension—may we say to detend?—in order to extend, the interruption of the cause here being equivalent to a reversal of the effect? For want of a better word we have called it consciousness." (C. E., 237.) When by a painful effort we succeed in making the faculty of seeing one with that of willing, when we look no longer with the eyes of the intellect, but with those of the undivided soul, then shall we see this tension and extension as a single process, "an action which is making itself across an action of the same kind which is unmaking itself, like the fiery path torn by the last rocket of a fireworks display through the black embers of the spent rockets that are falling dead." (C. E., 251.) Thus is matter ideal in its genesis. Plato, within the limits imposed by the undeveloped state of the positive sciences in his time, is equally

insistent upon the priority of mind. "Creation," he tells us in his leisurely way, "is mixed, being made up of necessity and mind. Mind, the ruling power, persuaded necessity to bring the greater part of created things to perfection, and thus in the beginning reason got the better of necessity, and the universe was created." (Tim. xlviii.) "The soul is the eldest of all things which are born and is immortal and rules over all bodies." (Laws xii., 968.) The earth is not a mass of dead matter, but a living being. God is immanent in the world by His creation and government of it; transcendent by His nature and attributes. Nature, though containing a remnant of chaos and disorder, is shot through with mind, is a glorious reflection of the beauty invisible and is worthy of an admiration approaching worship.

The third line of agreement centres in the relations of Philosophy and Science. Logic, our philosophers decide, is instrumental in its function. Those organized bodies of knowledge which constitute the various sciences, are simply by-products of this instrumental functioning. Philosophy, as Science, utilizes the data of sense, both allow. But, they hasten to add, Philosophy has access to levels of experience not reached by sense or science, levels of intuition which are of insight rather than of reason, or of reason only when that term is used in its Platonic sense as something higher than intellect. This region of higher psychical activity is supra-intellectual and distinct from those infra-intellectual channels which, for all practical purposes, are coincident with instinct. However, as Bergson suggests, sensuous instinct may be in continuity with supra-intellectual instinct through certain intermediaries, as infra-red is continuous with ultra-violet. Intuition, with its registry of the deeper, more urgent currents of the soul, represents the uncharted, unexplored regions of the inner life of man. "It throws a gleam," says Bergson, "faint but steady, upon subjects of the greatest interest to us, and about which the intellect cannot tell us all we wish to know upon our personality, our freedom, our relations to the universe as a whole, our origin, perhaps our destiny. Intuition is instinct that has become self-conscious and disinterested, capable of reflecting upon its object, discerning dimly new relations and significances indefinitely defined, if one may be pardoned the paradox. Its sudden, sometimes almost painful, turning back of consciousness upon itself unifies the faculties of seeing and willing. If these fugitive, incomplete moments could be sustained and prolonged, the curtain might ascend on the stage of reality, disclosing the answers to some of the haunting queries of the human heart. Plato, five centuries before Christianity, was as conscious as Bergson of this undeveloped potency in the human soul. He has de-

scribed it unmistakably. According to the Platonic theory, intuition enfolds the soul's remembrance of the Infinitely Perfect upon which she gazed in her cycles of preëxistence. Men, in general, recall with difficulty the things of the other world, but the mind of a philosopher is more retentive. Therefore, the lover of wisdom, even in this life, may recall the images and illuminations of the heavenly life. The sophists, relying upon the senses only, and lacking those intimations of immortality which haunt the hearts of genuine seekers after truth, are incapable of arriving at a knowledge of reality. They are purveyors of opinion. The senses can serve merely as ladders to knowledge, not as final bases for rational faith. "The heart hath its reasons." The approval of the great Teacher was for those "who have not seen, but have believed," for the psychical is wider than the cerebral reflex of the physical.

Our two philosophers coincide, further, in positing a double antagonistic cosmic movement of ascent and descent in two opposing streams—consciousness and matter, freedom and necessity, good and evil. "Matter, the reality which descends, endures only by its connection with that which ascends. But life and consciousness are this very ascension." (C. E., 396.) "Matter is a relaxation of the inextensive into the extensive, and thereby of liberty into necessity." (C. E., 218.) "Consciousness, or supra-consciousness, is the name for the rocket whose extinguished fragments fall back as matter." (C. E., 261.) Matter is "a flux rather than a thing," but its flow is in the opaquant direction to that of spirit. The flux of spirit is towards creative evolution; the movement of matter aims at routine stability, a present forever renewed in its identity. Plato, too, has his cycles wherein the spiritual and material separate, unite and interchange. The movements are large; the time required definite—one thousand years. "There is a time when God Himself guides and helps to roll the world in its course; and there is a time, on the completion of a certain cycle, when He lets go, and the world being a living creature and having originally received intelligence from its Author and Creator, turns about and by an inherent necessity revolves in the opposite direction." (Statesman, 269.) God directs when action is free and good; evil results from the interpenetration of matter which sets loose a universal becoming under necessity. Degrade the divine and immutable Ideas; by that alone you obtain the perpetual flux. The movement as described by Plato is a descent from the perfection of the world of true Being with its imperishable Ideas to the imperfection of the world of Becoming, of space, time, growth and decay. The return of the soul from the body to the supra-sensible sphere is an ascent; the sojourn of the soul in the body begins as a descent and con-

tinues as an exile. Both Plato and Aristotle interpret the cosmic movements as evidence of the aspiration of life towards the divine perfection, and therefore an attempt to ascend God-wards. The Alexandrians amplified these dual motions in their expositions of procession and conversion. Everything, they taught, is derived from a first principle and seeks to return when separated from its beginning.

Finally, both Plato and Bergson regard human freedom as real and human perfectibility as possible. Says Bergson: "The rôle of life is to insert some indetermination into matter." (C. E., 126.) "When we put back our being into our will, and our will itself into the impulsion it prolongs, we understand, we feel, that reality is a perpetual growth, a creation pursued without end. Our will already performs this miracle. Every human act in which there is invention, every voluntary act in which there is freedom, every movement of the organism that manifests spontaneity, brings something new into the world." (C. E., 239.) "Radical is the difference between animal consciousness, even the most intelligent, and human consciousness. For consciousness corresponds exactly to the living being's power of choice; it is coextensive with the fringe of possible action that surrounds the real action; consciousness is synonymous with invention and freedom. Now, in the animal, invention is never anything but a variation on the theme of routine. Shut up in the habits of the species, it succeeds, no doubt, in enlarging them by its individual initiative, but it escapes automatism only for an instant, for just the time to create a new automatism. With man, consciousness breaks the chain. In man, and man alone, it sets itself free." (C. E., 264.) Plato, who accepts reincarnation, regards the soul as having the opportunity before birth in any one cycle to choose the nature and conditions of the life upon which it is about to enter. In the Tenth Book of "The Republic" the prophet makes a proclamation granting choice of future circumstances in the world below to the unborn souls. "Hear the word of Lachesis, daughter of necessity. Mortal souls, behold a new cycle of life and mortality. Your genius will not be allotted to you, but you will choose your genius, and let him who draws the first lot have the first choice. And the life which he chooses shall be his destiny. Virtue is free, and as a man honors or dishonors her, he will have more or less of her; the responsibility is with the chooser. God is justified." (Rep. x., 617.) "For the formation of character, God left to the wills of individuals. Every one of us is made what he is by the bent of his desires and the nature of his soul." (Laws x., 904.) The assertion by the soul itself of the soul's freedom is so emphatic as to make it one of the most immediate of the data of

consciousness. Even the fire-eating advocates of scientific mechanism are inclined, when describing the human spirit, to accede to it at least moments of perfect freedom.

In enumerating these points of agreement, we must not minimize those divergences where the brilliant modern and the more brilliant ancient at last part company, agreeing to disagree in a spirit of gentle irony, but with all due philosophic serenity. Their dissent hinges upon the pivotal problems of (a) Being, Becoming (Duration—Time), (b) Causality, Final vs. Proximate (Reality). Plato's great mission was the unveiling of a universe of unchangeable reality, which in its highest theoretic development became the invisible world of unmoved Perfection, where the divine Ideas of Truth, Goodness, Beauty and Justice shine in undiminished splendor, the same yesterday, to-day and forever. Through these Ideas we come into communion with the basaltic foundation of things, those things which endure unshaken by the torrential abrasions of sense-affecting phenomena. Zeno had proved to the satisfaction of the Eleatics the unreality, the unthinkableableness of change of motion of any sort. Parmenides has elaborated this physical theory into a metaphysical unfolding of the nullity of Becoming and the reality of pure Being. Plato, building upon both, divined the opposition of what is to what appears, of the rational to the sensible, of the One to the many, of that which remains forever and that which, passing, is no more. Having posited immutability as belonging to the world of Ideas, the world of reality, change must be regarded as a diminution of perfection, an attribute of the unreal. This awful chasm between existence and apparent existence has yawned dark and wide through all the twenty-four post-Platonic centuries. It is there, open, unexplained, if we accept Plato; it never existed, except in the imaginations of the philosophers who advocate it, if we follow Bergson. This is the main cross-roads corner of the two philosophies; let the wayfarer choose. Bergson is for Becoming, for that ceaseless movement nowhether or somewhither which he calls "creative evolution." All things change. Alps are leveled into valleys; empires fashioned by a Napoleon melt into democracies conceived in the phlegmatic minds of his slow-witted followers; the sun itself, as Pater observes, goes out only a little more slowly than the human eye. "Mobility is life; 'tis the dead things that are most completely at rest," explained Heraclitus in a dim past which knew not Plato. Bergson but repeats this summation in a modern jargon which includes a cosmic ascent of consciousness, a synchronous descent of matter and unfailing faith in the mutable, the perfectible. Worked out to its ultimate absurdity, this position requires the assumption that the first cause is non-being. But as the system

is allogical, this need not worry us. If, in an intuitional flash, one of these pseudo-philosophers should decide upon a personal God as the explanation of things, in another flash he would accord to this divinity mutation and perfectibility. Through the ages the discerning heart of humanity has rested its faith upon a changeless, all-perfect Creator. It would seem that the faith of the millions ought to have some weight, even with a philosopher.

It is not easy to understand why M. Bergson, and indeed the whole school of modernist philosophers, should prefer a variable God to an unchanging, all-perfect one. Perhaps because of a confusion in the use of undefined terms. A study of St. Thomas and his differentiation of actuality from potentiality might help to clear matters up. Modernists develop the whirl of the fitful fever we call life into a concept of an evolutionary cosmic flux which is to take the place of God. Their mistake is not that of speaking of God in the language-poems of humanity. That we all do, nor can we do otherwise. Their mistake is in not seeing the inadequacy of such forms, when the object of the description is unspeakable reality. They confuse unchangeable with inactive. Now, we know our own lives are incomplete; that every hour brings new experiences; that we are forever passing from potentiality to actuality. God, however, since He is absolute perfection, is incapable of acquiring any new perfection. His non-liability to change is assuredly not due to exhaustion or want of activity, but to a completeness and fullness of activity which precludes transition from any present potentiality to a future actuality. "The life which we attribute to God is of the most immanent kind," says Father Gerrard, "a life wholly different from ours, for it is all pure actuality. Ours is only a participation in life, and so we are said to possess life. But God is all life, and so we say that He is life. No one gives it to Him; He is it from all eternity." The Schoolmen frequently define God as "actus purus," or pure activity, and Dante, who follows them rather closely, refers to the Creator as the "unmoved mover" of all things. There is a spiritual motion so intense, at such white heat of fervent life, that by the unthinking it is often mistaken for dead immobility. Even in the world of physical matter, the vortex of a whirling substance may appear motionless from sheer rapidity of movement. To the rhythmic pulse of our own planet-home as it sways through space, we are insensible; the awful velocities of the so-called "fixed stars" impress our imperfect sense-avenues as quiescence God might be, after Bergson's dim guess, "a centre from which worlds shoot out like rockets in a fireworks display," and yet remain the unmoved Rock of Ages as portrayed in the symbolism of Christian art and letters. But Bergson does not



quite see the compatibility of the two notions. In the meantime he holds fast to the god of change, not the unchanging One; to the god of time, not the God of eternity.

As a matter of fact, Bergson rejects perfection as an attained ultimate, while Plato cannot conceive the final cause as perfectible. Finalism, of any sort, is almost as bad a solution as mechanism, according to Bergson. He will have no end set at the beginning, thus limiting at the outset such spontaneity as is allowed. A. J. Balfour's comment on this is worth noting: "Creation, freedom, will—these doubtless are great things; but we cannot everlastingly admire them unless we know their drift. We cannot, I submit, rest satisfied with what differs so little from the haphazard; joy is no fitting consequence of efforts which are so nearly aimless. If *values* are to be taken into account, it is surely better to invoke God with a purpose than supra-consciousness with none." (Hibbert Jour., Oct., 1911.) All things—the demand is the most clamorous of the many made by the heart of humanity—all things must work together for good. "If the world be indeed fair and its Artificer good, it is manifest that He must have fashioned His work after an eternal and perfect pattern. . . . God desired that all things should be good and nothing bad, so far as that was attainable." (Tim. xxx.) Somewhere in his "Creative Evolution" Bergson hazards the opinion that intuition, if it could be prolonged beyond a few instants, would not only make a philosopher consistent with himself at all levels of thought, but also all philosophers consistent with one another. Insofar, then, as Bergson and Plato both possess this gift of genuine philosophic vision, they ought to agree; their differences must be due to the fugitive, undeveloped state of intuition as a power of the human soul. One cannot help wishing, after a careful study of M. Bergson, that he may have an opportunity to re-read his Plato. As for Plato, let us forbear offering anything so presumptuous as advice for the improvement of his serene and reverend spirit. He was a Christian by desire. No doubt his contemplation of the unveiled Idea of the good has long since corrected such errors as he stumbled into in his quest for truth.

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## CARDINAL LAVIGERIE AS AN ARCHÆOLOGIST.

## DISCOVERY OF CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN CEMETERIES IN CARTHAGE.

IN THE January number of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW I endeavored to give a brief sketch of Cardinal Lavigerie as a missionary. It is now my purpose to show the results of discoveries and excavations made among the ruins of ancient Carthage, under his patronage and direction. It will be seen that he was not only a great missionary, a great Bishop and a great statesman, but that he also possessed a mind capable of seeing and grasping things outside of those with which his sacred calling would naturally bring him in contact.

His interest in the archæology of the Dark Continent, and especially that of the ancient city of Carthage, is evinced in his highly interesting and instructive work, entitled *Nécessité d'une Mission Archéologique Permanente à Carthage*. In the Rev. Father Delatre, Cardinal Lavigerie found an untiring and intelligent co-worker in the task of unearthing stone, sepulchral lamp and monument. Epitaphs have been cleaned off and deciphered, and the emblems designed upon the lamps explained to such a degree as to throw no little light on the trials of the early Christians in Carthage, the great African metropolis of their period.

The student of history will recall that in the year B. C. 202 Scipio invaded Carthage and carried it by assault. The African rulers became his subjects; their armies were defeated, Hannibal was no longer able to defend his country, and Scipio established his rule and, as a reward for his triumphs, had conferred upon him the title of Africanus.

Roman rule was followed by the Roman religion, the gods of Rome supplanted the deities of the Carthaginians, and Carthage, once the mistress of Africa, of the Mediterranean and of the commerce of the world, was now forced to bow under the yoke that Scipio had placed upon her shoulders. Roman nobles settled in and around Carthage, bringing their freedmen and their bondsmen with them, building their palaces and their villas, and, in a word, becoming the lords of Africa.

Until within a comparatively recent period very little was known outside of Rome and Italy about cemeteries set aside for the exclusive interment of the bondsmen of the imperial house in Africa. These bondsmen were not considered to have been sufficiently numerous to warrant them a special place of burial. It is true that some seven or eight epitaphs telling of such burials were found at Lambesi, Citra and elsewhere in Africa, but nothing indicated

that the number of slaves in the immediate vicinity of Carthage was large enough to require a special cemetery for their use. Cardinal Lavigerie and Father Delatre have removed all doubts on this subject.

The slave cemeteries discovered under the patronage of Cardinal Lavigerie were situated under the ancient ramparts destroyed by Scipio and which once constituted the walls of Carthage. The winds that blew from the African desert and the sand clouds they carried with them alternately bared and covered the long forgotten tombs. The existence of a cemetery on the west side of the ramparts was revealed, but it attracted little notice and was soon "buried again out of sight" and remained so when the Vandals invaded and sacked Carthage.

Thus it came to pass that the humble resting place of the bondsmen were preserved, while those of their proud masters, which the winds had bared, were violated, despoiled and shattered to pieces. A few years ago, Cardinal Lavigerie tells us, a garden covered those humble tombs, and the Arab who cultivated it, on May 10, 1880, found at a depth of some eighteen inches below the surface of the ground, as it was then, the round dome or *cupa* of one of these sepultered crypts, on one side of which was found the following inscription:

DISMANIBVS SACR | CRESCENS CAESARIS N. SE.  
| PIVS VIX ANNIS LXXL | H. S. C.

This Arab, Matiouki by name, is one of Father Delatre's men, and he lost no time in making his discovery known. The Cardinal was at the Jesuit College of St. Louis (Byrsa) when the Arab made this announcement, and both he and Father Delatre urged him to continue his researches. On the following day he uncovered four new inscriptions like the first one—epitaphs on the tombs of some of Cæsar's bondsmen. Near the crypt first discovered the Arab found two more, and instead of removing the earth that covered them, which would have entailed no little labor and would have interfered with the product of his garden, he burrowed a sort of molelike tunnel, along which he could crawl and breathe. In this manner he managed to get some 277 inscriptions.

But the Cardinal and Father Delatre were now anxious to learn the arrangement of this cemetery so strangely brought to light. In this they were doomed to disappointment, for the Arab would suffer no disturbance of his garden so long as it was under cultivation. It was not until the month of November that the work of excavation could be undertaken with energy and the workmen succeeded in bringing to light the entire cemetery.

Cardinal Lavigerie says he can only compare it to the cemeteries

of the period found in and near large cities, especially the parts where the tombs are built of masonry.

The cemetery was found to consist of a series of irregular crypts, the upper portions of which were sometimes round, while others were flat, and all so close together as to render it difficult at times to pass between them. Among the inscriptions was found one in which a freedman deplored, with a feeling of the deepest filial piety, his inability to give the tomb of his parents, both of whom had been slaves, larger proportions.

Father Delatre took the measurement of some of these tombs and gives a somewhat detailed account of his observations. He says:

"The necropolis of Cæsar's bondsmen occupies a space of about two and a half acres. With the exception of a vault containing a skeleton and an urn filled with ashes, all the tombs consisted of rectangular crypts, surmounted by a simple and not very prominent cornice, and sometimes capped by a semi-cylindrical dome, with a sort of decoration at each corner, but more frequently forming a pedestal. Each crypt, built of masonry, contained several urns; the principal or more important one of these occupied a central place, and was protected by a *patera* having a hole in it through which a terra cotta tube extends and leads to the upper part of the crypt. When the vase or urn was enclosed in masonry there was a semi-spherical niche which extended over urns, lamps and lachrymaries.

"When a crypt contained several urns, the largest one was placed in the middle. It had its terra cotta tube. The other urns were placed at the corners, each having its tube running vertically to the surface of the ground.

"It is evident that when the crypt was built there were deposited in it not only the principal urn containing the calcimined bones and ashes of the deceased, but also the ashes as well, which in time were to contain the ashes of other members of the family. When this time came it was an easy matter to pour the ashes of the deceased through the terra cotta tubes, after they had been taken from the funeral pyres into the urns that awaited them. It is also probable that these tubes served for the libations in honor of the gods.

"The greater part of the tombs were simple in form, but some were enriched with decorations in stucco, figures moulded in bas-relief in the plaster coating by which they were covered. The dimensions of these crypts or cotes varied according to the number of urns they were intended to hold, some being only 75 centimetres in width by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metres in height, which is the usual size of tombs holding one urn.

"It is conjectured that these tombs were grouped according to families or guilds. The earlier searches revealed, for the greater part, the tombs of the *pedesequi*, or footmen, while later on others came to light, such as the *agrimensores*, or land surveyors, in the same excavation. Each class formed a group of crypts separated from one another by a space of only a few inches."

The excavations examined up to this point would seem to indicate that all these tombs were private property. Here is one built by a father or mother in memory of their children:

D. M. S. | CLEMENS. AVG. SF. R. | PIVS-VIX. ANNO I. | M. VI  
FECIT OPTATVS | PAT. FILIO. D. S. BM.  
D. M. S. | SECVNDVS. AVG. | SF. R. VIXIT ANNIS XVIII  
AELLA FORTV | NATA MATER PIA ME | RENTI FILIO FECIT.

On other epitaphs we find children and grandchildren, brothers, sisters and husbands expressing their love and veneration for the departed. Even companions in bondage did not forget one another in death.

Then again epitaphs were found on the tombs of liberated slaves, of freedmen, of soldiers and even of veterans. It would take up too much space to reproduce these epitaphs in an article like this one, but we may submit some conclusions from them.

As we study these inscriptions we find that the freedmen entombed in this cemetery devoted to slaves belonged to the lower classes of Roman society. The greater part of them would seem to have belonged to the domestic family of the Cæsars and to have been employed in menial occupations. This would seem to indicate that the laws of the empire permitted even slaves to form burial associations.

There is one interesting point for us to notice. The inscriptions in this cemetery would seem to contradict the general opinion that prevails even among historians who have written on ancient slavery. It has been often stated that lawful marriage, the *confugium*, was absolutely forbidden to slaves—that they were only allowed the simple union; in fact, the *contubernium*, and that it was only in exceptional cases that the use of the term *spouse* was accorded them. In the Carthaginian inscriptions we find the terms *conjux*, *uxor* and *maritus* of frequent occurrence, while the term *contubernalis* was found only three times.

This may have been a mitigation of the Roman law made as a compensation to men who had been sent to do service far away from their native land, as many of them seem to have regarded their exile as intolerable. One inscription tells of a husband who expresses his gratitude to his *uxori carissimæ et ob. meritis, quod se secuta esset in provincia Africa*.

Some of these epitaphs not only give us an insight into the occupations of the slave portion of the imperial household, but lead us to ascribe to some of these people a relatively high degree of intellectual culture.

The most important discovery, so far as Christian archæology is concerned and made up to this time by Father Delatre, is to be found in the Christian cemetery at Carthage. To form a proper estimate of the importance of this fact, we must consider what the Christian cemeteries of Rome contributed in the way of art treasures to science, history and even to theology. Near Carthage, as Tertullian tells us, these treasures seem to have been in no way inferior to those of Rome. They appear to have summed up the whole exterior life of the Church. He tells us that the loudest and most bitter cry of the pagans when calling for the destruction of Christians was: "*Areae non sint*" ("no more cemeteries").

So long as Africa remained more or less closed to scientific exploration it was difficult to get a true idea of the primitive *areae*. Their very name would seem to indicate open burial grounds. But the terms used by writers in ancient times were so obscure as to admit of doubt in their interpretation. All that was known with any certainty was that the principal martyrs of Carthage had been buried in an *areae*; that later on basilicas had been built over their tombs, and that Christians longed to be buried near them; but all this was known as well about the Roman catacombs and the details were couched in almost the same language. Moreover, vast catacombs had been discovered near Carthage and at various points in Africa, notably at Cesarea, the capital of the Mauritania. The question has been asked, Were the *areae* a part of the Carthaginian catacombs or were they mere open burial places like the slave cemetery? If they were, how could the persecuted Christians come together? How could they celebrate the Holy Sacrifice in the tombs of the martyrs? If they were simply burial places, there would have been no reason for their persecutors to follow them with such persistent rage, for ordinary hatred halts in the face of death.

Father Delatre set out to find an answer to these questions, and he found it in the cemetery at Cesarea, in the *area martyrum* or *muro cincta*. It was enclosed within walls high enough to hide the interior from public view, and there was but one gate through which the faithful entered. This arrangement did not differ from that adopted in different parts of Africa by pagan burial societies. In the centre of this cemetery stood a building, the *schola*, in which these societies held their meetings and banquets and collected the dues for the burial of the poor. The *area muro cincta* was not likely, therefore, to attract the attention of the pagans, and it left

the faithful free to meet, as this was a legal privilege allowed to "funeral societies."

The *area hortus*, or first enclosure, kept out the profane, while the *area martyrum*, or *muro cincta*, sometimes called the *Casa Major*, concealed the Christians from hostile view and, as its name indicates, served as a sanctuary, because it was over the very tomb of the martyr that the Holy Sacrifice was celebrated. For this reason, too, this tomb was placed under a sort of dome, beneath which were places for the celebrant and his ministers. The faithful stood around the *mensa*, which was in the centre of the *area*. By standing during the services a much larger number of the faithful could be accommodated in so small a space. It was here that they listened to exhortations that were to prepare them for martyrdom. The fact that these cemeteries were used as places of worship will account for the bitter hostility of the pagans against cemeteries and for their cry: "*Areae non sint!*"

The cemetery at Carthage, as we have already said, was discovered on the west side of the land surrounded by ancient Punic and Roman fortifications running north to the village of Malga and to the very heights overlooking the sea. The acts of the martyrdom of St. Cyprian indicate the "burial of this holy Bishop" as being near the Piscinas, on the road of the Mappelas or Magalas," which would bring it near the village of Malga. Other "acts," equally authentic, show that another cemetery existed in this place near the tomb of St. Cyprian. They are the acts of St. Maximilian, put to death at Thevestu in the year 295. It is said that a Roman matron rescued the body of this holy martyr and had it transported to Carthage on her own litter and buried near St. Cyprian. It is likewise claimed that she was buried here also.

Cardinal Lavigerie assures us that these indications have all been sacrificed in a most striking manner by Father Delatre. In less than two years this zealous priest unearthed, within the space designated by the Cardinal, 1,493 fragments of Christian epitaphs, 227 of which had the words *Fidelis in pace*, 14 had the Dove, 27 the Palm, 5 the Cross, many others the monogram of Christ, whilst others had the very ancient symbols, the Anchor and the Urn.

It is a remarkable fact that all the slabs or stones bearing these inscriptions were broken into such small pieces that it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be put together and deciphered. This circumstance fully confirms what Tertullian tells us about the destruction of Christian cemeteries in Carthage at the hands of the pagans in the second and third centuries and by the Arian vandals in the fifth. The Arabs, in their fanaticism, spared

nothing that would indicate that Christianity had ever gained a foothold in Carthage.

But what will interest us much more than inscriptions is the variety of pagan and Christian lamps, with their symbolism, found in these cemeteries. These lamps, moulded in clay, are very much, in size, shape and designs, like those the writer of this article has seen in the catacombs of St. Calixtus, in Rome. This would lead us to believe that they are of Roman origin. They seem to have been cast in a double mould—one part for the upper half of the lamp and the other for the lower half. A hole, through which the oil was poured, was made later on. We have seen quite a number of these terra cotta moulds in the Museum of Christian Art, in the Louvre, in Paris, and in the Archæological Museum of Marseilles.

Among the specimens of Roman pottery found in Carthage, some are covered with a bright black varnish, all equally fine and well preserved. Christian lamps are mostly unvarnished. Pagan lamps are generally of a grayish clay, while those of the Christians have a red or yellow tint. In the Pagan lamps the shape is more elaborately worked out and the clay is oftener of a finer quality, while those of the Christians are more simple in form and workmanship, but the symbol is always more prominent.

The use of lamps was common to both Christians and Pagans. They were used for lighting the homes of the living as well as of the dead. It was customary to place them in candelabra or other supports of wood or metal.<sup>1</sup> In some places little niches were cut in the inner walls of the house to hold lamps, and, finally, lamps were also placed on the tombs of Christians as well as upon those of Pagans.

At Byrsa two lamps were found, one Christian and one Pagan, both of which contained a piece of money. A learned archæologist (M. Beulé) was not slow in arriving at this conclusion: "It seems to have been the custom in Carthage to drop Charon's toll into the funeral lamp, and this custom was not eradicated by Christianity," but Father Delatre says he found no coins in any of the lamps that came into his hands.

Lamps being used in burial places and for domestic purposes, they were, no doubt, often used in public celebrations. So long as the Church was persecuted, it is true that the Christians refrained from illuminating the exterior of their dwellings, as this custom had an idolatrous signification. Tertullian, it will be remembered, urged the faithful of Carthage not to decorate their homes with laurel and not to illuminate. But when happier days came to the Church, her children, during the celebration of her solemnities,

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<sup>1</sup> See "Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes," by the Abbe Martigny.



used lamps in decorating her temples. Eusebius describes the splendid illuminations ordered by Constantine during Easter celebrations, and the Christians then delighted in decorating their houses with numerous lights. This custom among the early Christians of Carthage will account for the large number of lamps unearthed in Italy, Gaul and Africa.

It was customary with the Pagans to decorate their lamps with figures of their divinities, mythological scenes and other symbolical emblems. Thus, the Horse personified Carthage, and it was found on lamps as well as on the coins of that Punic city.

The early Christians substituted the emblems of this faith in place of the Pagan figures. Symbols engraved on finger rings and on objects in daily use, such as lamps, etc., were used as *tesseres*, for recognizing one another. Each figure had its peculiar meaning which only the faithful, initiated into the secret, were able to understand. This was the case in places where Christians were wont to assemble, as in the Roman catacombs, whose emblems, held in honor during the first ages of the Church, could be seen and recognized.

The same allegorical emblems were noticeable on the Christian lamps in Carthage. Among these were the Fish, the Eagle, the Phoenix, the Cock, the Peacock, the Dove, the Lion, the Hart, the Hare, the Horse with the Palm branch; the Lamb, with the leaf of the Vine, the Cedar, the Palm Tree, the Vase and the Mosaic Candlestick.

Some of these symbols are expressed in the following lines attributed to St. Damasus, who lived in the twelfth century, but which some critics believe to be anterior to this date:

Spes, via, vita, salus, ratio, sapientia, lumen,  
 Judex, porta, gigas, rex, gemma, propheta, sacerdos,  
 Messias, Zeboot, Rabbi, sponsus, mediator,  
 Virga, columna, manus, petra filius, Emmanuelque,  
 Vineæ, pastor, ovis, pax, radix, vitis, oliva,  
 Fons, paries, agnus, vitulus, eo, propitiator,  
 Verbum, honor, rete, lapis, domus, omnis Christus Jesus.  
 (Man. de l'Art. Chrétien, p. 164.)

With the triumph of the Church under Constantine came a new phase of emblematic signs. The monogram of Christ appears on monuments and becomes gradually transformed into the Cross pure and simple. Finally, the Christians represented Our Lord Himself crowned with a nimbus, crushing the demon under His feet and piercing him with a lance-like Cross.

The Carthaginian lamps discovered by Father Delatre retain this symbol, and will be described further on. They all came from the ruins of this ancient city, and were the result of researches made under the direction of Cardinal Lavigerie or around the Hill

of Byrsa, the Acropolis of the city, and on the adjacent elevation known as the Hill of Juno. It is here, in fact, that some authorities have fixed the site of the celebrated temple of Astrata, the celestial Juno of the Romans. History tells us that the Pagan temple was converted into a Christian church in the year 319. May not some of Father Delatre's lamps have served in adding lustre to the impressions of the religious ceremonies performed in that Carthaginian sanctuary? At all events, they are authentic evidences of the faith that animated the early Christians in the city of the Cyprians, the Augustines, the Monicas, the Perpetuas and the Felicitas.

A study of the symbols found on the lamps dug up out of the ruins of the old Carthaginian cemeteries will prove of interest and give us an idea of early Christian life in Africa, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries.

**THE FISH.**—Many lamps found at Carthage bear this symbol as the most prominent subject of their ornamentation. It is well known that the *fish* is one of the oldest emblems of the Church. Sometimes it symbolizes Our Lord, sometimes, the faithful. St. Augustine, in his *Civitate Dei*, says: "From the five Greek words *ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ*, (which signify Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour) if you take the first letter of each word you will have *ΙΧΘΥΣ* or *Fish*, a word which mystically represents the name of *Christ*.

This interpretation is also given by St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevia (lib. 3, adv. Parm). In the same way we see *INRI* on the Crucifix, meaning Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. (Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judeorum), which Pilate caused to be placed on the Cross. (St. John xix., 19.) This kind of acrostic symbolizes the Holy Eucharist. Dom Gueranger, the great abbot of Solesmes, says: "Nothing being more mysterious and superhuman than this food which Christ proclaimed when He said, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink, indeed,' the representation of such a mystery in Christian paintings should be the arcanum by excellence. From the beginning the faithful, when they wished to express it, resorted to the anagram *ichthus*, which included all, but said nothing to profane eyes.<sup>2</sup> This anagram, composed of the first letters of a formula, expressing the dogma of faith, gave a significative word, in accord with the mystery, and representing the Biblical figures, which had announced it." ("St. Cecilia and Roman Society," p. 231.)

But the *fish* as found on many monuments of the early ages,

<sup>2</sup> Many of our readers will remember the frequent references made to the *Fish* in the story of "Quo Vadis."

and on lamps for instance, does not always signify Christ. It often stands for the Faithful. Again we consult Dom Gueranger: "What are the faithful," he asks, "but fishes? Did not Christ say to His apostles, 'I will make you fishers of men?'" Tertullian, by comparison with our Lord, Who is the great and sublime "ichthus," designates the Christians under the graceful diminutive of "little fishes." "Nos pisciculi secundum nostrum Jesum Christum." ("De Baptismo," lib. adversus Quintillam).

This idea is clearly expressed on two lamps found in Carthage. On one of them the *Fish*, the symbol of Christ, is represented in the centre of a disc composed of *pisciculi*. On the other two Doves are joined to the *pisciculi* so as to form a sort of wreath around the divine *Fish*. The significance of the Doves in this arrangement leaves no doubt; it is the same as that of the *pisciculi*.<sup>3</sup>

On another one of these lamps Tertullian's *pisciculi* accompany a Hart in the act of running; and here again, the two emblems taken together have the same meaning. They represent the souls of the faithful going to drink at the fountain of grace. In other cases the Christians are represented by two little fishes, one on the right, the other on the left of the monogram of Christ.

Thus the Fish, with its anagrammatic signification, becomes a mysterious sign, a sign that enabled the early Christians to recognize each other without being exposed to the ridicule or impiety of the Pagans. (See "Manual of Christian Art," p. 163, also see "Quo Vadis.") The symbols on these lamps may be seen on buildings and monuments of the primitive Church and would seem to form a sort of picture catechism telling of the beautiful faith of our Christian ancestors.

As the Fish appears more frequently on lamps than on other objects during this period, does not this peculiarity seem to tell us that Christ came to bring into the world through His incarnation the true light, according to His own words: "*Ego sum Lux mundi?*"

On the disc of another one of these lamps we find the figure of a *dolphin*. This emblem appears quite often on tombs because this *fish* is represented as the friend of man and because the body of St. Lucian was rescued from the waves and taken to a place of sepulture by a *dolphin*.

It will be remembered that Pope Pius IX. in his allocution to the Pious Federation in 1873 said: "Let us be filled with that faith that never wavers and is so appropriately symbolized by the *Fish*, because even as the fish maintains itself in the midst of troubled

<sup>3</sup> One of these lamps has three points on the base, arranged in a triangular form (• • •), to represent the Trinity.

waters, so the true faith will not be put down by opposition or persecution."

THE LION.—The king of beasts is represented in many lamps. In the Apocalypse Our Lord is spoken of as the "lion of the fold of Juda"—"*Vicit leo de tribu Juda*," and the author of the "Manual of Christian Art" adds: "He is indeed a lion—by royal descent, by indomitable courage and by His glorious resurrection." So also has Christianity frequently represented Him in her early tombs.

The lion often forms a base for candlesticks, especially for such as are used for the Paschal candle. Taken collectively, however, lions have a more general signification; they symbolize the faithful endowed with a divine strength which they acquire through the Blessed Sacrament. St. John Chrysostom expresses the idea when he says: "Let us go forth from the Sacred Banquet like lions breathing forth flames and become terrible as demons." St. Charles Borromeo in the Fourth Provincial Council, over which he presided, prescribed the decoration of church doors with the figures of lions as indicative of the vigilance of the Pontiffs and to inspire awe and respect among the faithful.

THE HART.—In olden times the Hart was believed to possess the gift of immortality. "*Ipse aetatis suae arbiter*," as Tertullian says. It was, indeed, believed that when the Hart experienced the effects of disease it had the faculty of recovering its health and renewing its youth by feeding upon serpents, and in Tertullian's time the superstition was still widespread in Africa and it is probable that Carthaginian Christians adopted it as the symbol of immortality.

According to Manachi, the Hart represents the Christian to whom was given the power to flee from persecution. This is contrary to what was taught by some heretics, and even by Tertullian after he had become imbued with the errors of the Montanists.

But most frequently the Hart represents the catechumen when instructed in the wonders effected by the element water, and he ardently longed after the sacred fountain in which he was to be washed from all stains, and who to describe his ardent longing joyfully borrowed the words of David in Psalm xli., "*Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea, ad te Deus*." "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so my soul panteth after Thee, O my God."

Hence, as Dom Gueranger tells us, the soul is represented as panting after Baptism under the form of a young hart.

This symbol has been found on a lamp unearthed at Oudenia (ancient Uthina) and on quite a number of others, one of which

was found in Carthage. On one of these last the hart is represented as running rapidly and flanked by two *pisciculi*.

The Hart also symbolizes the Christian soul hoping to possess God in the Blessed Sacrament, the life-giving fountain of spiritual life. This explains the hart drinking from a cup or chalice, as represented on one of the lamps. It is impossible not to recognize the Holy Eucharist in this subject. On a lamp found on January 1, 1880, the hart is represented as running, in the centre of a disc formed of hares in the same attitude. Here the two symbols confirm each other. The hart and the hares, because of their timidity and agility, signify the fear the Christian soul feels at the approach of danger that threatens its purity and the promptness with which it must flee from it.

THE HORSE.—In ancient times the horse was the emblem of Carthage. The coins found in the ruins of this Punic city frequently give evidence of this fact. We also find the horse on Roman lamps of Pagan origin.

The Christians made the horse the symbol of victory,<sup>4</sup> basing this idea on the text of St. Paul, who compares Christian life to a race in the arena, the aim of which is victory: "*Sic currite ut apprehendatis*" (I Cor. ix., 24). On one of the other lamps the horse is represented in the act of running; by his side are palm branches; and the disc upon which he appears is encircled by a garland. The evidently Christian character of this piece of pottery is confirmed by a cross designed on the under part of this lamp not unlike a trade-mark.

THE HARE.—This symbol is quite analogous to the one just referred to, and like it, reminds us of the rapid flight of human life, at the end of which is the reward. "Run," says the apostle, "that you may gain the victory." It is this act that the hare is represented on one of these lamps. The same symbol has been noticed on lamps found at Lyons and at Girgenti, in Sicily. Among those found by Father Delatre at Carthage there is one on which the emblem of the Resurrection is placed beside the one representing the shortness of life. A disc formed of running hares encircles, in its centre, the figure of a Cock.

The hare may also be regarded as the expression of Christian vigilance, and especially of the timidity of souls that would preserve their purity. It is also in this sense that in the Middle Ages they sometimes painted the hart on the arm of personified Charity. The magnificent tomb of St. Augustine in the Cathedral of Pavia is a striking example of this.

Whatever may be said of this emblem and its various interpreta-

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<sup>4</sup> See also Job xxxix., 28.

tions, it is certain that the early Christians attached to it some mysterious but well determined meaning or they would not have represented it on their tombs, lamps, etc.

**THE LAMB.**—"The symbol, par excellence, of Our Divine Saviour," says the "Manual of Christian Art," is the Lamb. The Paschal Lamb was His emblem. Isaias compares Him to a lamb (xvi., 7). St. John the Baptist designates Him by that name; the Apocalypse speaks of the "throne of the Lamb" (xiii., 8) and the Christian invokes Him as the "Lamb of God."

The lamb was the Crucifix of the faithful during the first ages of Christianity so troubled by persecution. In adopting this symbol the Church desired, above all, to convey the victim idea—the Lamb immolated for the redemption of the world. Also as soon as circumstances permitted it, this emblem of sacrifice found a place on Christian monuments, tombs, etc. At first it was associated with the various transformations of the monogram *xt.*, until finally it appeared on the cross itself in the place occupied later on by the hands and feet of the Saviour. Thus it is that we see the Lamb repeated several times and occupying the place of the Latin cross in the background of Byzantine plate and on the disc of one of the Carthaginian lamps. These specimens of pottery date from the sixth century.

The Incarnate Word being represented by this sign, it must possess to a certain degree the character of the lamb. "I send you forth," says our Redeemer, "as lambs among wolves." In the parable of the Good Shepherd He continually speaks of the faithful as His sheep that He knows and that know Him. He commands Peter to "feed His sheep," "His lambs." The early Christians were careful not to lose sight of this touching comparison, so that wherever lambs appeared in pictures near the figure of Christ, they symbolized the faithful.

Two lambs in Carthage have representations of the Good Shepherd. One in bas-relief is now in the museum at Algiers, the other is a leaden urn which figured at the Paris Exposition of 1867 and attracted great attention.

**THE LAMB AND THE VINE.**—An earthen lamp found at Oudenia (ancient Uthina) has this symbol in the centre of a disc. We have already studied the *Fish* as a Eucharist emblem, and this symbol would seem to have the same signification. It is not difficult to recognize that the leaf of the vine, placed as it is beside the Lamb, has a clearly dogmatic meaning. It is the application of the words, "My flesh is meat, indeed, and My blood is drink, indeed." The Divine Lamb is immolated daily upon the altar and the Flesh becomes the meat of the faithful. The wine symbolized by the

vine becomes changed into the blood of our Divine Redeemer and becomes our drink.

A further study of this lamp might lead us to consider the lamb or the sheep as the soul longing to feed upon this "Meat" and to unite itself with God. Then again we see it referred to in the Canticles—"My beloved is a grape in the vine."

The idea of the soul seeking its nourishment in the Eucharistic wine is forcibly illustrated on a figment of marble found in Carthage. A holy personage plucks with avidity a grape from a vine towards which he approaches. The expression of this subject appears to be as Christian as the vine in the frescoes in the Roman Catacombs.

THE CEDAR.—Trees have often been chosen as Christian emblems for monuments, tombs, etc., from the earliest times. St. Fulgentius in one of his sermons says that we are trees planted in the field of the Lord, the Divine Agriculturist, and that we should not remain barren and useless.

The cedar and the cypress, which are looked upon as incorruptible, symbolized the just man in the primitive Church. Wisdom itself is likened in the Holy Scriptures unto a "cedar of Libanus and a cypress tree on Mount Zion" (Eccl. xxiv., 17), and David (Ps. xci., 13) uses the cedar to typify the works of the just. On one of his lamps Father Delatre recognized a tree which he thinks must be a cedar or a cypress, as both have the same meaning in Christian iconography. The symbol on this lamp represents the Christian soul; strong in faith and pure in life, maintaining its purity amid the corruptions of the world.

THE PALM TREE putting forth its branches horizontally, as shown on these lamps, is a figure of the Cross. In the early ages the Cross was simply a tree, the sight of which recalled Him Who was the means of the redemption of the world. All the ancient fathers and all the linguists of the East and West join in rejoicing that heaven chose wood as a means to repair the harm done to humanity through wood.<sup>5</sup> (See "St. Cecilia and Roman Society," p. 229.)

Ecclesiasticus, after likening Wisdom to the cedar and the cypress, personifies it in the palm tree: "*Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades*. David salutes the just man under the figure of the cedar and the palm: "*Iustus est palma florebit sicut cedrus Libani multiplicatur*." (Ps. xci., 13.) St. Thomas makes it the emblem of the apostles when he says that this tree symbolizes by its height their exaltation in the Church and by the ideas of victory it suggests—their triumph over persecution and idolatry. ("Dict. of Christian Antiquities"—Art., Apostles.)

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<sup>5</sup> The tree of the forbidden fruit.

In the "Manual of Christian Art" (p. 202) the palm tree is made the symbol of the Good Shepherd. It is found, in fact, thus represented on a leaden vase, to which reference has already been made. This vase must have been a portable holy water font. The same combination of subjects appears on a sarcophagus found at Collo. On Father Delatre's lamp the palm tree stands alone and spreads out its branches as if to embrace the world. It is the symbol of the Tree of Redemption—the Cross.

THE DOVE.—At the baptism of Our Blessed Lord the Holy Ghost appeared in the form of a Dove. "*Jesu baptisato*," says St. Luke (iii., 22), "*apertum est coelum et descendit Spiritus Sanctis corporali specie sicut columba in ipsum*."

From this we see that in the most remote Christian times the custom of representing the Dove on monuments, etc., to designate the third person of the Blessed Trinity was not uncommon. The "Memorial of Christian Art" declares that the Dove is the only emblem that can properly convey an idea of the Holy Ghost by means of a visible, living, animated figure, one that responds to the character of the sacred Person, at least in so far as we can conceive and express it.

Tertullian teaches that the Holy Ghost, in coming down from heaven upon Our Lord in the form of a Dove, manifested His nature by the figure of a creature eminently simple and innocent and whose body is without bitterness or hatred: "*Columbae figura delapsus in Dominum, ut natura Spiritus Sancti declararetur per animal simplicitatis et innocentiae; quod etiam corporalitur ipso felle caret columbe*." ("De Baptismo," c. viii.)

St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (A. D. 249), expresses the same thought in these words: "The Holy Ghost appears in the form of a Dove, an animal simple and blithe and without bitterness." In the third century there was a notion prevalent that gall, that bilious vesicle common to all animals, was absent in the body of the dove.

This zoölogical error does not in any way detract from the value and the beauty of the symbol. Has not Our Lord exhorted us to imitate the simplicity of the Dove?

On the disc of one of the lamps the Dove appears close to the Lion as a symbol of the union of gentleness with strength. But it most frequently happens that a number of doves flocked together form a sort of divine following to the *Fish*; sometimes they appear with the Cross. They symbolize the souls that seek their only happiness in Christ.

Two lamps were found on which was a bird resembling a hen more than a dove. The disc of each of these lamps is formed of



little birds or chickens. May not this be a figure of Our Lord, Who compares Himself to a "hen gathering her chickens under her wing?" (Matt. xxii., 37.)

On counting the number of rows of these little chickens the disc was unfortunately broken; it was finally ascertained to be twelve. This might be translated to represent the apostles under the tutelage of their Divine Master.

We might also recognize in it the Church watching over the souls of the faithful with all the maternal solicitude with which a hen watches over her little ones with all her wonderful instinct of affection. This interpretation, however, is hazarded, as we find no work on iconography giving the hen as a symbol of Our Blessed Lord.

THE COCK.—The old pagans made the cock the emblem of vigilance, and it was sacrificed to Esculapius. The early Christians adopted it not only as the emblem of vigilance, but of Faith, Hope and Resurrection. St. Ambrose's hymn, "*Æterne verum conditor*," fully expresses all the thoughts that could be awakened in the Christian soul by the figure of the cock:

Surgamus ergo strenue,  
Gallus jacentes excitat  
Et somnolentes, increpat  
Gallus negantes arguit.  
Gallo canente spes redit,  
Agris salus refunditur,  
Mucro latronis conditur,  
Lapsis fides revertitur.

But the presence of the cock on the tombs of the first centuries was intended to remind Christians of their faith in the Resurrection. This idea is strongly accentuated on one of the lamps, on which the cock is represented in the centre of a disc encircled by running hares, symbolizing the rapid passing away of this life.

On a piece of pottery of red clay, somewhat resembling our lamps, the cock is represented with his head decorated with palm—the symbol of victory. Cock-fighting having been a favorite sport with the ancients, the cock decorated with the palm branch must have symbolized the Christians' triumph over the snares of the devil.

THE PEACOCK.—This bird, according to the old pagans, was dedicated to Juno, who had a magnificent temple at Carthage. On the early tombs of the Christian era the peacock was the emblem of the immutability of the soul and of eternal happiness. St. Augustine, in his "*Civitate Dei*," also regards the peacock as the emblem of immortality, because even in his day the flesh of the bird was considered incorruptible. But it is chiefly as an emblem of the Resurrection that the faithful have used it on their tombs. St.

Anthony of Padua compares our risen bodies to the peacock, which sheds its feathers every year only to reproduce new ones.

On two lamps cast from the same mould the peacock is represented with one of its little ones on its back. The disc on which it appears is decorated with palms, cypresses and doves. This subject is nearly reproduced in a painting in a Christian catacomb at Milan, and is described in the "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities."

THE PHOENIX.—The figure of this fabulous bird seems to have been recognized on one of the lamps found at Carthage. This bird is described by the pagans as a native of Arabia. It is believed to exist single in the world, to burn itself at the end of 500 years and to revive from its own ashes.

We read in the "Acts of the Martyrs" about Valerian and Tiburtius, that when the latter wished to convert Maximilian (an officer who was to accompany him to the place of execution) he said to him: "My body will be reduced to ashes, only to rise again like the phoenix to the light that is to shine forever." And after the officer had followed the martyrs to their victory, Cecilia, the spouse of Valerian, had the precious remains placed in a tomb, on which, by her order, was carved a phoenix, in remembrance, no doubt, of the words spoken by Tiburtius, and by which he sought to convey to Maximilian an idea of the Resurrection. ("St. Cecilia and Roman Society," p. 305.)

THE EAGLE, the king of birds, according to the old pagans, was dedicated to Jupiter. It was to the Roman legions what the horse was to the Carthagenian armies—the sign of victory.

If we would learn the Christian signification of the Eagle on the lamps, we must consult the Sacred Scriptures. Moses, in his magnificent canticle (Deut. xxxii., 11) compares God to the Eagle in these words: "As the eagle enticing her young to fly, God hath spread His wings over Jacob, and taken him and carried him on His shoulders."

It is assumed by some authorities that not a few of the Fathers of the Church, basing themselves on Psalm cii., 5, *renovatum aquila juvenus tua*; words that refer to the periodical moulting of the eagle, regard it as the symbol of the Resurrection.

This emblem may also be taken as a sign of Hope, according to the words of Isaias: "*Qui sperant in Domino . . . assument pennas sicut aquilla.*"

Tertullian in illustrating that there are things invisible to man and visible to spirits, says: "Nocturnal birds cannot look at the sun with their eyes, while the eagle can look at it steadily. The strength of their little ones is estimated by the power of their eyes;

and those are considered unfit to live that turn their gaze from the brilliant orb of day." (*"Liber de Anima,"* cap. vii.)

THE MOSAIC CANDLESTICK.—Antiquarians do not agree in interpreting the origin of the Candlestick, found on the tombs of the first centuries of our era. The learned Bossio and not a few others, speaking of lamps found in the Roman Catacombs, attaches a Christian meaning to them, while archæologists of our day hold a contrary opinion, alleging that the candlestick has never been seen on mural paintings in the Catacombs nor on tombs known to be undoubtedly Christian. Father Delatre, however, has found a lamp in Carthage which he would not have classed among Christian lamps were it not that it bears this inscription:

VICTORINVS  
CESQVE IN PACE  
ET IRENEV. . . . .

and under it are sculptured the candlestick and the palm. The words IN PACE and the palm are according to all archæologists essentially Christian symbols, while the candlestick, associated with it, must partake of the same meaning. The lamp bearing this figure and found among the ruins of the same city in which other Christian lamps were found surely warrant its being classed among Christian lamps.

Gio. Pietro Bettori, in 1691, also refers to a Roman lamp bearing the Mosaic candlestick, and he attributes a Jewish origin and meaning to this emblem. Other authorities give the Mosaic candlestick a Christian signification, and this opinion is based in older times on other proofs besides this inscription, and archæologists will, no doubt, come to agree with Bossio, whose opinion is further confirmed by texts from St. Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede, St. Jerome and Theophilus of Antioch. (*Dic. Christian Architecture; art., Candelabra.*)

It is most probable that the emblem of the Mosaic candlestick was known to both Christians and Jews, with a special signification, no doubt, but the origin of either can neither be accepted nor rejected.

THE VASE OR URN has been frequently found painted or otherwise designed on Christian tombs. It appears in Carthage on two mortuary marbles; also, on two lamps in Father Delatre's collection. On one of the marbles the vase appears between two plants, to represent Paradise; the other simply shows the vase without accessories.

The Abbé Martigny says that the vase or urn represents the human body, and the human body in the tomb. It is the teaching of St. Paul, *vaso ire, apta interitum*. (Rom. ix., 22.) In his soliloquies he asks himself: "*Quid sum?*" and he answers himself, "*Vas*

*fatidum.*" Accentuating the same thought, he says again: "*Quid iterum ego? Vas aptum in contumelium. Quid futurum sum? Vas sterquilini.*" Tertullian uses this figure: "*Nos vasa festilia.*" Lactantius expresses the same idea in these words: "*Corpus est quasi vasculum, quo tamquam domicilio temporalis spiritus cælestis utatur*" ("Dic. Christ. Antiquities," art., Vase.)

The vases which appear, with the monogram of Christ on lamps recently found, symbolize the elect. Our Lord Himself, in the Acts of the Apostles, calls St. Paul *vas electionis*. See also the use of the word in the Litany of the B. V. M.

THE MONOGRAM OF CHRIST, THE "CHI-RHO."—Many lamps and mortuary marbles bear this monogram, as we often see it in the frescoes and bas-reliefs of the Catacombs and on sarcophagi of the Merovingian period in France. We shall examine the various modifications of this monogram, beginning with one Constantine caused to be traced on his labarum, or imperial standard, and which appeared on many of his coins.

This monogram is formed by the combination of the Greek letters X and P, which are the first two in the word *ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ*, Christ. It was in the time of Constantine that it first appeared on tombs of known dates. This emblem appears on two of Father Delatre's lamps in the clearest form, and is surrounded by a cluster of symbols denoting victory. On two other lamps this sign appears surrounded by twelve flowers, symbolizing the twelve tribes and the twelve Apostles, and also indicating the universality of the people of God. ("Manual of Christian Art," p. 128.) We come across it again in a wreath of cypress or cedars, and in another case it is flanked by two fishes (*pisciculi*), the interpretation of which we have already given.

In the preceding monogram the Cross is concealed under the form of the X, but the freedom accorded the Church under Constantine permitted Christians to make the sign of the Cross more evident. This will, no doubt, account for the changed form of the symbol by substituting a single transverse line for the X.

The adoption of this type seems due to its relation to the Cross on which the Redeemer of the world was immolated. This monogram is called cruciform, or rectilineal, and sometimes the monogrammatic Cross. It has been found on mortuary marbles and on the discs of many clay lamps. On one of them the monogram is flanked by two omegas, and at the base are three points, arranged in triangular form, while on the border of the disc are twelve flowers, the meaning of which is explained above. On another lamp twelve hearts encircle the same monogram, but in this case it is

flanked by two doves, and on each side the series of six hearts terminates with another dove.

"The number *twelve*," says the "Manual of Christian Art," "formed by the number *three* and the number *four*, by multiplication differs from the number *seven*, which is formed by addition, but shares with it the signification of universality. It represents the Twelve Tribes and the twelve Apostles; twelve sheep and twelve doves relate to both of these symbols and proclaim the universality of the people of God." The same may be said of the twelve flowers and the twelve hearts that appear with the monogram and, later on, with the Cross on Christian lamps from the time of the triumph of the Church.

We may attribute to the carelessness of the potter those rectilinear monograms on which the loop of the Greek P is turned to the left instead of to the right, so that the Greek letter, instead of having the form of our capital P, has that of our small q. It is in this style that the monogrammatic Cross is represented on a handsome piece of Byzantine pottery and on specimens of Carthaginian lamps.

Besides the monogram composed of X and P, the first letters of the Greek word *Christos*, there is another, found on ancient tombs and even on some Carthaginian lamps. It is formed of the first letter of the Greek word for *Jesus* and the first letter of the Greek word for *Christ*. The combination of these two Greek letters I and X makes this monogram.

The Christ-sign in its pure form does not appear to a certainty until the time of Constantine, but the one we are going to examine has been recognized on an epitaph, the date of which puts it prior to the reign of that Emperor. The early Christians had, therefore, a monogram by which they symbolized the name of Jesus Christ on their tombs. Would it not appear from this that Father Delatre's lamp antedates the preceding ones? The disc bearing this monogram is embellished with four doves.

THE LATIN CROSS.—After passing through various modifications the Christ-sign was reduced to the plain cross about the beginning of the fifth century. The P disappears and the Latin or Greek cross takes the place of the monograms. Many of the lamps found in Carthage bear this august symbol of our Redemption. On one of these we find the cross in a disc surrounded by a circle formed successively of hearts and spear-points. On another lamp we find flowers and hearts alternating. Here the cross is flanked by hearts; there it stands encircled by doves. In another case the dove is surmounted by a cross to symbolize the Divine Victim offered up

for the redemption of the world. Finally, the cross appears surrounded with medallions, each showing the figure of the Lamb.

According to the learned Rossi, it was Africa, and especially Carthage, that began the designing of the plain cross on its monuments. It has been found on marbles of the fourth century.

But it was only in the fifth century that the true cross began to show itself in the rest of the Church throughout the then Christian world. Moreover, the devotion of the faithful of Carthage and of Africa is made known to us through Tertullian, who as far back as the third century said that the faithful made the sign of the cross on all occasions, even the least important. When St. Augustine describes the Cross of the Passion he always gives the Latin form.

The veneration of the cross by the faithful of Carthage is evidenced on two lamps recently discovered. The cross is represented standing under a sort of niche or portico composed of two columns with capitals connected at the top by an ornamented arch. The border of the disc is made up of symbolical birds.

But the most beautiful cross beyond all doubt is the one formed of several medallions and in which the Lamb is prominent. This is the style of cross that immediately preceded the crucifix as we know it to-day. Up to the sixth century Our Lord had never been represented in person in the cross. The early Christians were content with the figure of the Lamb, the characteristic emblem of the Divine Victim of our redemption.

This Lamb cross is flanked by two hearts and supported by two others. Among the ornaments forming the disc the heart is many times repeated with the monogram of Constantine. This lamp, so far as to the fine quality of the clay and the delicacy of workmanship, is the best specimen of all the lamps found in Carthage. On the bottom of the lamp the trade-mark represents a head in profile, doubtless the portrait of the Christian potter, proud of his work.

THE CROSS FLANKED BY THE ALPHA AND OMEGA.—The fragment of a lamp was found, on which was a cross, the horizontal arms of which are flanked by the Greek letters Alpha and Omega. These signs, it is evident, express an act of faith in the divinity and eternity of Christ. They are taken from the text of the Apocalypse of St. John, in which Our Lord said: "*Ego sum Alpha et Omega, primus et novissimus, principium et finis.*" "The Alpha and Omega by the cross," says the Abbé Martigny, "is the most striking character in tombs in Africa, where it was used in an especial manner as a protest against the Arian heresy, which denied the divinity of Christ.

**DANIEL IN THE LION'S DEN.**—This subject is often seen in ancient frescoes in the Catacombs and appears on a lamp found in 1872 at the foot of the Byrsa Hill. Daniel is standing with outstretched arms, in the attitude of prayer, with two lions at his feet. Near the prophet are two persons—one representing Habacuc offering a round loaf; the other, seemingly an angel, as if in the act of blessing, extends his hand towards Daniel. Some authors recognize in this angel the one who took Habacuc from Judea to Babylon, that he might minister unto Daniel.

The great abbot of Solesmes, Dom Gueranyer, sees in this picture a type of the martyrdom which the Christians of the early ages were wont to regard as the more or less imminent end of their existence. St. Peter in his first epistle said: "Christ having suffered in the flesh, be you also armed with the same thought" (iv., 1). Martyrdom or apostasy were then the alternatives that might await them from one moment to another. It is for this reason that the representations of the three children in the fiery furnace and that of Daniel in the lion's den are so frequent in the Catacombs. These two subjects have been found on Christian lamps. Up to the present time only the latter representation has been found in Carthage.

But let us follow Dom Gueranyer in his development of this thought:

"The quiet courage with which the Prophet Daniel met these ferocious beasts should be that of the Christian when called upon to enter the arena to be, in his turn, devoured by the lions; and if at any time it should please God to give a lesson to pagans by restraining these beasts and causing them to stand still and tamely at the feet of these athletes of the faith, the Christian must not presume upon the privilege, but hold himself ever ready to feel the teeth of the hungry wild beasts sink into their flesh and devour their bodies." ("St. Cecilia and Roman Society," p. 242.)

It was then the idea of the potter to keep the Christian in mind of possible martyrdom and perhaps of the help of God in appeasing the fury of the lions in behalf of His saints.

This type of lamps cannot be attributed to a period prior to the fifth century, as the design is absolutely missing in the moulds used before that time to represent Daniel in the den of lions.

In admitting this date we can understand how the trials the African church was then undergoing again evoked this subject to revive, as it has done in former ages, the idea of martyrdom in the minds of the faithful, because the Arian persecution was then pursuing the Christians with Satanic malignity.

**OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.**—The best preserved and the most

interesting of all the lamps discovered among the ruins of Carthage is the one to which we now refer. The subject it represents is no longer a symbol; it is no longer the Name of Christ concealed under emblems of different monograms; nor is it even the cross, pure and simple, whether Greek or Latin, but our Blessed Lord Himself, standing with His head crowned by an aureola, vested in a tunic, trampling under foot the infernal serpent and crushing its head with a long spear surmounted by a cross.

A lamp almost similar to this one was discovered in 1866 in Rome among the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars. Another such lamp was discovered in the Diocese of Constantine, and is fully described by M. Herion de Villeforse in his pamphlet, entitled "*Lampes Chrétiennes Inédites*" (1876).

The large number of Christian lamps found in Carthage prove the great anxiety of the faithful in the early ages to reproduce and spread abroad the symbols of their faith in Our Blessed Lord.

The Metropolitan church of Africa, illustrious for its Bishops and its numerous martyrs no less than for its glorious councils, sees at last, after twelve centuries of oblivion, the cross rising once more over its heaping ruins. The same Sacred Victim that was long ago offered up upon the altars of the twenty-two basilicas of Carthage returns after all these centuries to dwell once more in the land of the Perpetuas, the Felicitas, the Cyprians, the Monicas, the Augustines and the St. Louis. The vault of the chapel built in honor of France's sainted King resounds with the same *Credo* that the Christians of ancient Carthage and of all Northern Africa were wont to sing. It is a faithful echo of the first ages of the Church. The cross, the symbol of peace and civilization, so long hidden under ruins, shines forth and soars once more over a land teeming with Catholic memories. It is the triumph of Christ as He is represented on the richest of these lamps—a beautiful expression of that liturgic chant that never grows old: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*

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## OUTLINES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

#### MYSTICAL LIFE IS LIFE WITH GOD.

**I**N THE words of Bishop Waffelaert, of Bruges, in his opusculé, "*La Mystique et la Perfection Chrétienne*," mystical life is a life of intimate, sustained, conscious union with God.

It is the life of a loving soul with the loving God. A wholly supernatural kind of life, spiritual, interior, secret, hidden to the eyes of men, hence its name of mystical, which means something hidden. A most unfortunate confusion has been made in comparatively recent times on the meaning of mystical life. There is the school of the wide definition, which by mystical life understands, purely and simply, the life of active, conscious union of a soul with God, in the secret of the heart, as here described. Then there is the school of the narrow definition, which by mystical life understands one of extraordinary miraculous favors from God to a soul, such as visions, revelations, raptures, the gift of prophecy, of miracles. This last meaning is quite wrong. The wider meaning is the traditional one, the only one in possession for more than fifteen centuries, in fact, up to the time of St. John of the Cross and St. Francis of Sales, and really the only legitimate and rational one.

The Psalmist says: "It is good for me to cling to God." (Psalms lxxii., 28.) Now mystical life is that—actually and perseveringly clinging to God, finding in Him one's delight, making this the one supreme and sole business on earth, the *Unum necessarium*.

It is not a one-sided affair, an affair in which man alone is concerned and does it all. No. Two are actively engaged together in the mystical life, namely, these two—the loving soul and the loving God, and God even more than the soul, for God it is who begins by exciting the soul to seek Him and who raises her above her natural weakness, sustaining her throughout, and who rewards her puny efforts with the magnificent gift of Himself; whilst on her own part the loving soul answers with alacrity the call of God, faithfully coöperates with the lights and motions of His grace and yields herself wholly up to His divine embraces.

Mystical life, then, we may as well call at once life with a partner (*la vie a deux*), as is married life. With this difference, that in human marriage the partner is another human being, whilst in mystical life, a wonder! The partner is God. And with this

further difference, that human marriage is principally a consortium of the bodies: "They two shall be in one flesh" (Mark x., 8), whilst mystical life is principally a consortium of spirit. "God is a spirit" (John iv., 5,) and "He that clings to God is one spirit." (1 Cor.) The flesh comes into it only to be made also one with the spirit, to be first crushed and then raised above herself, made in a way spiritual. To the mystic God is all in all, and the rest of things do not count, except in relation with God. The mystic lives in the conscious presence of God, in the willed and loved company of God, in a sweet familiarity with God, in the enjoyment of God. There is a constant exchange of love between God and that soul, as between husband and wife or bride and bridegroom, as set forth in the Cantic of Canticles. Only all that is purely spiritual of course; and it is hidden in the secret of the loving heart, jealously shielded from the profane gaze of creatures, for "it is good to keep the secret of the King." (Tob. xii., 7.)

Mystical life, when it comes after a life of tepidity, inaugurates a new order of relations between God and man, new and very special relations, more intimate, more loving, more sweet, more delicate and tender, both on the part of God and on the part of that man, that order of relations predicted in Osee: "I will espouse thee to Me forever; and I will espouse thee to Me in justice and judgment and in mercy and in commiseration. And I will espouse thee to Me in faith, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord." (Os. ii., 19.) It was not so before, and it is not so with the non-mystic. It is indeed a new state of affairs, but it is the right one, the one that should have prevailed from the beginning, the one that should always prevail. Mystical life is simply the holy life as God has planned it for us as a temporary substitute of the bliss of heaven and a prelude to it, a life in which all the resources brought by sanctifying grace are fully worked out, where the sacraments are made to yield all their fruits and the presence of the Holy Ghost in the soul, with His seven gifts, is given all its efficacy.

Mystical life is the normal Christian life, the full Christian life, Christian life as it should be lived by all and everywhere and under all circumstances, whilst the Christian life as it is lived, alas, by the immense majority of people is simply abnormal and monstrous, shorn of its bearings upon all the details of life and deprived of its efficacy and of most of its precious fruits. Mystical life is a human life made supernatural and wholly divine in all its manifestations, even the most lowly and material ones, such as eating, going to sleep, recreation, material work, "whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all to the glory of God." (1

Cor. x., 31.) The mystic becomes deiform, not only in the substance of his soul, as is the case with every man in the state of grace, but also in all his activities. There, the divine ideal, nay, God Himself, has impregnated and transformed everything. "I live, says St. Paul, now not I, but Christ liveth in me." (Gal xl., 20.) God lives in the mystic, reverberates his divine life in the mystic, and the mystic in his turn lives in God. "Your life," says St. Paul, "is hidden away with Christ in God." (Col. iii., 3.) From the very start the mystic, in order to find God, is led to retire into himself, which act is called *introversion*, and once he has there found Him whom his soul loveth, for "the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii., 21), the mystic delightfully loses himself in God and would fain never want to come out again and live with the outer world of creatures. Even when compelled to, again, have converse with the world and attend to exterior occupations, the best part of him is away from it all, secretly clinging to God and making love to Him and enjoying Him.

The mystic, without neglecting any of his external duties, simply lives with God, simply lives upon God, feasts upon God, finds in God his all in all. To the mystic God is (as he is indeed) the great reality, the only one worthy to engross perpetually his attention and win and retain for evermore the affections of his heart. He joys in the thought of the presence of God, of the goodness of God, of his sanctity, of his divine life and infinite bliss and infinite loveliness. He is never tired of speaking to God of his love for Him and of laying himself out open to his utmost capacity to the divine influences. And God on His part does not stay behindhand with His servant; He lays hand on all the faculties of the mystic and makes His divine presence felt to him. He floods his mind with wonderful illuminations and his will with marvelous infusions of strength, and at times (though not all the time) God fills the heart of His servant with ineffable sweetness, whilst at other times God tries him with dryness of spirit and the withdrawal of heavenly consolation. But this never discourages the faithful servant. He knows God is always there, invisibly holding him and steering his soul safely through the dense fog and among breakers, as a skillful pilot does the ship which a self-diffident captain has surrendered into his hands.

Now it is this wonderful life with God as a partner which we call the mystical life. Shall we say that it is a very extraordinary sort of life? If by extraordinary we mean that it is seldom met with, yes, alas, so it is. But if we mean an impracticable, a well nigh impossible life, one meant only for a very few chosen souls, we are in error. No, mystical life is not impracticable or well nigh

impossible, nor is it only for a few. It is simply the very perfection of Christian life, to which we are all called, and which we shall be, mayhap, severely punished in Purgatory for not having attained. Mystical life appears to us extraordinary and well nigh impossible only because we are men of little faith and we have allowed our charity to grow cold. Mystic life is the right kind of life: any other is wrong.

WHO ARE MYSTICS AND WHO ARE NOT.

Evidently non-mystics are all those in the state of mortal sin. Far from living with God, they live with His enemy, the devil. They have given themselves over to him; they belong to him; he is with them and in them. Yes, in them; they are his dwelling. Read St. Luke ix., 24-26. A terrible state of affairs indeed. Non-mystics also are all those tepid and negligent Christians who though not habitually in a state of sin, and therefore not living with the devil, cannot, however, be said to live with God, but rather with self and the world of creatures. Though in a state of grace, they do not do the actions of grace, but those of a purely natural life. The Holy Ghost in them is not allowed to have His own way; they hold Him, so to say, bound hand and foot and gagged; they offer Him that indignity. They have not faith enough to believe that God can make them happy; they prefer to try creatures, and though these invariably fail them, they are content to renew the experiment any number of times. No intimate intercourse between them and God: they never have anything to say to Him from their heart; they take no notice of His presence. They treat Him as a stranger. "Behold," says Our Lord, "I stand at the gate and knock" (Apoc. xx.), but they turn a deaf ear to Him, and withal they are perfectly satisfied with themselves. A very sad state of affairs, this, and how dangerous. Read what Our Lord says of it in the Apoc. xiv., 20.

Non-mystics also, but quite innocently, are the little children who, though baptized, and therefore in a state of grace and fit for the immediate possession of Heaven, should they happen to die, are nevertheless incapable of the union with God by active love which requires discernment of the understanding and the full play of our queen faculty, the will. Many think themselves mystics and qualified to talk or to write about the mystical life who are hardly in it or even not at all, and who do not so much as suspect what it really means. On the other hand, many lead the mystical life unawares, and are sometimes very far advanced in it without suspecting that God is doing great things in them or realizing that this is the

mystical life. I have found such in all the walks of life, notably among the poor and little children and very illiterate persons, even among the savage tribes of North America.

There are also the false Mystics, tools of the devil, who would mislead even the true children of God if these were not on their guard. Their errors generally run into formal heresies and they are easily known by their contempt of the Church's teaching and authority. Such were the Gnostics of early Christianity, many sects of the middle ages, in modern times, Molinos, Madame Guyon and others, and the modernists of our own day. There are those who make mystical life to consist in visions and revelations and all sorts of extraordinary things. If truly humble, then, they will be led naturally to wish to have nothing whatever to do with mystical life. But if silly and vain, they may covet the glory of these things, and not being able to lay hands on the real gifts of God, they may get up to themselves a trumpery article, work themselves into self-induced counterfeit ecstasies, auto suggestions of revelations; nay, they may lay themselves open to the grossest deceptions of the evil one. Bishops, priests, as well as superiors of religious communities have to be on their guard against religious cranks, cheats, holy Willies, self-deluded and hallucinated people and to handle roughly and nip in the bud any breaking out of the visionary spirit. For it is those things which have brought the very name of mystics into ill repute. How unjustly, it is easy enough to see, when one considers the true nature of the mystical life as set forth in the preceding chapter.

The true mystic does not wish for visions and revelations and extraordinary states of body or mind; and if they are vouchsafed him, he fears them and would fain put them aside, knowing that they do not constitute sanctity and are not without danger. He wishes to pass unnoticed. He is most simple and unaffected, most humble and obedient. Outwardly he does just the same things that other men do in his profession and surroundings. His glory is within. "All the glory of the king's daughter is from within." There are in the whole range of Christian life privileged situations, where it is more easy and at the same time more imperative to lead the mystical life, by reason of the sacredness of the functions one has to exercise and of the abundance of graces one receives in them. Such are the clerical state, the religious state, also the state of virginity or widowhood in the world, when persons resolve to give themselves wholly to God, though unable for some reason to enter religion. This notwithstanding, it remains absolutely true that mystical life, even in its fullness and perfection, is without need of a special vocation, also for all men, of whatever age, pro-

essions and conditions of life, as is abundantly proved by the history of the Church and the annals of sanctity.

In order to begin to live the mystical life only two things are required: First, the state of grace; second, a little love or good will. Good will enough to seek after God, to pay attention to God, to listen to Him, to talk lovingly to Him. Nothing more is required—neither science, nor any sort of talent, nor even acquired virtue. The sinner fresh from a life of sin can begin at once and indeed should, as David when he repented of his great crime and gave vent to his feelings in the seven penitential psalms, as Magdalen when she dared to cover with the kisses of her polluted lips the feet of the most Holy One, bathing them with her tears and drying them with her disheveled hair; as the celebrated penitents of all ages. Even the good thief on his cross by the side of the dying Saviour lived one or two hours of the intensest and most genuine mystical life. In fact, there on Calvary, we find all classes of mystics represented or the whole gamut of the mystical life, thus: first, the most Holy One, the pattern of all mystics, Jesus and Him crucified; next, His immaculate virgin mother, addolorata, the Mystical Rose; then St. John, the virgin apostle, the beloved, the spoiled child, so to say, of divine love; close to him, Magdalen, the sinful woman, to whom much had been forgiven, because she had loved much; and finally the good thief, who was, that very day, from his gibbet of infamy to step into Paradise.

#### THE LAW OF PROGRESS IN THE MYSTIC LIFE.

Nota.—The doctrine of this chapter is set forth against negligent and tepid souls who do not care to make any progress and against Quietists who aim at establishing themselves in a state where there would be no striving after better things, and against those Protestants who contend that faith alone is necessary without any good works, and finally against some souls of good will who allow themselves to be kept stationary either through faint-heartedness or out of a false conception of the nature and exigences of the mystic life.

In the first chapter of these Outlines we have been at some pains to describe the Mystic life in its fullness and perfection. But one cannot expect to arrive at that perfection at the outset, no more than one can reach the top of a mountain at a single jump, or grow from childhood to the full stature of a man in a day, or raise a crop in the same instant that one does the planting or the sowing; no more than one expects to see a bird fly before it has grown wings or a babe at the breast do a man's work.

It is true, as theologians assure us, that by one single act of

theirs in coöperation with the grace of God the blessed angels were at once saved and consummated in sanctity, so that one moment saw them on the way and the next moment arrived at the goal. But things do not proceed in the same way with us men. Our nature, inferior to that of pure spirits, has a mode of action less perfect, so that our trial is lengthened out into a period of time.

Moreover, the present conditions of our striving after the perfection of sanctity are altered from what they were at first; for Adam and Eve innocent; we are now in the condition of probation under sin, that is, with the consequences of original sin on our individual self, and in the midst of a world of sin, in the midst of hosts of enemies visible and invisible, all which tend to make our progress more difficult and would make it impossible were it not but that "where sin abounded grace does more abound" (Rom. v., 20.)

It is therefore only by an immense multitude of successive and varied and more or less difficult acts that we shall develop in ourselves the latent aptitudes to sanctity which the grace of God through the sacraments has deposited in us, and that we shall grow to our full stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus, and that we shall yield all the fruits that God has a right to expect of us; in a word, that we shall come to the perfection of the mystic life. Nay, even after having if we be so happy, attained to that very perfection (as we shall further describe it) it will rest with us to increase it indefinitely until the very moment of our death. For, what is marvelous in the growth of the spiritual man, is the fact that whereas we cannot add a cubit, no, not even half an inch, to our bodily stature, there is no limit to the cubits we may add to the stature of our souls. "And," says F. C. Kolbe in the "Art of Life," "this conscious growth in the supernatural is the highest form of human existence." This process of the transformation of our natural man or of the old Adam in us into the new man which is Christ, slow and gradual and painful as it is, is the most marvelous thing, a sight for God and His angels.

Now that is at least one advantage of our present condition, one that could almost make the angels and saints of God in glory jealous of us, this, namely, that we can do and suffer every day and at every hour more for the love of God, gain more merits, enlarge our capacity for loving God, grow in sanctity, ascend higher and higher on the ladder of perfection.

Not only may we do so, but we must do so, we should do so, and if we fail to do it, we are guilty and shall have to answer for it. Every day ought to find us further removed from our wonted vices and imperfections than the day before. Every successive

hour spent in the service of God; every fresh act of piety, such as the celebration of the Divine sacrifice, or assistance at it, or Holy Communion or confession, or prayer; every Pater or Ave or ejaculatory prayer ought not only to make one that much richer in merits, but also at the same time more skillful in the art of serving God and the brethren, in the art of overcoming self and vanquishing the devil, especially in the art of prayer and contemplation.

John Ruskin, the great art critic, says that a true painter never makes a new picture but that it is better than the one he painted before, because each time he sets to his work and gives his whole heart and soul to it, he becomes more master of his tools and materials and of his own faculties. Only the negligent or the abject-minded who looks on his noble art but as a means of making money will content himself to multiply pictures without any change for the better, without gaining any more skill in the art; nay, he will even deteriorate and grow incapable. It is very much the same in spiritual life with those half-hearted Christians who are content to go through the same exercises of piety thousands of times, mechanically, without stirring themselves to a greater love of God. Not only do they not advance, but they will surely deteriorate and perhaps even come to give it all up, as they find no consolation in these performances.

We have so-called pious people who say no end of prayers and receive enough sacraments to turn them into seraphs and who advance not a step on their way to perfection. They are satisfied with the fruits to be gained *ex-opere operato*, and do not bestir themselves to produce the fruit *ex-opere operantis*, which should never go separated from the first. They receive the good things of God, but turn them to no account, just as a man who would eat hearty meals, but who would do no work.

That we are not at liberty so to behave ourselves, but that we ought ever to progress, to grow in sanctity, to climb up the ladder of virtue and to become more united to God, is shown by innumerable passages of Holy Scripture in both Testaments. Our Lord tells us: "Be ye perfect, even as your Heavenly Father is perfect," thereby opening out before us an infinite race-course, in which we can never say I have reached the goal. Hence the Glossa quoted by St. Thomas 2, 2, 9, 24, a. 7, says: "None of the faithful, however much he may have progressed, say, That is enough."

In saying this he would step out of the road before reaching the end. Hence St. Paul (Phil. iii., 12): "Brethren, I do not count myself to have apprehended, but forgetting the things that are behind, I stretch forth myself to those that are before." And Prov. iv., 18, says: "The path of the just as a shining light goeth forwards



and increaseth even to perfect day." And Psalms lxxxiii., 8: "They shall go from virtue to virtue." Our Lord again commands us (Luke xiii.): "Trade until I return," and in the parable of the talents He shows us the reward and the need of praise bestowed on those good servants who doubled their havings, while he who wrapped his talent in a napkin is rebuked and punished.

Hence also the Council of Trent, (Sess. 6, 10,) speaks thus of increasing our justification after we have once received it: "Therefore such as have thus been justified and made friends of God and servants of the faith are renewed day by day as they go, according to the apostle, from virtue to virtue; that is to say, by mortifying the members of their flesh and turning them into weapons of justice, unto sanctification, through the observance of the commandments of God and of the Church, in the very justice they have received through the grace of Christ, their faith being united with good works, they grow and become more justified, as it is written: He that is just let him become more just. And again: Fear not to make yourself more just until you die. And again: You see that man is justified by his works and not by his faith only. Now this increase of sanctity it is that the Church prays for in these words: 'Give us, O Lord, an increase of faith, hope and charity.'"

God does not always permit the mystic to see his progress, as this might create some danger to his humility, but there is an infallible sign by which one may know at least that one is indeed progressing, this, namely, when the sincere and earnest desire to progress is there. We may stir ourselves up to that holy desire by observing how worldlings are never satisfied with what they are, or with what they have; they always want more and work themselves to death for it. What they do for temporal riches, honor and pleasure, shall we be less eager to do for eternal bliss and glory?

Therefore what others may think of us or do or not do for themselves, let us be up and doing and never relax and never stop till we hear the words of the Divine Master: "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter into the joy of thy Lord."

#### THE THREE STAGES OF THE MYSTIC LIFE.

In the foregoing chapter we have ascertained this much about progress in the mystic life, that it has to be gradual, steady and illimited. We ought not to fall behind or go backwards, not come to a full stop, not beat around the bush and lose precious time in the byepaths that lead nowhere; not turn in a circle, but go straight forward, on and on, and higher and higher and at as lively a pace as we can, instead of merely crawling along.

Spiritual writers use various comparisons to make us under-

stand at the same time the process of the mystic life and its oneness of design and the stages of it with their necessary consecutiveness.

St. John Climachus compares it to a ladder, St. John of the Cross to a mountain, St. Theresa to a castle, with various mansions, others to a road with relays. St. Benedict in his "Rule" names twelve degrees of humility; Blessed Angela of Foligno describes eighteen steps by which God brought her to the grace of a thorough conversion; Philip of the Most Holy Trinity Carmelite, in his "Theologia Mystica," distinguishes five successive stages of the spiritual life, thus: first, that of the sensible delights of grace immediately upon one's conversion or vocation; second, that of the purification of the senses; third, that of the enlightenment of the understanding; fourth, that of the purifying of the intellect; fifth, that of the perfect union with God.

Truth to tell, there are well nigh innumerable degrees and diversities of graces, and probably no two souls on the way are found to be exactly on the same level, just as no two angels and no two saints in heaven have the same degree of glory. Without therefore entering upon a more detailed account of these many degrees, it will be enough for our purpose to set down at some length the division of the spiritual life into the three classical stages, namely: first, that of the beginners; second, That of the advanced; third, that of the perfect. The treatment of those three stages will cover the whole subject of the degrees of the spiritual life, just as a description of the three periods of childhood, youth and manhood cover that of man; just as an account of the foundations, wall structures and roof that of a house, and will enable us to understand the essential workings of the mystic life.

The first stage, that of the Beginners, is the initiatory one, and is called the way of Purity. Quite a proper appellation, whether the beginner be an innocent child, a virgin soul, since then its main feature is indeed the absence of the contamination of sin; or again, whether the beginner be just coming out of a bad life, because then the main characteristic of this stage for him will be to struggle against sin and vice in order to secure this wonderful prize of purity.

The second stage, or middle one, that of the advanced, is called the Way of Enlightenment, and its main characteristic is ordinarily the acquisition and practice of virtues. To understand which we must bear in mind that the soul of man is the mirror of Godhead. Sin had previously laid on that mirror a thick coating of unutterable filth, and even after that had been done away with by a good confession, the soul emits from its own self the smoke of yet un-

ruly passions which prevent the beams issuing from the countenance of God from being reflected therein. But as soon as the passions shall have been repressed, then the countenance of God will shine freely upon that soul and make it luminous, enlightening it splendidly. If now by the prism of analysis we isolate the rays of divine light which the soul reflects, they will be found to be so many virtues, namely, the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, the infused moral virtues and the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

The third stage, that of the perfect, is called the Way of Union and its main characteristic is always a very high degree of mental prayer practically uninterrupted. Though such be indeed the main characteristics respectively of the three ways, fight against sin, heroic practice of virtue and mental prayer at its highest, nevertheless we must note also that three elements are all together in each of the three degrees, though in varying proportions. Three is the purification and the enlightenment and the Divine contemplation proper to beginners, and there is the purification practice of virtues and mental prayer proper to the advanced; and, finally, there is also for the perfect still further purification and still higher flights of virtues as well as contemplation at its highest. The spiritual man grows all together and not one part of him after another, as who would say the lower limbs first, then, after a while, the chest, and only at the end the head. No, every part of him is there from the beginning, proportionately small, of course, and every part grows harmoniously with the others, just as the hands and feet and brain and heart of a child will grow with the rest of his body.

It is for having failed to grasp that harmonious, all around development of the spiritual man that modern writers have introduced such unnatural distinctions and separations of things that God meant to go together from the very beginning. Let it be understood, once for all, that even a beginner is to be allowed Divine contemplation and not to be exclusively confined to the dreary occupation of fighting his dominant voice. Here is a very apposite remark of Father R. Buckler, in his book on "Spiritual Perfection:" "No small consolation comes to souls anxious to advance when they understand that the work of their perfection lies in the development of their love." In "Sanctis Sophia," the Ven. Father Baker has one chapter to show how the exercise of love causes illumination. Hence I conclude that souls are to be urged to begin that exercise of love as early as possible.

How will one know that one has succeeded in purifying oneself and is fit for the second stage of the spiritual life? Abbot Cineros

in his exercises of the spiritual life answers: "When one has obtained these three gifts, to wit: first, against sloth, alacrity; second, against concubiscence, self-love; third, against ill-will, kindness, then may the soul without delay climb the high way of enlightenment."

And how shall we know that we can place ourselves in the group of the Advanced. Cardinal Bona in his "*Manuductio ad Coelum*," chap. xix., answers: "When you will have such a mastery over yourself as to possess your soul in unity, when things of this world displease you and you love solitude, and you are athirst after perfection, and you despise the opinions and judgments of men."

Finally, one will be known to have reached the last stage when one has the gift of the presence of God and of the Beatitudes and of the fruits of the Holy Ghost. Divine union is an interior state in which the soul of a man is completely surrendered to the action of the Holy Ghost. In all his willed and deliberate acts that man is in permanent collaboration with God; nay, more, he leaves the initiative to God, to this extent that he will not move himself to anything, but rather will be moved to it by the Holy Ghost, and when the Holy Ghost does not move him to anything in particular, that man is satisfied to remain peacefully in his union with God.

An amazing fact is the comparatively enormous number of those who remain beginners all their lives, very few, even among religious and clerics and secular persons making a profession of piety, very few indeed are those who go beyond the threshold of the mystic life and who answer the loving, pressing invitation of God: "Friend, go up higher."

And it is not all due to indifference or want of generosity, but in many cases simply to ignorance or to want of spiritual direction or altogether to the wrong idea that mystic life in its fullness and perfection is not made for the like of them and that it required a very special vocation.

Now that is a great pity. For it is certain that it requires at least as much effort to keep oneself in the first stage without falling below into downright tepidity as it would to go up higher, as if a man were to try and keep a boat stationary in midstream by force of oars. He would have all the exertions, if not more, without the exilation and advantages of those who pass him and go up stream. Oh, when shall we understand that a traveler, after the first days of fatigue, climbs with greater alacrity the mountain side than he used to walk on low swampy ground? And as he goes up, the air becomes keener and purer and his bouyancy of spirit becomes proportionately greater. And if the objects he left below dwindle into insignificance and he can expect to have but few

companions or none at all in these high solitudes, yet his heart is cheered at the ever widening circle of the horizon and the magnificent prospect of land and sky and at the felt majestic presence of God. So it is also and much more in the progressive stages of the mystic life.

"Give me, O Lord, to understand Thy ways and teach me to walk in Thy paths." (Ps. xxiv., 4.)

#### DIVISION OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

Mystical life is divided into two parts: First, Divine Contemplation, and, second, Saintly Action.

Action and contemplation of some sort are the two elements which are found in the life of every adult human being—be his life either purely natural or supernatural, be it tepid or fervent. With this difference, however, that in the case of the mystic, God is the all in all of his life, whilst in the case of the others, God does not come into it, but self or the creatures are its all in all.

When one is busy about God, when God is the direct, immediate object of one's loving attention, that is Divine Contemplation. In its widest sense, it comprises a great variety of acts—spiritual reading on the divine essence and perfections or on the mysteries of Our Lord; meditation on the same, vocal prayer, certain pious exercises (such as, for instance, the Way of the Cross), celebration of the Holy Sacrifice or participation therein, and finally mental prayer proper.

Saintly action, in contradistinction to Divine Contemplation, is when for the love of God one is busy about something which is not God, and yet so as not to lose one's union with God. In our present condition we cannot be all the time busy with God alone, for two reasons: First, because our natural frailty makes us incapable of such an uninterrupted and exclusive attention to God; second, because also certain duties to ourselves and our neighbors claim a part of our attention for the very honor and service of God. This action, of course, does not necessarily imply bustle and noise and much moving about.

This first grand division of the mystical life into its two parts is set forth in the words of Our Saviour: "The Lord, Thy God, wilt thou adore, and Him only wilt thou serve" (Mat. iv., 10)—*adoration* standing for Divine Contemplation and *service* for Saintly Action.

These two elements are always found in every saintly life upon earth, though, of course, in varying proportion in different persons, and even in the same person at different periods of his or her

progress. As a rule, beginners are more active than contemplative. Certain natures are very little gifted for contemplation, whilst others, on the contrary, vary little for action. But it remains true that every mystic's life is full of these two elements, Divine Contemplation and Saintly Action, as (to use a homely simile) a fresh egg is full of white and yolk. And as in an egg there is no place for anything else, so in the mystic's life there is no place for sinful or even purely natural affections. All is supernatural.

Though Divine Contemplation and Saintly Action are always blended together, still now the one and at other times the other gets the ascendancy. The two phases alternate continually, succeeding each other with a greater stress now upon contemplation than upon action, according to present dispositions and the demands laid upon one by circumstances.

In thus passing from Divine Contemplation and vice versa, one finds the relief that our frail nature craves for. In the sweetness of prayer and contemplation one finds repose from the worries of active life, and, on the other hand, the wholesome distractions of saintly activities help one to bear the heavy weight of divine contemplation.

Again, though contemplation and action are, of necessity, found in the daily life of every mystic on earth, still in some lives one of the two elements so markedly predominates upon the other as to give them its peculiar coloring. Thus the life of some mystics is almost all taken up with the direct occupation of God; they are accordingly called Contemplatives. Such were the fathers of the desert, the holy hermits and recluses of the Middle Ages; such are nowadays Carmelite nuns, Carthusian monks and most of the enclosed religious orders. Others, on the contrary, give a markedly predominant share to saintly activity in the works of mercy, spiritual and corporal. Such are nearly all Christians in the world and many religious institutes, as Sisters of Charity, the teaching orders, the hospitalers, etc. Besides this Contemplative and Active form of life there is a third kind, the Apostolic one, which is the proper form of life of all apostolic men, either secular or regular, of Bishops, priests in the world, missionaries, superiors of whatever kind of religious communities of both sexes. All these persons, on account of their exalted position and of their sacred character and of the special nature of their occupations, have to carry to their maximum of intensity and in their most excellent form and in almost equal measure, both at the same time, Divine Contemplation and Saintly Action.

How are people to be guided in their choice of one or the other

of these three modes of the mystical life? By the holy will of God in their regard. Now this is made manifest by one or the other or all of the following signs: First, one's own natural inclination and special aptitudes; second, the exigencies of circumstances; third, the advice or even command of those in authority over one.

We must be careful when speaking of Action versus Contemplation to give to our words but a relative and conventional value. For indeed adoration or contemplation is action also. The sublimest act of adoration, namely, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, is an action, even a little drama. And contemplation, though it seems repose, is action also; nay, it is action at its highest—it is action at white heat, so to say. All this notwithstanding, it is proper for us to retain the two consecrated terms, being careful to assign to each no more meaning than is agreed upon by all the writers of spirituality.

This may also help one to understand what theologians mean when they contend that in heaven there will be no more action, but only contemplation. It might seem at first a rather dreary outlook, but it only means that in heaven there will be no more defects of our own to correct, as we shall be constituted in a state of perfect charity; nor will there be any distress of our neighbor for us to help by our exertions, as all these, being also established in perfect charity, will be happy. Thus will be suppressed the two forms of saintly action of which we shall presently speak, and we can rejoice over their being no more necessary in heaven. And as for there being in heaven only contemplation, it means that God will at last be manifestly all in all to the blessed; that He will be the unfailing object of their enjoyment, both in Himself directly and indirectly, in the other blessed, whether taken individually or collectively. They will have so perfectly become forms of God, filled with God, reflecting God; their loving one another, their conversations, songs, dances, flights through space, solemn processions, exploring of all the depth and width and height of the material universe and of the wonderful world of the spirits—all this will be but so many manifestations of the divine joy overflowing in all the channels of their created natures.

When the blessed will be contemplating God in Himself, it will be *Contemplatio Matutina* (as theologians call it); when enjoying Him in their own selves and His other works, it will be *Contemplatio Vespertina*; thus it will always be Divine Contemplation, and yet with a good deal of action and motion on the part of the blessed. They will pass from the direct contemplation of the divine essence in itself to the indirect contemplation of it in its works and vice

versa, with ever renewed eagerness and never satiated appetite and with a full expansion of all their faculties of body and soul—only those of the purely vegetative life being abolished, as their providential function, in the great scheme of things created, will then be at an end. It is what the apostle signifies in the words, "Meat for the belly and the belly for the meats; but God shall destroy both it and them." It does not mean that any part of the body will be wanting to its integrity, in the resurrection of the blessed, but that its lower functions will be no more, as it will have entered into the glorious life of the spirit. Now, all the other enjoyments either of body or of mind, of senses, memory, imagination, intellect, will, bodily motion, the artistic faculty, etc.—all these will be carried to their highest powers and fullest exercise. In this sense, oh! yes, there will be action, intense action, of each one of the blessed personally and then of all of them in groups and in their universality—action of so grand a description that it is for us at present absolutely unimaginable.

This much to help us understand the relative and restricted meaning to give to these two terms of mystical theology—Action, Contemplation.

#### SUBDIVISION OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE AND CO-ORDINATION OF ITS PARTS.

Saintly Action is subdivided into two parts, namely, Interior Action and External Action.

When the object of one's saintly action is one's own self, when man is busy putting to rights his own affections, eradicating vices and planting virtues in his soul, then it is called Interior Action, because it all takes place within. When, on the other hand, the object of our saintly activities is the world of creatures outside, principally our neighbor, to perform towards them the offices of justice and charity, then it is called External Action.

This gives us in last analysis the division of the mystical life into these three parts:

First, Divine Contemplation, in the broadest sense.

Second, Internal Saintly Action or Ascetics proper.

Third, External Saintly Action or Good Works—Divine Contemplation coming first, Saintly Action only second and subordinate, and in saintly action that which has our own selves for its object, passing before that which has for its object things or persons outside us. So that our saintly interior action appears to be the immediate fruit of our divine contemplation, and, furthermore, our saintly external action is shown to be the offspring, so to say, of these two united, viz., divine contemplation and saintly interior action. When one has renounced self by saintly interior action and been



filled with God by divine contemplation, it is inevitable that one should overflow in all deeds of charity and kindness over one's neighbor.

It is necessary to insist on the union and consecutiveness and subordination of the parts of mystical life. In our opinion, much of the conspicuous failure of modern piety is due to the ignorance or wilful disregard of this doctrine. A complaint is raised sometimes that active life is destructive of piety, or again that contemplation disqualifies one for apostolic work, as though these two, divine contemplation and saintly action, were antagonistic. Far from this being the case, the one cannot be without the other; the one may not be sacrificed for the sake of the other, or they both perish; only they must be given each their proper comparative degree of precedence or subordination. One must be careful not to, under pretext of the exigencies of active life, neglect prayer and the care of one's own interior. Is it not remarkable that the rule of St. Benedict, which has formed some of the greatest workers, whether in the fields of erudition, or in those of apostolic zeal, or in those of the material arts of civilization, gives no distinct directions as to external work? It is wholly taken up with the care of forming the man of prayer and of ascetic habits, and that is all, and it has proved enough, for the Benedictine monk thus found himself quite fitted out for all these works of zeal.

The order of the Ten Commandments of God bears this coördination of the parts of mystical life out. The first three Commandments set forth our duty to God or Divine Contemplation in its widest meaning. The last seven Commandments, though they only mention our neighbor, have for their very first effect (and that is self-evident) to impose and to produce order in our own hearts, by interior action, before even it can take effect in our dealings with our brethren by external action. For, says Our Lord, "It is from the fullness of the heart that the mouth speaketh" (Mat. xii., 34), and again, "From the heart come forth evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies" (Mat. xv., 19).

It is not difficult to discover again that same coördination of the parts of mystical life inculcated in the first three petitions of the Our Father: First, "Hallowed be Thy Name," which is done by divine worship, both public and private, or divine contemplation. Next, "Thy kingdom come," which is procured by obedience to the laws of God, which obedience has first to be established in the heart by interior action. Finally, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," which can be realized only by our taking in hand the in-

terests of God in the whole world by saintly external action. There we see how wide is the range of saintly external action. Besides his immediate duties of state to those around him, the mystic is deeply concerned about his neighbor and actively employs himself in his behalf. He does not ask, to answer it in the negative, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Every form of distress of body or soul forcibly appeals to him, and he lays himself out to relieve it in the measure of his power. He will do it the more efficaciously that he is the more dead to self by previous saintly interior action and the more united to God by Divine Contemplation.

Our duty to God goes before that to ourselves or to others, because it is the very reason of our duty to ourselves or our neighbor. And it is good for us that contemplation should thus hold the first place, for we do more and we gain more for ourselves and others when we are with God, when we attend to God, than in any other way. We can be enabled to perform our duty to ourselves and our neighbor only through the help of the grace of God, which is obtained by prayer and the sacraments; that is, by direct intercourse with God, which is an act of divine contemplation.

Even irrespective of our manifold relations to Him, God claims our loving attention first, and more than either ourselves or the whole universe of things, precisely on account of His transcendental excellence. Loving attention to God, or Divine Contemplation of some sort, ought, according to St. Thomas, to be the first use man makes of his reason when he comes to know himself and to discern good from evil. By divine command, loving attention to God ought to fill and sanctify the first day of each week. A Christian need not be told that it ought also to be the very first act in the morning of each day. Loving attention to God, according to Holy Writ, is to be our ever recurring care, our constant and paramount occupation, the most engrossing one, the one about which we be most solicitous. And so it is to the mystic. In the words of the sacred liturgy, he confesses that "*Verè dignum et justum est, oequum et salutare, nos tibi, semper et ubique, gratias agere*" ("It is truly just and right and good and wholesome for us to always and everywhere give thanks to God"). The non-mystics, truth to tell, do not feel quite so keenly about it, but they are all wrong.

This doctrine of the supremacy and primacy of Divine Contemplation holds good (within certain limits) for sinners freshly converted as well as saints. It would be a fatal mistake to say, "Let them first put some kind of order in their interior before they be permitted or induced to apply themselves to any sort of contemplation; when *that* will have been done, then, and *only then*, may

they turn to God." No, no! Let them, first of all things, turn to God, that they may be enabled, through love of Him and by His grace, to put their interior in order. Besides, this right ordering of one's interior is a work of long standing; it cannot be accomplished all at once, whilst on the other hand the precept of communion with God is pressing urgently and constantly and may not be postponed. "We ought always to pray and not to faint" (Luke xviii., 1). Moreover, God is the Master of His own ways and bestows His gifts as He pleases without following any set rule known to human wisdom; now, if He sees fit to give graces of prayer to a beginner (as observation proves that He often does), it is not for us to tell Him nay.

This doctrine of the primacy or precedence of Divine Contemplation holds good even for young children. When Our Lord said, "Suffer the little children to come to Me," He gave us to understand that He wishes them to draw near Him by a contemplation proportionate to the development of their faculties. And how the magnificent gesture of Pius X., convoking all the little ones to communion and even to daily communion, confirms this view!

Writers who tell us that sinners and children are incapable of Divine Contemplation have in mind the acme and perfection of Divine Contemplation which certainly is acquired but very late in spiritual life. But this notwithstanding, it remains true that one is called upon to make *acts, occasional acts*, of Divine Contemplation long before one reaches perfection; nay, at the very outset of Christian life. Of this distinction between the acts and the habit of Divine Contemplation we shall have more to say later. Let all that has been said in this chapter suffice for the present to place it beyond the possibility of a doubt that, at whatever stage of the mystic life, God comes first by Divine Contemplation; next to God, ourselves, by Internal Saintly Action; and the last thing is our relations to persons and things outside by External Saintly Action.

#### THE CO-WORKERS IN THE MYSTICAL LIFE—THE MYSTIC AND THE BLESSED TRINITY.

Mystical Life is an experimental perception, dim, but intensely real, of the Blessed Trinity.

The Most Holy Trinity is the mystery of mysteries—one mystery; in fact, the One, Great, Living Mystery, and, in itself, the simplest of all—it is the God; and when this has been said, what more can be added?

But to his intellectual creatures, angels and men, the Blessed Trinity is rather an immense sheaf or cluster of mysteries, each

single ray of which is of an absolutely dazzling effulgence to the purblind eyes of man in his present condition. No matter; the mystic enjoys basking in the consciousness of that mighty radiance, even as a blind man in the glowing warmth of the sun.

To the unspiritual the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity is simply a matter of faith and appears only in the light of a speculative truth, having no real bearing upon the inner life of the soul. But the truth is that the life of every Christian, even if he does not advert to the fact, is all mixed up, so to say, with the very life of God with the three Divine Persons. The Christian is assumed into the very life of God, and the life of God is actually lived in a special manner in the Christian himself.

Now the mystic is he who, moved by the grace of God, adverts to these wondrous facts, is made conscious of them and finds his delights therein. Let us try and understand this.

God, we know, by the united testimony of reason and revelation, is His own dwelling place. He is to Himself an inexhaustible fountain of purest bliss, ever flowing within Himself. He is His own life—deep, hidden, never going out of itself for its nourishment, naturally unapproachable and naturally incommunicable to the creature. God is to Himself all in all. He is that, else He would not be the Absolute Good; He would not be God.

What are the acts of His divine life? What are, so to say, its pulsations? They are these two, namely, to know and to love; but to know and to love what? Evidently His own divine Self. Now, faith tells us that in the very act of God contemplating Himself there is formed in God an image of Him, living, substantial, a perfect likeness of its original, a second Person, inducing between these two first the relation of Father and Son. Further, we are informed that in the act of mutual complacency which cannot fail to spring up between these two infinitely lovely persons there is formed in God a Third Person, His Spirit, the substantial love of the Father and of the Son, the Holy Ghost, which closes the circle of the Divine Life and makes it perfect.

If God made a world of angels and men together with this splendid material universe, it is not that they add the tiniest drop to His full measure of bliss in Himself, but simply that He wants angels and men to share in that bliss all His own, to drink with Him eternally and be inebriated in that limitless Ocean of Absolute Good that He is; to be, by a wonderful privilege in no way due to the creature, made partakers of His own divine life. As the three Divine Persons of the Godhead are infinitely involved in the existence of one another, so it seems that they have willed that we

be also involved in them and they in us. The whole economy of the supernatural order is planned and worked to that end.

The first step towards carrying out such a design has been for God to make angels and men, naturally to His own image and likeness, for thus only could He love us, no object inferior to Him being worthy of God's complacency. Thus what God loves in us is what He has put there of His own divine Self: His image. His likeness, our natural capacity to know Him and to love Him, and, besides, in the supernatural order, the manifold wondrous gifts of His grace. And in the measure as we allow God to make us, through grace, more and more like unto Him, more and more knowing Him and loving Him, in that same measure does He also love us more and more and communicate to us His own sanctity and bliss.

Thus even in our present condition of trial under sin (as we are a fallen race) we may begin, by faith, to know God as He is, namely, as one God in three Divine Persons, and to love Him, though, alas! so inadequately; pending the time soon to come, when, if we shall have been faithful, we shall see Him face to face and love Him at last perfectly, sharing His essential bliss in Himself, without let or hindrance. We may even now, through prayer and the sacraments, be brought under the veil of faith into intimate relations with each one of the Divine Persons.

The grateful, lively recognition of all these things by the Christian makes him a mystic. Oh! with what rapture does he then pay distinct and special attention to each of the three Divine Persons: to the Father who so loved him as to give him His only Son; to the Son who so loved him as to give him His only and Redeemer, to the Holy Ghost who so loves him as to constitute Himself his perpetual Guest, his actual and everlasting possession? Yes, says the mystic, to build me up into the greater likeness of the grace of God now, and later on of His glory, it takes no less than those three Divine Persons, and, moreover, my willing coöperation.

Thus consciously to coöperate with God, to work with the three Divine Persons, to become sensible of how God builds one up upon, or rather into His own divine Essence, that is mystical life. Through the operations of grace, God lives in a special manner within us. He vividly reverberates there His own divine life, and through holy contemplation the mystic becomes an enamored witness of that unspeakable mystery.

People talk sometimes of the exercise of the Presence of God; to a true mystic there is no exercise there. To remember God and

live with Him does not cost him an effort. To him the most Holy Trinity is the great fact before which all else pales into insignificance. To him the Blessed Trinity is the great reality, which he meets constantly, which produces and fills and sustains and lights up and beautifies everything and overflows everywhere infinitely. The mystic sees the whole world as a tiny thing in one ray of the glory of the triune God.

The most Holy Trinity is the promised land of mystical life. In this regard there happens in spirit to the mystic all that happened to the Hebrews when they went out of Egypt. The passage of the Red Sea is a good general confession which drowns in the waves of the blood of Jesus Christ all the proud army of Pharaoh, chariots and horsemen, vices and mortal sins: all buried, never to rise again! Then one enters into the desert; that is, the world begins to appear quite empty and barren and life in it no better than an aimless roaming about. Soon, however, one receives the law of love in two tables, though still experiencing the mutinies of the flesh: for whilst the spirit is with God on the mountain of contemplation, the inferior part murmurs and rebels and has to be sternly rebuked. (Way of Purity and way of Illumination all these.) Finally, after a more or less protracted beating about and moving from camp to camp, one passes the Jordan miraculously and takes possession of the promised land of the conscious, unmistakable, relished Presence of God: this happens when, through an inestimable special grace of God, one is moved definitely to bid adieu to all things created, that one may live to God alone.

Then not only does the mystic live to God, but he dwells in God; the Blessed Trinity becomes his dwelling place. To the vivid, conscious faith of that man the Divine Essence, unseen, becomes the very place of his abode during the rest of his earthly life.

Now, the Blessed Trinity, in which the mystic thus lives consciously, proves to him sometimes a very Paradise of delights; that is, when he is given to taste how sweet God is; then again, at other times the Blessed Trinity becomes to him a very Purgatory; that is, when the scorching rays of the intolerable sanctity and justice of God are made to shine full upon him, to burn away the rust of his sins and imperfections. Be this as it may, that man does not dwell in himself, nor in the creatures of this world; he dwells in God, the most Holy Trinity, to whom be glory for ever!

#### HOW GOD THE FATHER MAKES HIMSELF THE PRIME MOVER OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

Now we must proceed to consider in detail and separately the special, distinct and active relations which each of the Divine Per-

sons deigns to sustain towards the child of grace, the Christian, bearing in mind that mystical life consists in the lively apprehension by the Christian of this state of affairs between God and him, together with an active correspondence on his part, to these several distinct operations of the Divine Persons. As we go on the marvel of our supernatural union with God will appear more startling, almost at every step.

In this chapter I want to show what special, active function God the Father deigns to appropriate to Himself in regard to the Christian, and how the mystic is made to realize it plainly by a sort of inward experimental feeling. It is all summed up in the words of St. John: "Behold what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called and should be the sons of God" (I. John iii., 1), and in these other words of St. Paul: "For the Spirit Himself giveth testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God." (Rom. viii., 16.)

To the unspiritual, God the Father is almost a stranger, seen as it were, at an immense distance, too far away altogether for much notice; Our Lord seems, of course, a good deal nearer and perhaps the only Divine Person who has somehow a direct, immediate relation with us, whilst the Holy Ghost is really nowhere to be perceived. How grossly erroneous such a view is will soon appear.

First of all, let us observe that God the Father, who is the principle of all *in divinis*, is thereby also necessarily the principle of all *extra divina*; whence it follows that He is therefore also the very first principle of our mystical life, the very Prime-Mover of it. Consequently, as one trained in the logic of the schoolmen will readily admit, God the Father is absolutely the very first object the mystic ought to keep in view, and the one he ought to strain every nerve to attain and the one he will certainly attain in the end. God the Father, who is the prime-mover and because He is the prime-mover, is also the last end of our mystical life.

"I go to the Father," said Our Lord, speaking of the consummation of His earthly life. "I go to the Father," may the mystic truly say, speaking of the whole process and final consummation of his spiritual life. "Be ye perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect," Our Lord tells us. As who would say: Understand that the whole gist and purpose of the supernatural order is to bring you to the Father; to make you first, as far your created capacity admits of, good as He, holy as He, nay, even rich as He in the possession of His Son and His Holy Spirit, pending the time when He will crown all His gifts by giving Himself also to you, making

you thereby even happy as He. There you have the perfect circle, the whole evolution of mystical life.

So the Christian, or more strictly, the mystic is a man who goes to the Father. But how does he go to the Father, and how does the Father meet him and receive him? Even as a son! The mystic goes to the Father even as a son, because God the Father has made him son and treats him as son, and will ultimately receive him home in heaven as son. This we must now try to express more fully. When a man is baptized, what happens? That man who a few hours or days, or perhaps years previous, was born of an earthly father and mother into a fallen race, the great human family, with an ancestral curse or blight upon his soul, with his purely natural faculties not even whole and unimpaired, to a life of many miseries, to be followed by death, in this nether natural world—that man has been by virtue of the sacrament and the operation of the Holy Ghost (*ex aquâ et Spiritu sancto*) born again, begotten of God (*ex Deo nati sunt*), cleansed of the original sin, and, if he be an adult, of all his personal ones. He has been grafted upon the true vine, the natural Son of God, Our Lord Jesus Christ (*Ego vitis, vos palmites*), given a share of the divine nature (*divinæ consortes naturæ*), filled with the Holy Spirit, assumed into the great family of the saints (*cives sanctorum et domestici Dei, superædificati super fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum*). He has been marked in the very substance of his soul with an indelible character of supernatural resemblance, endowed with the new faculties of faith, hope and charity which illumine the darkness of his natural intellect and strengthen the weakness of his natural will. He has been enriched with the infusion of all moral virtues, further enriched by the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, with a perennial well of special graces springing up in his very soul to refresh it and make it fruitful unto life everlasting (*Fiet in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam*): all these things, in view, ultimately, of the essential beatific vision, to be granted him, though by strict right it should be the exclusive privilege of God alone. Here is a new thing altogether, a new being: what was before a natural man changed now supernaturally into a very son of God. His sonship of God is not as was his sonship of his earthly parents, *in perfectam similitudinem naturæ*: that is impossible, from the fact of his being a creature, and therefore finite, and therefore incapable of the full communication of the divine likeness. Nor is he made son of God as the Divine Word, by a natural, substantial and necessary process; no, his sonship is by way of adoption, is accidental and gratuitous (*Voluntarie genuit nos*), and



therefore infinitely inferior to the sonship of the Divine Word. Yet even when these limitations have been duly made it appears all magnificent and a true participation of the sonship of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. St. Augustine, in Ps. 26 Enarr. xi., 2, distinctly says that we are "divinely associated with the mystery of the eternal generation." God the Father, eternal and natural Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, adopts also the Christian as His own very son, makes him also heir of His kingdom of heaven, really and truly coheir with His natural, Divine Son, even as though that man had been also born of His own divine substance and had the same natural rights as His Son consubstantial with Him.

Once the child is born he must grow and wax strong and become a man and do a man's work. For this purpose he must be fed, and this care naturally devolves upon the parent. In the course of nature, whilst the child is yet little, that is provided for in the tender, touching way we know, by the mother giving the breast to her young one and letting him suck his nourishment out of her own substance. Then as he grows and waxes strong he is weaned from the breast and given other nourishment proper to his age, bread and meat from the inexhaustible store of kindly nature, so that in time he may be relied upon to do a man's work. In the order of grace it is God the Father who takes upon Himself to attend to the proper feeding of the Christian, according to the stage of his spiritual growth. He says in Is. lxvi., 12, "You shall be carried to the breasts, and upon the knees they shall caress you." And in Is. lxxx., 11, "I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of Egypt; open thy mouth wide and I will fill it." The mystic, that fledgling of divine love, does open his mouth wide, shows himself insatiable of God, crying incessantly for more, and the Heavenly Father, as a loving Pelican, fills him constantly with more and more of His divine life and substance. For we must observe here that though the Christian, when made son of God, is not born of the divine substance (this being the exclusive privilege of the only natural Son, the Word of God), he is, nevertheless, fed with the divine substance.

We are made to pray thus: "Our Father . . . give us this day our supersubstantial bread." We call for a kind of food which God the Father is to draw out of His own divine substance, for a bread made up of these two elements kneaded together: His own Divine Word and His own substantial love, and in answer to the prayer God the Father by a marvellous secret operation begets His Divine Son in him, and through His Divine Son produces in

that man, by a special presence of love, also His Holy Spirit.\* Now, will he be able to do his work of a Christian and show himself the worthy son of the Father?

This makes it plain that the whole supernatural life consists in receiving from the Father and in duly giving back to the Father. Receiving what? His Divine Son and His Holy Spirit. And giving back to Him what? A son, another Jesus, our very self-made one with the Son, and actuated by the Holy Ghost. "For whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. (Rom. viii., 14.) "That you may be sons of the Father in heaven," says Our Lord when He enjoins upon us the most heroic acts of charity, in the love of our enemies; acts which cannot be performed by man, except with the most powerful help of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Now perhaps we begin to perceive something of what passes between the mystic and God the Father. Marvellous to relate, the Heavenly Father, on His part, brings into the life in common with the child of His dilection, the Christian, all that is His own, namely, His very self, who is the wellspring of the Godhead, and His Divine Son and His Holy Spirit, keeping nothing back; only that it is all under the veil of faith, as man in his present condition could not bear to see the splendor of God thus investing him. And the mystic on his part brings into this life, in common with the Heavenly Father, his whole self. It is little enough, and who is more keenly alive to that fact than the mystic himself? But it is all he has. His whole self, body and soul and faculties, high and low: the whole tree, root and branch, with all its actual production of fruits and possibilities and promises for the future. God the Father, natural Father of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, constitutes Himself by an act of His will Father also of the Christian, impressing in the substance of his soul a special sign of supernatural resemblance, actively begetting him to the divine life; and the Christian on his part, when he is a mystic, actually, actively, consciously and constantly takes God the Father for his own Father and endeavors to reproduce and to prolong in his whole life and in all his acts the very sonship of the Divine Word, to which he has been so lovingly associated.

For there is this remarkable thing about it all, that whereas the son of a man cannot increase his sonship any more than he could have chosen his earthly father, the child of grace, on the contrary,

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\* It is not a question here, as is obvious, of the Holy Eucharist; we shall come to that in due course; but it may be as well to note here that each of the three Divine Persons has His own way of contributing to the growth of the child of grace. I am in this chapter stating the way of God the Father.

can always and freely choose God for his Father, and it is in his power at every moment to effectually increase his sonship. Now, the mystic does so all the time, more and more, and with what delight! But is it really the mystic who does it? Is it not rather God the Father who operates in him the *velle et perficere* of his sonship? Truth to tell, it is both together, God and the mystic, by their joint action.

And whereas, through natural generation man receives from his parents only a life like theirs, but not their own; a life numerically distinct from theirs, separate and independent: through his supernatural generation the Christian receives a life which is not distinct, nor separated from, nor independent of the divine life as it is lived in the Heavenly Father; it is identical with the divine life, numerically one with it; it is that selfsame divine life as much as the narrow limits of man's being and the play of his free will allow it to make irruption into him. During his earthly pilgrimage, then, the mystic endeavors to, as much as is possible to so small a being, reproduce in himself the sanctity, goodness, love and all perfection of the Heavenly Father, even as does the Divine Word in Him, even as did in His earthly life the Word made man, Our Lord Jesus Christ. So his delight, his very food, is to do his Father's will. As a loving, dutiful son, he works diligently at the part of his Father's vineyard assigned to him by his state of life and by the providential course of events. "I must be about my Father's business," he constantly says to himself and to those around him who marvel at the strangeness of his behavior and, for that matter, to the whole world. And on the other hand, day by day, God the Father transforms the mystic gradually more and more into the likeness of His Divine Son; more and more He lays hands, by the agency of the Holy Ghost, upon all the faculties of that man, to make him perform wonderful acts of edification in the Church and bring out as a branch of the true vine fruits worthy of eternal life, and even "He purges it that it may bring more fruit." (John xv., 2.) Such are, feebly described, the mutual relations of God the Father and the mystic.

A last thing to note in this matter is that God the Father, though so loving and generous in His dealing with the mystic, does not as yet give Himself to him as an object of direct, immediate enjoyment. He gives us His Divine Son and His Holy Spirit to be enjoyed by us even now, under the veil of faith, but He reserves for us the enjoyment of Himself as the supreme gift in the land of the blessed. It was no doubt in allusion to this fact that St. Aloysius Gonzaga in his last illness wrote with characteristic in-

sight: "It cannot be long before I go to receive the embraces of the Eternal Father, in whose bosom I hope to find secure and everlasting rest."

THAT THE BEATIFIC VISION IS THE END OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

SI filii, et hæredes.  
If sons, therefore heirs also.

As the souls of the just, before Christ, were received into Abraham's bosom and dwelt there in the serenity of peace, joyfully looking forward to the coming of Our Lord and their own transference to heaven, so also, in much the same manner, the mystic lives consciously with the Son of God and the Holy Ghost and all the children of God, known and unknown, visible and invisible, in the bosom of the Father, "of whom are all things, and we unto Him." (I. Cor. vii., 6.) The mystic dwells there contentedly, lovingly and consciously, though still in the darkness of our present condition, awaiting the coming of the Bridegroom, and the lifting up of the veil and the grand revelation of the Father. "Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us," said St. Philip, with more pregnant truth than he was aware.

Now, we know that the whole Christian life is ordained to that end, the granting of the Beatific Vision to predestined man. Everything in the economy of Providence is for the furthering of that sublime design of God. The whole supernatural order of grace is for the purpose of making man both worthy and capable of the Beatific Vision. It will (therefore) enable us the better to understand those very means of grace of which we shall have later to speak at length: Prayer, the sacraments and all the details of mystical life, as well as the great works of God, *ad extra*, creation, the missions of the Son and the Holy Ghost, redemption by the Cross, the mystery of Holy Church, if we take here and now a proper view of the end itself of it all, which is none other than the Beatific Vision.

What then is the Beatific Vision? In what does it precisely consist? What does it mean and what does it imply? Let us proceed slowly, cautiously, gradually and weigh every word of ours in such a difficult and at the same time entrancing subject.

The Beatific Vision is the vision of God. But what sort of a vision? The vision of God even as He is; the vision of God even as God Himself enjoys it; the vision of God as He granted it to His blessed angels immediately after their trial—the vision, the vivid perception, the really taking in of the Absolute Good, that is to say, of all beauty, sanctity, loveliness and other infinite per-

fections as they are in God. "Come," says He to Moses, "and I will show thee all good."

It is called Beatific, because God, being the Absolute Good, the effect of such a vision is to make absolutely happy as well as unfailingly good, whomsoever enjoys it.

Beatific Vision is the popular appellation. Now, if we attend chiefly to the manner of it, we should describe it as a sort of direct, immediate vision of God, without any go-between, without anything interfering, whether as an obstacle or as a help. Nothing can help one to see God as he is in Himself. Beatific Vision is not in the soul by way of representation or image as are the things of this world in our senses and imagination and in our intellect; there can be no image of the Infinite. It is a direct intuition of God, hence also that other name "Intuitive Vision."

But it would certainly be more satisfactory to a philosophical mind to call it by a name describing its very nature rather than its manner or its effect: then it should be called the "Essential Vision," because that really tells in what it consists, namely, in the perception of God by means of His very essence; or, in other words, in the union of the very essence of God with him who perceives it. (Thus we see that) the Beatific Vision will be a more intimate and lively process than our vision of the natural world, of a scenery, of a person, or of any material object before our eyes; because such a vision of natural objects is made only through an image of these being formed in us, and not through an immediate union of them with us, whilst, on the contrary, the Beatific Vision is caused through nothing else but an immediate union of the Divine Essence with the beholder of it. The Beatific Vision, then, will not be a dead thing, merely spectacular and outside us, as the universe is, and with the distant, unsympathetic coldness of nature; it will be a grand, living, personal fact, throbbing in us as our human heart, taking hold of our whole being, inside and out, knitting itself with every fibre of our soul and body and making us one with God.

It is obvious that God alone has a natural right and aptitude to the Beatific Vision. It is identical with Himself. It is all His own; His property, His personal good, His naturally unalienable and unapproachable privilege, His fenced-round and sealed kingdom of bliss and glory. Neither man, nor mightiest angel, nor yet any other more exalted being which God might create could lay claim to the Beatific Vision or be naturally capable of it. The Beatific Vision, as it is in God, as it is experienced by God, is one and the same thing with God Himself, one and the same thing

with His very life, with His divine operations *ad intra*, and the Trinity of His Persons. To speak in a human way, it is consequent upon, or rather concurrently with, the vision or perception of His infinite goodness that God utters His Word; a true, living, perfect, infinite expression of His very self, establishing between Him who utters His Word and the Word which is being uttered the relations of Father and Son. And as both the Father and the Son have mutually the intuition of Their infinite loveliness, They love each other with such a perfect, infinite, essential and substantial love that it constitutes a Third Person in God, namely, the Holy Ghost, thus completing the cycle of the divine life and the fullness of the Beatific Vision as it is in God.

Now, what a stupendous condescension on the part of God to have called His rational creatures, the angel first and then man, to share with Him the delights of the Beatific Vision! But what a tremendous effort (again to speak in a human way) it must have required to raise the creature to a level with God Himself, especially in the case of man after the original fall! None can see God but God Himself; then man must be somehow made God, that is to say, must be raised to a divine state, constituted into a divine manner of being; the divine essence must be infused into him and so penetrate his whole personality as to make of him a wholly divine being; he must have the very life of God in him; then he will be capable of the Beatific Vision and have a right to it. A man in the state of grace, a new born infant just baptized, is capable of the Beatific Vision; in the words of St. John: "He hath eternal life abiding in him" (I. John iii., 15), that is to say, the very life of God. Thus it will be seen that "supernatural" does not only mean something above the level of created or creatable beings, but something on a level with God.

The effort has been made on the part of God in the connected works of Creation, Incarnation, Redemption, the institutions of the Church and the application through the seven sacraments of the merits of Jesus Christ to all men of good will. Now, this mighty effort on the part of God calls for a corresponding strenuous effort on the part of man to coöperate with God, and that is done by a man living the Christian life in its very fullness; that is, the mystical life as we are trying to describe it here. Christian life, then, is a sort of deification of man, is the making of man into God, and mystical life is, on the part of man, his really acting his Godlike part.

Mystical life, by the attention it pays to God present everywhere and in one's very self, and by the intense, if dim perception of

each of the three Divine Persons' active relations with one, through the efficacy of the sacraments, and by a laying oneself always more and more open to all the divine influences, and by a contemplation assiduous, keen, pure of the divine perfections and the tasting, under the veil of faith, of the divine sweetness: mystical life, we say, is an apprenticeship of the Beatific Vision. Nothing short of that. Mystical life is a most topical preparation of man to the Beatific Vision, a training and a raising up of all his faculties to the coming glory, a fusing of all his being into the Being of God, a foreshadowing of the Beatific Vision and a prelude to it.

With the Beatific Vision in prospect, the mystics of all ages and professions have found nothing too arduous, no apostolate too exacting, no martyrdom too cruel, no self-restraint too protracted, no desert or solitude too horrible, no humiliation too great, no service too low or repulsive. In all hardships and tribulations they go repeating with the Apostle: "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us." (Rom. vii., 18.)

The mystic bears in mind that the degree of his Beatific Vision will be according to the degree of charity he will have achieved whilst on earth; he considers that time is given us for this only purpose, that we may work out our own rank in the grand hierarchy of perfect charity and divine happiness, and therefore he is very careful not to lose a single moment of time, not to let pass a single opportunity of enlarging his capacity of seeing and loving and enjoying God for evermore. Indeed, the measure of our state of grace when we die will be the measure of our *Lumen Gloriæ*, or Light of Glory, throughout the blessed eternity.

Other words of St. Paul in the same Epistle to the Romans are to the point here. He says: "For the expectation of the creature waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God." (Rom. vii., 19.) It seems as if the whole creation had been taken into the confidence of God and informed of what He has planned for man and was actually in a fever of expectation to see it done. And why so, if not because the whole material universe finds its perfection in man and is raised in him to a share of the glory of supernatural life? Hence the whole creation will in a way be thrilled with joy when man will have been admitted to the Beatific Vision, even as it is said that "the stars with cheerfulness have shined forth to Him that made them." (Baruc. iii., 35.) It is clear that all this material universe which is without rational knowledge or free will has been made distinctly with a view to the bringing about of the Beatific Vision in man. It does help man in his ascent to the Beatific

Vision. It is destined ultimately to be, in some way and through us, assumed into the glory of the Beatific Vision on the day of general resurrection and the Last Judgment, when sea and land will give up their dead, and there will take place the grand, public, solemn "revelation of the sons of God" and there will be made a new heaven and a new earth. Then, indeed, we shall understand the full meaning of the words: "If sons, therefore heirs also."

THAT THE DIVINE WORD IS THE BRIDEGROOM.

One of the most magnificent and explicit prophecies of the wonders of Christian life is set forth in Osee ii., 18-20, in these stupendous words: "And in that day I will espouse thee to Me for ever, and I will espouse thee to Me in justice and judgment and in mercy and in commiserations. And I will espouse thee in faith, and thou wilt know that I am the Lord."

But "the thoughts of mortal men are timid" (Wisdom ix., 14), and this timidity of the thoughts of men appears especially in regard to this subject of the wedding of the Creator with his rational creature. Men dare not believe in this, the grandest reality of spiritual life. They would fain tell the writer or preacher who proclaims it, "Hold! How dare you say such a thing?" They are of opinion that the comparison of two human lovers in that most amazing relation of holy matrimony, as a symbol of our union with God, goes beyond the actual truth and beyond the real thoughts of God, whilst on the contrary, if anything, it lags immeasurably behind and falls immeasurably short of expressing the strength and intimacy and tenderness of the mutual relation which God wants to establish between Himself and the soul.

The *Canticle of Canticles* bears out this truth most vividly, only it does not tell us, not any more than the above passage of Osee, which of the three Divine Persons it is who speaks in the character of Bridegroom. It needed the fullness of revelation of the New Testament to make us know that the Bridegroom is the second Person of the Most Holy Trinity; that is, the Word of God. Now, indeed, with the light of the Gospel thrown back upon the Canticle of Canticles and kindred passages in the Old Testament, how well even their most mysterious expressions are seen to fit to the two natures in Jesus Christ, to the events of His life and of His sacred passion, to His Eucharistic Sacrifice and Sacrament, and to all His personal dealings with us in the secret mystical life!

Thus St. John the Baptist calls Him the Bridegroom and compares his own mission of Precursor to that of a *paranymphos*, or that friend of the bridegroom whose duty it was to stand watch at



the door of the bridal chamber. Our Lord calls Himself the Bridegroom. To the disciples of John, who were finding fault with His own disciples because they did not perform as many fasts as themselves or the Pharisees, He answers: "Can the children of the Bridegroom mourn as long as the Bridegroom is with them? But the days will come when the Bridegroom will be taken away from them, and then they shall fast" (Math. ix., 15). Again, in Math. xxiv.-xxv., He says: "Wherefore be you also ready, because at what hour you know not the Son of man will come. . . . Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like to ten virgins, who, taking their lamps, went out to meet the bridegroom." In the Apocalypse, where so many marvelous, mysterious things are revealed to us about the Lamb, He is at last in chapters xxi. and xxii. given his title of Bridegroom. It is a page of surpassing beauty. "And I, John, saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And there came one of the seven angels and spoke with me, saying, 'Come and I will show thee the bride, the wife of the Lamb.' . . . And the Lord God of the spirits of the prophets sent His angels to show His servants the things that must be done, and He said, 'Behold, I will come quickly.' . . . And the spirit and the bride say come; and he that heareth, let him say come. . . . He that giveth testimony of these things saith, 'Surely I come quickly. Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.'"

Truth to tell, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity sustains towards the Christian what may seem at first sight a bewildering multiplicity of relations. The Word of God has made Himself our blood relation, our true brother, by assuming our human nature. He has made Himself our pattern and our teacher in His life and Gospel doctrine, and our saviour by dying on the Cross. Then, through baptism, he has made the Christian His living member, in His mystical body, the Church, of which He is the Head. Then He makes Himself our very food in Holy Communion, whilst in the other sacraments He anoints and consecrates and sanctifies the Christian's body and soul, with His Holy Spirit and the virtue of His own merits for most special and accurately determined spiritual purposes. In confirmation the Son of God makes us His soldiers and therefore constitutes Himself our Captain. In the sacrament of penance He heals our wounds, pouring into them His very blood as a remedy. In holy orders He communicates His own priestly office and character to some of the brethren. In matrimony He makes the human husband and wife to be the very image of Himself in His loving relation to the Church. Finally, in last anointing

and holy viaticum, He constitutes Himself the helper and conqueror of the soul in the supreme struggle at the hour of death.

Now, we must understand that all these personal favors lavished upon us by the Son of God are nothing else than His espousing of us unto Himself for time and eternity. All the other titles and offices which the Word of God made Man assumes in relation to us come finally to that one of His being our Heavenly Bridegroom. He is our King, our Shepherd, our Way, our good Samaritan, our Light, our Resurrection and Life; New Adam, Lord, the Lamb that was slain, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Conqueror that came to conquer, the Vine, the Vine-presser, our Propitiation, our Advocate, our Reconciliation, our Peace, our Joy, the Corner-stone and very Foundation of all the order of things, natural and supernatural; the Alpha and Omega of the world's history, as well as of every individual soul's history; our Companion on the way in the pilgrimage of life, the Morning Star, the Living Bread, the Sun, the Fountain, a Giant, a Friend, a Witness, High Priest, Altar and Victim, Bishop of our souls, Father of the world to come, Pontiff of the future bliss, Judge of the living and the dead, the eternal reward of the good and the eternal torment of the wicked—He is all that, and it all really comes to this one, exclusive relation of Himself with us, namely, that He is our Heavenly Bridegroom. His most precious Humanity in all its mysteries, from His Incarnation to His Death on the Cross, and from that to His last coming for Judgment, and in all its states, especially that of His Eucharistic Presence; His whole sacred Humanity, I say, is in a manner the sacrament, the sign, the sensible token and also the very means of our bridal union; but it is truly the Godhead of the Word, the eternal, infinite, glorious Son of God Who is the Bridegroom, whilst man, without distinction of sex (for here, "*caro non prodest quidquam*"), man who is by himself a weak and barren nature in regard to things heavenly, man is the bride of that divine marriage, which is not of the flesh, but of the spirit; man is the bride of that formidable Lover, the eternal Son of God! A very disproportionate match, indeed, but where an ineffable love fills the gap and levels the highest to the lowest and raises our nothingness to a share in His very sanctity and beauty and capacity for reciprocate love and eternal, divine life.

Our relation of sons to the Heavenly Father, full of divine sweetness as it is, is not unmixed with awe; we cannot allow ourselves to forget the infinite distance that separates our puny selves from the overwhelming majesty and sanctity of God. But with God the Son made Man, our relations are all entirely made up of sweetness

if only we will look at them under their true color. There is, or there ought to be, no feeling of awe between brother and brother; still less between the members of the body and their head; still less again, if possible, between the bride and her bridegroom. There ought to be between them only feelings of the most strong and tender and delicate mutual love. But in order to fully enter into such feelings, one needs to be greatly attentive to those sacred relations of oneself with the Son of God—one needs to be a mystic.

The Bridegroom is the Word of God; need we, then, insist on this particular and proper aspect of our marriage with Him, namely, that it is wholly spiritual and of the spirit? Whatever, therefore, is boldly borrowed in the *Canticle of Canticles* and other parts of Holy Writ, from the demonstrations of love as between a human bride and her human spouse, is to be interpreted wholly in a spiritual sense. The Son of God has already espoused to Himself the higher rational creatures, the blessed angels, and He is now bent upon espousing all men of good will. And it is the office of mystical life to make us attentive to that espousing of our soul by the Son of God and to excite us to render even now, whilst yet on earth, love for love to this, our Heavenly Bridegroom.

The wedding is begun on earth, to be consummated in heaven. It is during the present life that the two lovers, the Son of God and the Christian, plight their faith to one another, and the Bridegroom begins even now to take and to give kisses of love in the passing visits of Holy Communion. Holy Communion is not only the feeding of the divine child that the Christian is; it is, moreover, an act of his wedded life with Christ. It is on the part of the Son of God a taking possession of the body and soul of His little bride and a giving to her of her marital rights over Himself. "They will be two in one flesh" has been said of the husband and wife according to nature. At Holy Communion we are made one with Christ, so marvelously, so far beyond what poor human marriage can ever dream of! The Divine Bridegroom has placed His infinite power at the service of His love, so that we can say with absolute truth the words of the *Canticle of Canticles*: "My Beloved to me and I to Him, who feedeth among the lilies" (*Cant. xi., 16*). It is true the little bride cannot as yet see the face of her Beloved, nor feel His embrace all the time, though He is all the time near her in the Blessed Sacrament; she cannot at present see the Son of God in His majesty and loveliness and call Him "Husband" before all the angels and saints and the Heavenly Father; these things are not for our present condition of mortality—they are the privilege of the

coming eternity. Patience, patience! "Till the day break and the shadows retire" (Cant. ii., 17).

In the meanwhile, if we cannot enjoy our Heavenly Bridegroom to the full extent of our desire, we must at least be eager to embrace Him as often and as lovingly as we can in Holy Communion, under the veil of faith and of the sacred species, and we must employ the time of our exile in making ourselves more and more worthy of Him. Does not a king's bride try to adorn herself for him who will soon come and claim her for his wedded wife before all his court? Now that is precisely the work of the mystic life thus to adorn the soul, to enlarge her capacity of loving God more and more, to drill her in the good manners of the court of heaven, where she is so soon to appear as the bride and wedded wife of the King.

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FATHER ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S. J., POET AND MARTYR.

IF THE Pagan Renaissance had, as often has been claimed, a benign influence on the course of letters and the liberal arts generally, the age marked by the birth of the new literature witnessed in England a notable revival in two matters that are spiritually related—twin sisters, indeed, one may well regard them—Catholic faith and Catholic poetry. The Elizabethan era was particularly rich in poetical expression, though the terror of the penal enactments hung, like the sword of Damocles, suspended over the desk whereat the poet or the historian toiled secretly, by the light of the midnight oil, to keep alive the flame of the divine art and the light of the truth, for the benefit of its cause in succeeding generations. The great difficulty that the poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found was not one of felicitous expression, but of happy repression—an outpouring of the laboring soul that, while not exactly destructive of the panting idea rising from the spark of Catholic inspiration, might yet divest it of such literary livery as was likely to lead the utterer to the Chamber of Little Ease or the embraces of her ladyship “the Scavenger’s Daughter,” in London Tower. The poetry is full of cryptic devices and mysterious allegories, fables with pointed meanings, anagrams, rebuses and puzzles—some as far-fetched as the Gold Beetle of Edgar Allan Poe’s “Tales of Mystery and Imagination.” The fashion of the age, among the “genus irritabile,” in seeking out patrons among the members of the nobility who were also aspirants after the bays, tended to the diligent cultivation of the enigmatic style in poetic vehicles, as the innumerable “dedications” to exalted personages, found in front of volumes of verse or new plays, abundantly testified. Because of the tendency of the bardic tribe to deal in the freemasonry of the occult, in order to keep up intercommunion, the poet and the *vates*, the prophet or the seer gifted with more than mundane book-lore, were frequently confounded—as in the case of “Virgil the Magician” and more particularly in that of Dante Alighieri, Tasso, and some other Italian poets of the Renaissance cycle. The appearance last year, amongst the Catholic Truth Society’s (England) of “The Triumphs Over Death,” by the Ven. Robert Southwell, S. J. (edited from the manuscripts by John William Trotman), introduces us to the “literary executor” of Father Southwell, John Trussell—a scholar and a poet whose literary remains exhibit some work that bears so extraordinary a resemblance

to works attributed to Shakespeare (in certain passages) that it is almost impossible to conceive that the resemblance is a mere literary coincidence; and so we have here a new element of surpassing interest added to the already perplexing tangle of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. Father Southwell's poetry and prose (which latter is prose only in form, and is really poetry of a truly sublime order as to matter, and as to manner is elegant in the extreme) appear to have been put into manuscript form during a period when the writer was in hiding, going about in disguises and under assumed names, and all the time ministering to the spiritual wants of many persons who braved the fearful punishments prescribed by the law for such as dared to harbor or succor ecclesiastics of the Catholic faith. How any man could, under such conditions, sit down to compose poetry, is difficult, truly, to realize. The poetry, too, that was produced under such haphazard rumagat circumstances, is of so great nicety of construction as to have demanded much time in the selection of phrases to give it scholastic finish and literary polish.

Some students of Father Southwell's works hazarded the suggestion that he might have composed some of it in prison, but that seems preposterous. His brutal treatment while under durance must have been effected to strangle all desire for poetical expression—all physical ability, in fact, to think methodically or in poetical order. The tortures inflicted on him by the monster Topcliffe were the most fiendish that a devilish heart could conceive.

The author of this biography of Father Southwell gives a very curious fact in relation to his education—one that invests his poetical work with a very rare value. He tells how having been sent to Douai, from Horsham in Norfolk, to be educated "when very young," he, in his fifteenth year, passed over to Paris, and in his seventeenth to Rome, to enter the Society of Jesus, on his novitiate. At this time he took the opportunity of studying his mother tongue—a fact which shows that he was a mere child when first sent abroad, and so had lost all recollection of the few words he had been taught to lisp in his infancy. To study the English language so diligently as to be able to compose the quaintest of poetry in it must have demanded several years of close reading of the best authors in the language. This, besides the other studies which were included in the Jesuit course, gives an indication of the great grasp of the author's intellect and his consuming anxiety to master all the tasks he had mapped out for his course in life. The exact date of his birth is not known; his biographer says it was in or at about the year 1561.

Father Southwell was ordained to the priesthood in 1584. Two

years after, accompanied by Father Henry Garnett, he went to England, having been assigned to that perilous duty by his superiors. He knew that it meant death, preceded by torture, if captured; but this had no terrors for him. To be a martyr was the summit of his noble ambition, yet to adopt every means possible to defer the date so long as he could save souls meanwhile. Of his power to win souls by the magic of his eloquence, the Jesuit Provincial in England, Father Foley, forty years after his martyrdom, wrote: "A man of high position died this year. He had once heard Father Robert Southwell preach a sermon, full of divine fervor, in which he had earnestly excited the souls of young men to the pursuit of a virtuous life. He often related to some of his friends that this sermon was regarded as miraculous, the face of the preacher, then advanced in life, appearing radiant with light, and his head as though surrounded by bright rays. From that time forward this gentleman became a totally changed man."

Father Southwell was done to death in 1595. He was not "advanced in life," in the usual sense of that phrase, even when death came to end his torments. But the hardships he had undergone and the privations he had to go through, while he was in hiding, had, doubtless, preyed upon his frame and countenance and made him look aged before he had in fact outgrown the period of youth.

"The methods used by Topcliffe, the priest-hunter," says Professor Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, "were so abominable that his name has found its way into many Latin manuscripts of the time as a verb, 'topcliffizare,' which expresses the most abominable crime." The treatment accorded to Catholics during Elizabeth's reign, says the same eminent authority, "is one of the saddest and cruelest in history outside the times of the early persecutions." When prisoners were subjected to torture, the law decreed that a magistrate should be present to see that too much severity was not resorted to. In this case Topcliffe had gone to the Queen and asked her permission to torture him privately, and the permission was graciously granted. What the victim experienced at the hands of the inhuman villain it is not in the power of words to tell, so devilish was his ingenuity in the infliction of exquisite physical pain.

The author of this interesting little biography of the heroic martyr says:

"From the moment (if not earlier) in which he as a youth entered the Society of Jesus his life was as completely offered to his Divine Master as that of St. Ignatius of Loyola or St. Francis Xavier, and although his sphere of labor differed from theirs, the fire of Divine Love, the thirst for the salvation of souls and the

ardent longing for martyrdom burned in his breast as hotly as in theirs; the fragmentary outpourings of his soul which have survived are sufficient evidence of this, and if, against almost incredible odds, he escaped for six years the diabolical schemes of the persecutors to capture him, the fact is attributable to his prudent determination to spend himself, as long as Divine Providence should permit, in the service of the persecuted Catholics, and not to any fear of the barbarous cruelty which he knew well would be the inevitable sequel to his capture; in fact, his chief fear, manifested in his letters which have come down to us, was that he might prove unworthy of the martyr's crown."

On pp. 99-101 is presented a considerable portion of the account of his martyrdom written by Father Garnett to the General of the Jesuits in Rome, Father Claud Aquaviva, translated from the original in Stonyhurst College. The date is March 4, 1595. It is as follows:

"London, February 22, 1594, O. S.

"March 4, 1595, N. S.

"The peace of Christ Jesus. At length I have a most beautiful flower to offer to your paternity from your garden, a most sweet fruit from your tree, an admirable treasure from your treasury, 'silver tried by the fire, purged from the earth, refined seven times.' It is Christ's unconquered soldier, most faithful disciple, most valiant martyr, Robert Southwell, formerly my dearest companion and brother, now my lord, patron and king, reigning with Christ.

"He had been kept for nearly three years in closer custody than any one ever was, so that no Catholic ever saw him or spoke to him. He was often tortured and that in a more cruel manner than even this barbarity is accustomed to inflict. He publicly declared that he had been tortured ten times, and that with torments worse than the rack or than death itself.

"Thus deprived of all human aid, at length they brought him forth that it might be clear to all how far the divine assistance exceeds all human help.

"For all this long time he could neither say Mass, nor go to the Sacrament of Penance, nor speak with any one, nor receive consolation from any; yet he went to judgment and to execution with so calm and tranquil a mind that you would have said that he came from the midst of a monastery of religious men, and that he was passing of his own free accord from the breasts of his mother to the sweetest of delights.

"He was taken from the Tower of London to Newgate, the prison for thieves and murderers, and there he was kept for three days in



what they call *Limbo*, with no comfort but a candle. On February 20 he was brought into court, where by a cunning device his adversaries took care that very few people should be present; for the day before they gave no notice of what they were going to do, either to the gaoler or to any one else; and at the very time he was summoned a notable thief was led off to execution, which was done that almost all the city might be drawn to see him and thus not notice what was done with the Father."

The chief subject treated in the prose poem, "The Triumphs Over Death," is the life and virtues of the Lady Margaret Howard, and it is addressed to her brother Philip, Earl of Arundel, respectively daughter and son of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk. It is literally a noble string of rarest gems of thought—a rosary of sweet consolations to the mourning souls for whose benefit it was strung together by a magic hand. It winds up with four stanzas, of six lines each, in regular poetic metre. They are as follows:

"Of Howard's stem a glorious branch is dead;  
Sweet lights eclipsed were in her decease;  
In Buckhurst's line she glorious issue spread,  
She heaven with two, with four did earth increase;  
Fame, honor, grace, gave air unto her breath;  
Rest, glory, joys, were sequels of her death.

"Death aimed too high, he hit too choice a wight,  
Renowned for birth, for life, for lovely parts;  
He killed her cares, he brought her worth to light,  
He robbed our eyes, but hath enriched our hearts;  
He let out of the ark a Noe's dove,  
But many hearts are arks unto her love.

"Grace, nature, fortune, did in her conspire  
To show a proof of their united skill;  
Sly fortune, ever false, did soon retire,  
But doubled grace supplied false fortune's ill;  
And though she raught not to her fortune's pitch,  
In grace and nature few were found so rich.

"Heaven of this heavenly pearl is now possess,  
Whose lustre was the blaze of honor's light;  
Whose substance pure of every good the best,  
Whose price the crown of virtue's highest right;  
Whose praise to be herself, whose greatest bliss—  
To live, to love, to be, where now she is."

Of John Trussell, the "literary executor of the poet martyr," the author of the biography tells us a good deal. He says:

"A careful study of his verses (allowing for possible *errata*, to amend which we have no manuscript) reveals a writer of pronounced personality. In the same year they were written (1595) was printed a poem which he had composed in his youth and which he terms his *Primitiæ*; this is *Raptus I Helenæ, or the First Rape of Fair Helen*; there is only one copy of the work known; it is in a private collection and by the courtesy of the owner I was permitted to transcribe it. It is a work stamped with a genius of so high and original a character that were it advanced as the first-fruits of Shakespeare's own muse, composed in his youth (and such indeed I personally suspect it to be), I doubt if any competent critic would find difficulty in accepting it as such; for it is no less Shakespearean than *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and in some respects markedly resembles *A Lover's Complaint*; in fact, it is no exaggeration to say that in *Helen* we have in the bud all those features which characterize the flower of Shakespeare's genius; it is brilliant in invention and perfectly sweet in versification, although, as one of the prefatory stanzas has it, the subject is 'indeed a toy, such as the gravest wits regard not much.'"

The facts which the author of this biography has carefully collected and placed in juxtaposition with others relative to the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, project some new lights upon the screen. Both Father Southwell and his devoted friend, John Trussell, were enthusiastic wooers of the Muse—Southwell furtively, by reason of his priestly calling, but boldly enough; Trussell as soon as he had felt his pinions' strength. Mr. Trotman has made diligent search for evidence of his personality and literary qualifications.

Some idea of the lines of argument on which the martyr poet relied to point his idea of triumph over death is to be gained by a reproduction of a few verses of the prose-poetry, as follows:

"In Paradise we received the sentence of death (Genesis 5), and here as prisoners we are kept in ward, tarrying but our turns till the gaoler calls us to our execution.

"Whom hath any virtue eternized, or desert commended to posterity, that hath not mourned in life and been mourned after death? no assurance of joy being sealed without some tears.

"Even our Blessed Lady, the Mother of God, was thrown down as deep in temporal miseries as she was advanced high in spiritual honors; none amongst all mortal creatures finding in life more proofs than she of her mortality. For having the noblest Son that

ever woman was mother of, not only above the conditions of men, but above the glory of angels: being her Son only, without temporal father, and thereby the love of both parents doubled in her breast: being her only Son without other issue, and so her love of all children finished in Him: yea, He being God and she the nearest creature to God's perfections, yet no prerogative acquitted either her from mourning or Him from dying.

"And though they surmounted the highest angels in all other preëminence, yet were they equal with the meanest men in the sentence of death. And howbeit our Lady, being the pattern of Christian mourners, so tempered her anguish that there was neither anything undone that might be disliked in so perfect a matron; yet by this we may guess with what courtesy death is likely to friend us, that durst cause so bloody funerals in so heavenly a stock: not exempting Him from the law of dying that was the Author of life, and soon after to honor His triumph with the ruins and spoils of death.

"Seeing therefore that death spareth none, let us spare our tears for the better uses; being but an idle sacrifice to this deaf and implacable executioner and, for this, not long to be continued where they can never profit."

The difficulties and doubts which had been started in the course of the Bacon *vel* Shakespeare controversy are immensely increased by the theories and reasons put forward in Father Trussell's contributions, written and printed, to the bewildering problems. We are confronted by two bold leading suggestions—one, that Father Southwell wrote many things attributed to William Shakespeare; the other, that John Trussell, the biographer of Father Southwell, wrote several things which resemble things attributed to Shakespeare so closely that it is hard somehow to avoid the conclusion that there was bold plagiarism on the one side or the other, unless we accept the solution offered by Mr. Trotman's theory. As to Trussell's personality, Mr. Trotman says:

"John Trussell sprang from an ancient and honorable family resident for centuries at Billesley, near Stratford-on-Avon. Mrs. Stopes (the recognized authority on the Shakespeare genealogy) is of opinion that Shakespeare's maternal grandmother (Mary Arden's mother) was a Miss Trussell; my personal information does not warrant the expression of an opinion and, to speak truly, I make no profession of having investigated any pedigrees.

"Trussell speaks of London as his 'mother' and Camden as his 'schoolmaster;' he also speaks of Fabyan the Chronicler, who preceded him by a century, as his 'brother;' such terms are here poetic.

and if the reader will remember that Father Southwell is a poet, his use of the term 'cousin,' occurring in this volume, will be understood (especially by a reference to 'Measure for Measure,' Act I, Scene 5) as certainly indicating very close friendship, but not necessarily blood relationship.

"It would occupy too much space here to review at length Trussell's manuscripts; in sum he defends the old religion and bewails the devastation caused by that rebellion which has been falsely termed a 'Reformation;' in this respect, as in all other, his sentiments are those of Shakespeare.

"He defends the credibility of ancient British history, handed down orally by the Druids, from which Shakespeare draws (with no suspicion of skepticism) his *King Lear* and *Cymbeline*.

"I have already given verses from his earliest work, *Helen*, in respect of which attention is now invited to these lines:

'I'll take advantage of each idle time  
Till I shall please you with more pleasing rhyme,'

which may be compared with the following from the dedication of *Venus and Adonis*:

"And vow to take advantage of all idle hours till I have honored you with some graver labor.'

"But over half a century later this curious coincidence occurs: John Trussell commences his manuscript dedication thus:

"Howsoever two of the four props which I had prepared to support by their authority the weak fabric of this my *Touchstone of Antiquity*, etc.

"Which may be compared with the dedication of *Venus and Adonis*:

"I know not . . . how the world will censure me for choosing so strong a prop to support so weak a burden.'

"Interest is added to the parallelism by the fact that *Venus and Adonis* is dedicated to Henry Wriothesly, third Earl of Southampton, and Thomas Wriothesly, fourth Earl, is one of Trussell's four 'props.'

"Reverting now to his connection with Father Southwell, it is remarkable that in editions of the *Triumphs* subsequent to that of 1596 (i. e., 1620, 1630 and 1634) only the first of the three sets of prefatory verses occurs John Trussell's name disappears entirely and is replaced with the initials 'S. W.' A letter which prefixes Southwell's *St. Peter's Complaint* (first printed in 1595) is addressed to 'his loving cousin, Mr. W. S.' In the letter printed in this present volume his cousin is 'W. R.'

"I suggest that 'W. S.,' 'S. W.' and 'W. R.' all stand for one name; that is, William Shakespeare, and that it was John Trussell who borrowed that name to conceal his own identity; I further surmise that Father Southwell's soliloquy herein printed concerns the same person. I think it scarcely possible for any one free from prepossessions to thoroughly study the works of Shakespeare and not conclude, solely upon internal evidence, that the author was a Catholic; such a conclusion, at least on the part of those conversant with contemporary Catholic conditions and literature, renders it not only probable, but morally certain that the author would protect himself by the use of a pseudonym; and it is not unreasonable that he should have adopted the name of the one who was to be his mouthpiece and was a member of a privileged profession.

"Such a position I make no pretense to prove, but surely it is a reasonable hypothesis, the grounds of which I now give to augment the remarkable resemblance between Shakespeare and Trussell.

"Southwell's letter to 'Mr. W. S.' (which we see in all, but particularly the 1616 and 1620 editions of *St. Peter's Complaint*) makes clear the following facts: 'W. S.' was a poet who had 'importuned' Southwell to write poems; Southwell complied, but only to the extent of, to use his own words, 'laying a few coarse threads together, to invite some skilfuller wits to go forward in the same, or to begin some finer piece.' These he sends to 'W. S.' with these words: 'I send you these few ditties; add you the tunes, and let the mean, I pray you, be still a part in all your music,' and telling him that 'he must bear part of the penance when it shall please sharp censures to impose it.'

"In these simple facts lies, I beg humbly to advance, an intelligible explanation of most of Shakespeare's Sonnets, of which no rational interpretation has hitherto been given; I mean that the ideal personality around which so many of the Sonnets are written is in reality that of Father Southwell."

Many a mind fruitful in conjecture, and delighting in elusive literary problems, has found keen enjoyment in the quest of the seemingly inscrutable and undiscoverable. The secrets they would fain penetrate may never be disclosed, at least by guesswork. But at all events their efforts are deserving of credit for their sincerity of purpose and the earnestness of their zeal in the course of historical truth.

(The work has been published here by B. Herder, St. Louis; price, 30 cents.)

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

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## RAMBLES NEAR NAPLES—THE WONDERS OF POZZUOLI.

WHEN I was awakened by the sound of singing in different parts of the city, and on going to my window saw the houses in Capri gleaming in the sun twenty miles across the bay, the demon of travel within me told the demon of sloth that we should make a day of it and visit Little Vesuvius and sights of the western coast of the Bay of Naples. On a previous occasion I had already gone as far as Posilippo and enjoyed the view for hours together of Naples and Vesuvius and far-extending Sorrento; had lingered among the fisherfolk till evening's maternal hand had extended the warm cloak of rusty brown over the smoking mountain.

On this second occasion, however, it was my intention to leave Posilippo, on my left, and cut through the famous old grotto, nearly two-thirds of a mile long, that shortens the traveler's journey in the Bagnuoli and Pozzuoli direction. Bagnuoli, as the name implies, is famous for its baths, for the country hereabout is broken on every side with sulphur springs; otherwise the place is small and of little account, though blessed with a most magnificent panorama of the bay, with the islands of Nisida, Procida and Ischia. At the time of my visit the town of Ischia had suffered greatly from rain, half the town being destroyed. On the same occasion Salerno had been completely wrecked, whilst Amalfi had not entirely escaped. Naples itself was shaken with earthquakes, and at one point during a day's outing I found progress impossible, as a whole hillside had fallen away and carried the road along with it. So many disasters had occurred that the "cocchiere" who was driving me did not know of this accident, although I hired him at his stand within a quarter of a mile of the scene. Bagnuoli paid its share, too, for at one point the road had been partly washed into the sea and road-car traveling was somewhat precarious. The baths in this place are sovereign for the cure of skin diseases—not uncommon in Italy. Having no particular reason to delay in Bagnuoli, I went on to the far more interesting town of Pozzuoli (ancient Puteoli). Both names are connected with the Latin "puteal," a well, reference, no doubt, to the existence of springs similar to those found at Bagnuoli.

The first object of striking interest in this ancient town is the crater of La Solfatara; this overhangs the town, and in 1198 it overwhelmed the place in a great eruption. A guide had offered his services in the piazza, and a carriage was procured to scale the steep road, still showing many remains of ancient Roman pavement. In a short time the volcano was reached—not before the guide had

purchased two torches of brimstone, and, with the moon already peeping through the waning daylight, we began our exploration of the crater—an area about a quarter of a mile in diameter.” *Quà, quà,*” the guide would say; “follow me lest you fall into the *spiragli*.” His caution was needed, for in several directions the *spiragli*, or vent-holes, were to be seen fuming and boiling around us. A fall was by no means desirable even to contemplate. “Here is one,” said the guide, “that has appeared only this month.” He stood on the edge and held me as I looked over. Below us, roaring and tumbling, the earth seethed and hissed like so much water, only water could not stand this temperature, for this heaving earth was registering the rather alarming heat of over 3,000 degrees Fahrenheit. When the guide sprinkled molten brimstone from his torches upon the tossing fluid, then indeed did the crater show its fury, the smoke ascending in dense volumes over our heads. We repeated the experiment at several of the *spiragli*. A ragged boy appeared from a hut nearby and asked an alms. Having made an end of our experiments, to the great satisfaction of one of us at least, we returned across the quaking surface of the crater, which is of a creamy color. It is from here that the Italians obtain much of their beautiful stucco for decorating their buildings.

Near the crater is the amphitheatre in which St. Januarius (patron saint of Naples) and his companions were exposed to wild beasts; but the beasts left them unharmed, though previously kept fasting to make them more fierce. This theatre held 35,000 spectators; it contained conduits for filling the arena with water for the purpose of representing naval battles. To return to St. Januarius. When his captors were disappointed in the amphitheatre, they took him out and beheaded him. There is a stone preserved on which some of his blood fell. This stone is in the Church of San Gennaro (Januarius), erected on the very scene of his martyrdom. The curious point is this: When the blood of St. Januarius liquefies in Naples Cathedral (which happens regularly thrice a year, and usually before any great calamity, such as an eruption of Vesuvius), the blood on this stone at Pazzuoli also liquefies. I have not had the opportunity of witnessing this liquefaction here, but saw a similar marvel in Rome. In the Church of the Twelve Apostles at Rome the blood of St. James (the Less, I think) is shown in a permanently liquid state. There is no deception. The blood is in the bottom of a small beaker, or vial, and can be examined within six inches of the eye under a bright electric bulb. Only once a year (feast of the Twelve Apostles) is this treasure shown.

On our way down from the crater we paid a visit to another of

the surprises of Pazzuoli—the famous Temple of Serapis. What we now see—a few columns of *cippolino*—is but a faint reminder of the greatness of this vast and beautiful edifice, with its sixty-four immense columns. The beauty of the building is faded; its interest now lies in the extraordinary record it has preserved for us of the periodical rising and falling of the Neapolitan coast. A learned professor in Germany has measured the tide that rolls across the land just as the tide sweeps over the sea. But this is not the phenomenon that distinguishes Pozzuoli. Here the land continues steadily to rise for a period of centuries to a height of some six feet, and then falls again. You can see the columns discolored to about that height, and on close examination you can see barnacles embedded in the *cippolino*, showing that the sea once reached that level. Even to-day the floor of the temple is covered by the tide, and the guide procures a long iron rod, with which he strikes, through the water, upon the marble pavement of the building.

It was now late in the evening when Tonino and myself ended our ramble. He was an agreeable fellow. To crown the day's outing he led me to an *osteria*, where Falernian wine was obtainable. This wine, he explained, was got not from Horace's own farm, but from the one next to it. We shared a bottle, and strong stuff it was—a common feature of these South Italian wines. Tonino acquitted himself nobly and swore everlasting service, and I have no doubt he meant it, for a more gentlemanly guide it was never my fortune to meet. As we parted he pointed to the Bay of Baiae and recalled to me how that most clownish (and most cruel) of Roman Emperors, Caligula, had a causeway laid across the bay, from Puteoli to Baiae, a distance of nearly two miles, merely to be able to dash across it once on his chariot and thus say that he was able, like Neptune, to ride upon the waters. We shall speak no more of Baiae for the present; that luxurious region, together with Lake Avernus, the New Mountain, Cumae and other places of ancient story were the objects of another visit and demand a separate treatment.

CHRISTOPHER FLYNN.

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## IRELAND'S SUSPENDED RIGHT.

**T**HERE are Argus-eyed coteries of persons, both in the United States and the British Islands, whose wish is father to the thought, going about declaring boldly that "Home Rule is dead" and, consequently, that all the labors of the men who maintained the struggle to gain it, and all the money subscribed to maintain a loyal party continuously in Parliament to advocate and defend it, and outmanœuvre the machinations of its bitter foes in both Houses of the British Parliament, have been utterly wasted and barren of result. It requires no little nerve to put forward such a proposition in face of the facts which the chroniclers of the doings in Parliament and of the public proceedings all over the British Isles, having relation to this supremely paramount question, have written in the annals of the time. But the persons who have undertaken the task are not of the timid or overscrupulous kind. The actual situation, as regards the Home Rule Act and the Welsh Church Disestablishment Act, is similar. These Acts, though they have received the royal assent and been signed by the King, are in a state of suspended animation, waiting for the termination of the war to become active law. In the case of the Irish Act, the function of putting an Amending Act, making certain exemptions with regard to Ulster for a period of six years after the passing of the Act, remains to be gone through ere it can be finally put as a completed enactment on the statute books of the realm.

It is an odious chapter of Anglo-Irish history that will have to be told regarding what the enemies of justice to Ireland resorted to in order to frustrate the understanding between the Ministry and the Irish Nationalist party and defeat the legislature of the Houses of Parliament providing for the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin for the regulation of Irish affairs. A military conspiracy to effect this purpose was discovered, and the guilt of its ringleaders was admitted, yet none of them was prosecuted for the treason or punished in any adequate way. The outbreak of the European war rendered it advisable to pursue a policy of forbearance in the face of the larger danger. Even the most active and irreconcilable of the plotters and disturbers, Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the Orange hosts in Ulster, was rewarded with almost the highest place in the Coalition Ministry which the Government found it advisable to recommend to the King as a means of uniting all parties and all sections of the population in defense of the territories and possessions of the Empire. The irreconcilable section in Ireland has been making an attempt to discredit Mr. Redmond's leadership because

of the suspension of the Home Rule Act, but he has received the hearty support of the hierarchy and clergy who have helped the people to win the fight for Home Rule and the great boon of the Land Act, by means of which about three-fourths of the soil of the country has been transferred, by a system of peaceful purchase on the installment plan, from the old race of landlords to its present tillers, the tenants. One of the great pillars of the Irish party, the Right Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, honorary treasurer for many years of the National fund, has come forward to the defense of the Irish leader and the party in a most interesting and enlightening letter on the whole situation. The letter is of so important a character as to possess much more than an insular interest; it is of world-wide interest, considering the omnipresent character of the Irish emigration, so that it is a matter of historical duty to give it as much publicity as possible. It was written by the Bishop with reference to the recent Convention in County Donegal. The principal portions are as follow:

"Any disposition to belittle the Act or the Party is altogether out of place. When one considers the obstacles in the way of the Home Rule Bill, the wonder is that it was got through at all.

"The achievement of overcoming the veto of the House of Lords removed an almost insuperable barrier. But, as you well know, the resistance to Home Rule of an important section of the Irish people was supported by one of the great English parties, was backed by society in England, and not discouraged, to say the least of it, by the army officers in Ireland.

"Had the Irish leaders to reckon only with the Liberal Party in the stages that led up to the Home Rule Act, Mr. Redmond could have shown any amount of independence. But, in face of powerful opposition on all sides, strong men of sense make allowance for the difficulties of their supporters, and, for the sake of the cause, if from no other motive, will be slow to slay their allies, even if some few of them seem to deserve political execution. Then, when we recall such things as the marvelous effort by which the late Administration was kept in being, after the Curragh mutiny, to pass Home Rule, it is only justice to say that the Irish Party is not the only party that did splendid work in advancing the Bill to the Statute Book.

"I have been told that since the beginning of this dreadful war, in which so many brave men from both sides of the Channel stand and fall together, a happy change has come over the views of large numbers of Conservatives, who, from honest conviction or by reason of hereditary attitude, had been no friends of Irish Nationality.

But, to this day, though the brave Irish regiments have been in the most perilous undertakings since the war began, and have suffered accordingly, the dispatches from the front manage to waste no breath in trumpeting home the praises of Irish valor as displayed by any body of Irish troops.

"It would be well for Ireland and well for England if the Home Rule Act had been in operation before the war. The response to Mr. Redmond's appeal would then be far heartier, good as that response is now; and Ireland could put her case much more effectively, when the load of war taxation is being adjusted, both from the point of view of relative taxable capacity and of the enormous advantages resulting to Great Britain from the success of the Allies. I would much prefer forty-two Irish members at Westminster and a Parliament sitting in Dublin, for this purpose, to 103 members at Westminster without an Irish Parliament. The Act, however, rightly provides for a special Irish representation at Westminster, when, after the disappearance of the deficit, the taxation powers of the Irish Parliament are being extended in view of a contribution from Ireland to the common expenditure of the United Kingdom.

"The prospect of these increased powers, according to the provisions of the Act itself, is now no longer remote; and the wider the general authority of the Irish Parliament the better for both countries. But, in my opinion, the limit placed on taxation powers in the Act, however distasteful to us, is not a serious impediment to the work of the Irish Parliament these years. The restrictions, introduced to allay groundless fears on the part of our Unionist neighbors, might indeed conceivably hamper them and us in some great public project; and the best form of Amending Bill Ulstermen could seek would be one to remove all unnecessary restrictions from the measure. However, even in regard to these matters, I have no misgiving about the capacity of the whole Irish people, North and South, to solve such difficulties as might arise in working the Act.

"An Irish Parliament under the Act, as it stands, would deserve and command respect, and prove an efficient instrument of National regeneration. In its own sphere its proceedings are not subject to review by any other body. Last autumn something was done to enlarge the surplus at its disposal; and the structure of the financial arrangement between Ireland and Great Britain, under the Act, has solid soundness in it beyond anything previously proposed. The Act might, of course, be better. If Irish Unionists desire an Amending Bill, it should be to help and not to hinder their native land and themselves. But the Act, as we have it, is a great measure, even for its high purpose. It gives Ireland, as the finest fruit of the

Irish National movement in our day, the best Constitution ever recognized here by England since the English connection began."

This is a complete answer to the factional cavilers at home whom nothing that mortal man could do would satisfy, if not done at their dictation. As for the cavilers on this side of the ocean, they are hardly worth considering seriously, since they are of the class who are always at war with what recognized governments do in any part of the world.

The appearance of the following notice in the British press has once more set in motion the tongues of those who give out the exulting threnody over the pretended death of the Home Rule Act:

"An order in Council under the Suspensory Act, 1914, has been gazetted, making the following provision regarding the Government of Ireland and the Welsh Church Acts, 1914:

"If at the expiration of twelve months from the date of the passing of the said Acts the present war is not ended—

"1. No steps shall be taken to put the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, into operation until the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the passing of that Act unless the present war has previously ended, nor if at the expiration of those eighteen months the present war has not ended, until such later date, not being later than the end of the present war, as may hereafter be fixed by order in Council.

"2. The date of disestablishment under the Welsh Church Act, 1914, shall be postponed until the end of the present war.

"In the House of Lords Lord St. Aldwyn drew attention to the indefiniteness of the words 'until the end of the war,' and Lord Crewe said he would consult with his colleagues with a view to arriving at some final definition of this somewhat obscure phrase, as he called it, which appeared in various Acts of Parliament."

There is nothing of fresh significance in the appearance of these notifications in the public press. It is now more than a year since they were officially signed; and if the war were to come to an end to-morrow, that fact would not affect the arrangement as to the eighteen months' delay agreed upon by the Government and the Parliament. Everything that human foresight could suggest to render the international agreement as to the initiation of the system of Home Rule binding and final has been done, as well as the extraordinary conditions that arose to interrupt its passage to finality would permit.

The declarations of Mr. John E. Redmond, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, on this subject are emphatic and incontrovertible. They were given out at a Convention in Waterford on the

23d of August last. Mr. Redmond declared that there need be no fears of the effect of an Amending Bill. The coming into operation of the Home Rule Act at the end of the war, if not before it, is automatic. **Nothing can prevent the Act coming into operation.** "If the Home Rule Act is not in operation at the end of the war, then under this statute it automatically comes into operation at the very moment," said Mr. Redmond. The Home Rule Act is on the Statute Book; it is a part of the Constitution of Great Britain. Nothing can displace it, nor can it be varied without the consent of the Irish people and their leaders.

These statements of fact and opinion from the legitimate authority ought to suffice to silence the voice of captious criticism.

Srs.

## Book Reviews

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POPULAR SERMONS ON THE CATECHISM. Bamberg-Thurston. Vol. III.:  
The Sacraments. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This volume completes Father Bamberg's Popular Sermons on the Catechism. The first volume treated of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed; the second dealt with the Commandments, and this one explains the Sacraments.

The two former volumes won universal high praise from the critics, and this volume merits equally high commendation. The author seems to speak even on the printed page, and whether his sermons are read by the people for their own instruction or preached by their pastor for their enlightenment, Father Bamberg will be the teacher. His sermons are so comprehensive, so clear, so aptly illustrated, so logical, that the lesson is always taught effectually, and the conclusion is irresistibly reached. They are the kind of sermons that can be preached just as they are. They will suit any audience, in any place, at any time.

This can be illustrated best by quoting one of them in full, and for this purpose we shall take the first one in the book, and on the most difficult subject—

### ACTUAL GRACE.

"Having considered the first two important parts of the catechism which deals with the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed and with the Commandments, we come now to the third part, which gives us an explanation of grace and the means of grace.

"We need the help of God's grace, not only that we may believe what He has revealed, but also to enable us to keep His Commandments in such a way as to attain salvation.

"The catechism asks, 'What do you mean by grace?' And it answers, 'By grace I mean a supernatural gift of God bestowed upon us through the merits of Jesus Christ for our salvation.' Briefly, grace is a gift, a present from God to man; He gives it to each one of us to show us the way to salvation, to help us to walk in it, and so lead us to heaven. It is Jesus Christ Who has earned these graces for us as the fruits of His Passion and Death. Grace is in nature interior and supernatural. It is interior. The word

'gift' generally conveys to us the idea of something visible and material, but grace is entirely interior and spiritual, and is communicated by God to the soul. It is supernatural. This means that it does not form part of our human nature and is not inherent in any of man's natural power; it cannot be deserved or obtained by any human effort, for it is a precious thing, a priceless gift from the Hand of God, which is won by the Blood of Jesus Christ and which leads us to life everlasting.

"There are several kinds of grace. The most important are actual grace and sanctifying grace.

"How are these two kinds of grace to be distinguished? Tell me first how we should distinguish two trees, similar in size and shape, one from another? We should look out for differences in their respective fruits and blossom in the shape of their leaves, in their wood, bark and even in their roots. We should insist not perhaps upon their most important point of dissimilarity, but upon that which was most striking. Let us now in this case inquire which is the most apparent and obvious point of difference between actual grace and sanctifying grace. It lies in their duration. Actual grace passes away: it may remain with us for a longer or a shorter time, but it will leave us just as flashes of lightning appear only to disappear again. But sanctifying or habitual grace is permanent in its nature; it dwells in the soul always unless banished by mortal sin. It is like the sun, which will shine in the firmament and give forth light until extinguished by the Hand of God.

"Now that we have prepared the way by these remarks, let us get to work and examine more closely that grace which we call actual grace. Here are four questions to which, with the help of the Holy Ghost, we must find the answer:

"1. In what does actual grace consist?

"2. How far is it necessary to us?

"3. To whom is it given?

"4. What are its effects?

"1. The catechism asks, 'What is actual grace?'

"The answer is, 'Actual grace is that help of God which enlightens our mind and moves our will to shun evil and to do good.' In other words, it is the influence of God on the powers of our soul.

Inanimate things act in different ways upon one another; for instance, the action of the sun on all earthly and even heavenly bodies is considerable; human bodies, too, can be affected by air, water, their place of habitation, their clothing, their food; we ourselves act upon material objects, lifting and carrying them with our hands, destroying, distributing, molding and disposing of them according to our fancy.

"One man has power to influence another by means of instruction—commands, warnings, threats, promises or by his example in word or deed. We can see, therefore, that creatures influence each other in numberless ways, but God's actions exercise an influence of a peculiarly strong and powerful nature over all His creatures. No sparrow can fall to the ground nor a hair from our head unless He wills it; He preserves all His creatures, guiding their whole existence, their life and all their actions. Such is the influence of God upon the things of nature; but He also exerts a supernatural action upon the powers of our souls. What are these powers? Just as our body has two arms and hands with which to do its work, so the soul is possessed of two arms and hands, as it were, by means of which all its operations are accomplished. They are understanding and free will. How does God act upon these powers? First, He enlightens our understanding. The understanding may be described as the eyesight of the soul, and sight, we know, is useless in the dark. We assist our eyes by bringing a light near them or by lighting up the object we wish to look at, or we straighten our sight with spectacles or with a microscope or a telescope. Therefore, when God wishes to help our understanding, He enlightens it so that we may see things which were before unseen and recognize what otherwise would remain shrouded in darkness; then the purpose for which we were created and the road by which we may travel to our goal becomes plain to us; the value of good works, the virtue of suffering, the danger of temptation, the power of prayer, the horror of sin, are made clearly apparent. Try to imagine a prisoner lying in chains in a dark dungeon; the door of his prison is wide open, but he cannot see it. Suddenly a flash of lightning illuminates the whole place, revealing to him for the first time a means of escape. Hope springs up within him and, rising, he gropes his way to the door as best he can.



"How does God work upon the will? By inclining it to avoid evil and to do good. As all material objects have a tendency to fall to the earth, so the will of man is inclined toward evil from his childhood; and just as the lifeless object lying on the earth is inert and incapable of raising itself, so also is our will incapable by itself of desiring and striving after our supernatural good. How, then, is it to be moved? Material objects are moved by being drawn by some exterior force, so by the grace of God is our will lifted up and moved to do good and to avoid evil. A dead stone can be thrown to a great height by the strength of a boy's arm, and a projectile can be projected an enormous distance by some of the latest guns; but still more wonderful is the power of the grace of God on our weak human will. Think again for a moment of that prisoner in his dungeon. The first flash of lightning showed him the way out, but heavy chains still bind him to the wall. Suppose another flash of lightning were to come and shatter the iron chain, how quickly would he then rush to free himself from his state of captivity! The first lightning flash enabled his eyes to see the way out; the second destroyed his chains and gave him power to move. This is exactly what actual grace does for us—it enlightens our understanding and moves our will to do good and to avoid evil. For the present let this suffice, but later on we shall divide actual graces into those which enlighten the understanding and those which move and work upon the will."

Space will not permit further quotation, but this will suffice to show the excellence of the work.

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THE HEART OF A MAN. By Richard Aumerle Maher. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This story first appeared serially in the "Ecclesiastical Review" under the title "Socialism or Faith." We think the original title the more fitting, because it describes the story better. The hero is tempted to give up his faith for Socialism, because he thinks faith does not solve social problems nor right social wrongs, as he believes it should, and because he thinks Socialism will do these things. The whole story hinges on this struggle, and on the triumph of faith.

Of course, the second title is more appealing to the multitude, and will attract the attention of the larger number. Besides, it announces a story and not an economic discussion, as the former title seems to do.

But as the book is really a combination of both, would it not have been better to keep both titles?

It is a story of a condition and a conflict, all too common throughout the world, but especially in this country. The scene is laid in a mill town, where everything turns around and depends on one industry.

Hard work, long hours, low wages, poor living, discontent, unrest. Socialism presents itself as the remedy, with its usual indifference as to faith and morality, or rather its fierce attacks on them. The inevitable strike occurs, and the usual unscrupulous means to break it are used, including all that power which wealth exercises over corrupt politicians. The clash which in the beginning is between capital and labor finally becomes a conflict between the owner of the mill and the leader of his workmen.

The story is principally a description of this strike, and it is a tragedy. There is practically no relief from the tension from beginning to end. Incidentally, there is much discussion about conditions and remedies, but there is rather a pessimistic tone throughout. One is tempted to wish that where the Church is strong, and where she is drawn into a discussion of conditions that certainly are economically and morally wrong, a more positive stand had been taken and a clearer statement made. We do not know how far the characters are taken from life, but we imagine the Governor and the leading financial power are easily recognizable.

The book is receiving very favorable notices, and the author is being hailed as the logical, as the new, Canon Sheehan. Comparisons are sometimes odious, but oftener imprudent or unwise. It might be better to take the present story on its merits and leave comparisons for the future. The story is strong, vivid, stirring, even startling. It is also thought-provoking. It ought to help very much to change conditions which are becoming more serious and more tense every day, and which are sure to be changed in the wrong way, if not in the right way.

The opinion of Maurice Francis Egan is worth quoting. He says:

"Father Maher has done a fine thing and a bold thing. Like Richard Dehan's 'A Man of Iron,' which has had such a deserved success, this book will not be popular, because it is 'light reading.' It is not 'light reading,' and not reading for those who run as they read; it is a book that can and ought to be read twice. In writing a book which neither hedges, compromises nor temporarily soothes aching wounds by soft plaster or platitudes, Father Maher has done a fine, bold thing, for we are living in a time when the art of thinking is very little practiced. Even the hardened novel reader will go through this book for the story, or rather for the interest created in the development of the characters, and later to ponder deeply on the questions presented by Father Maher—for they are presented frankly and in such a way that the heart as well as the head of the intelligent reader must be reached.

"It is the first adequate book on the tendencies of American Socialism yet written. It is not a mere polemic which may be turned into a political cry; it is not an appeal or argument of any kind—it is simply a moving picture of the causes that make men Socialists and syndicalists. The same causes that induce thousands of emigrants to leave pleasant countries—traditional homes—to throw their fate in the United States are the causes which produce what is called 'Socialism' in our country. And the main cause of all these causes is the fervent wish to live; not merely to exist. 'It is the cry of the broken man; it is the cry of the heartsick woman; it is the cry of the hungry child; it is the cry of the unborn—all crying to be let live and love,' says Father Maher, 'and they will be heard!'"

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OUR PALACE WONDERFUL, OR MAN'S PLACE IN VISIBLE CREATION. By Rev. Frederick A. Houck. 12mo., pp. 175. Illustrated. Chicago: D. B. Hansen & Sons

"If one train of thinking," says Paley, "be more desirable than another, it is that which regards the phenomena of Nature with a constant reference to a Supreme Intelligent Being." This is the author's text. It was not his purpose to convert the unbeliever, but rather to confirm the believer. He has not tried to produce an exhaustive scientific treatise, but a popular manual which would interest and instruct the general reader and lead him to a knowledge of the Creator and His works.

The book presents a rough sketch of the material universe as one complete entirety intended and preserved by the Almighty for the temporal abode of man.

Beginning with the genesis of the earth the author gradually develops a conception of the charming mechanism and harmony of visible creation, which everywhere reflects God's goodness towards man.

In the first part of his book he gives a clear and concise explanation of the false world-views which form the stock in trade of the atheist and modern unbeliever. The fundamental errors of the agnostic, pantheistic and materialistic schools are here pointed out and shattered by the logic of common sense.

After a contemplation of the earth in its genesis and present state of development, there follows a brief description of the volume, distance, number and velocity of many stars, planets and other celestial phenomena. The mental vision of the reader is focused on the material universe as a unit that may be compared with a skillfully constructed machine moving with accuracy and precision; or, again, as an immense musical instrument, attuned by the Almighty, the sweet and harmonious strains of which may be enjoyed by all who hearken to Reason and Revelation.

From the symmetry, harmony and awe-inspiring proportions of the mighty worlds and solar systems profusely scattered in space immeasurable, the author concludes that He, Who constructed "Our Palace Wonderful," can be none other than the Infinite God, "the Alpha and Omega," "the Beginning and the End of all things." That there exists a beautiful harmony between Science and Revelation is emphasized throughout the entire book, which is copiously illustrated by appropriate engravings.

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THE MAKING OF WESTERN EUROPE. By C. R. L. Fletcher. Vol. I. (1912), pp. ix.-409; Vol. II. (1915), pp. viii.-485. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

The first volume of Mr. Fletcher's work appeared in 1912 and at once took rank as a most original and stimulating presentation of the fortunes of the "Children of the Roman Empire" during the seven hundred years of change and strife known as the "Dark

Ages" (300-1000). In this volume the author dealt with the break-up of the Roman Empire, the Barbarian migrations and invasions and the rising power of the Church; the growth of Islam and its effect on the Christian world; Charlemagne, the snapping of the bonds and the gradual formation of independent nations in Europe foreshadowing those of the present day.

The qualities that won for Mr. Fletcher's treatment of these topics the highest critical commendation are still more conspicuous in the second volume, which is now before us. We have not space to enter into any detailed consideration of the contents of this volume. It must suffice to say that it continues the story of the "Children of the Roman Empire" in Western Europe down to the eve of the Third Crusade, and thus bridges the gap between the gloomy close of the first millennium of the Christian era and the brilliant life of the thirteenth century which that Crusade ushered in. This period of the "First Renaissance," as the author styles it (1000-1190), is not an easy period of which to treat, for it includes the contest between the Papacy and the Empire, the Crusades, the expulsion of the Moslems from Spain and the upbuilding of France into a kingdom.

In attempting to trace the formation of the modern European nations through such a complicated epoch of their growth, the author undertook a task which demanded ability and discrimination. In performing he has displayed both. So far as we have been able to test the book, it is very well done and the best authorities have been used—only Mr. Fletcher seems inclined to rely too exclusively on the mediæval chronicles and to overlook other sources of equal importance. In these 400 pages he tells the old story of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in rather simpler form than usual and with a rare power of summary and suggestion. Doubtless many who enjoy his descriptions of the men and movements of the "First Renaissance" will not find it so easy to accept Mr. Fletcher's general attitude towards certain questions or to assent to some of his specific conclusions. But, then, the author puts forward no claim to say the last word upon any of the many topics he touches on. Moreover, he is never dull or pedantic. Taken as a whole, the present volume is a work of real value as an introduction to the study of

the "Making of Western Europe" during the period 1000-1190 A. D., and at the same time one of intense human interest. The book is provided with a good index and with several useful maps.

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ST. JULIANA FALCONIERI: A Saint of the Holy Eucharist. The Story of Her Life and Work, by *Marie Conroyville*, with a Foreword by Rev. Michael J. Phelan, S. J. 12mo, cloth, 61 pages; net, 30 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The story of this saint's life is told with the fascination of a romance: the purple robe of Poesy gracefully flung around what in less artistic hands would read as dry historical facts or details. The writer is master of an easy and graceful style and the rarest thoughts flow over every page in limpid transparency. Thus, while the critical taste is charmed and the intellect enriched, the spirit rises gladdened and refreshed by the aroma that exhales from the life of the Saint of the Holy Eucharist.

Most persons are familiar with the story of St. Juliana's miraculous Holy Communion on her deathbed, and many do not know anything more of her, but while that chapter of her life is most wonderful and is told by the present author, in a charming manner, it is the climax to her saintly life which must be read if its close is to be rightly understood.

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THE MASS: The Holy Sacrifice with the Priest at the Altar on Sundays, Holy Days and other days of Special Observance. 16mo. 25 cents, 50 cents and \$1. New York: Home Press, 331 Madison avenue.

Up to this the faithful have had no means of following, with the priest at the altar, all the prayers and ceremonies of the Mass.

Prayer books usually contain the Ordinary of the Mass, sometimes the Epistles and Gospels, but never the other parts.

Complete missals are too bulky, expensive and complicated for the millions who hear Mass on Sundays and holy days, and yet all authorities agree that the most beautiful, most suggestive, most profitable of all prayers for Mass are the prayers of the Missal. To bring these prayers to the people—to all the people, and not to a select few only—the Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., has compiled the present book.

It is all in English. It contains every Mass the faithful are obliged to attend, and others which they attend in large numbers—

Nuptial, Requiem, Month's Mind, Anniversary Masses; and prayers or services connected with the Mass—the Asperges, Blessing of Candles, Ashes, Palms, Benediction, Procession, Forty Hours Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, etc.

Explanation of the parts of the Mass, given as they occur, with directions for following the priest, are simple enough for all to follow.

The terminations of Collects, Secrets, Post-communions and the Introits are printed in full.

Besides being valuable as to contents, it is most attractive in form; small, compact, legible, neat, it is a book that can be easily carried in a man's pocket or a woman's bag, or that is an ornament to the hand.

Not the least remarkable feature of it is its cheapness. Although it contains nearly 500 pages, the price ranges from 25 cents to \$1.

LA PSYCHOLOGIE DE LA CONVERSION PAR TH. MAINAGE DE L'ODRE DES FRERES PRECHEURS. One volume in 16mo. (xii.-486 pages). Librairie Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris.

Brunetiere, we are told, proposed to write a psychology of conversion in order to establish that "truth does not draw to itself every reason from the same viewpoint nor religion touch every heart in the same way." This would have been to regard conversion under an interesting but restrained aspect. Father Mainage takes the subject in its entirety and treats it thoroughly. How shall souls indifferent or hostile to Catholicism become convinced of the truth of a religion of which they are ignorant or which they have even combated? This is the problem. To solve it the author regards conversion from the standpoint of all the psychological causes capable of human explanation—the inquiry of the reason, the effort of the will, the affections of the heart, social influence, the subconscious. He shows that to none of these factors can credit be given for that which forces our inquirers to seek the threshold of the Church. He adds to them a force from above which exerts itself on the intelligence and the will of the convert without violating either the one or the other. This force is that of the greatest of Jesus Christ, the invisible educator.

Such is, in a few words, the body of the book. In order to clothe it Father Mainage adds largely from autobiographic accounts of those converted by him; he utilizes equally the best work of contemporary psychology. His work, the offspring of extensive reading and careful reflection, gives to apologetics an absolutely new chapter. The priest so often called to guide in the way of truth souls who

come or return to God, it offers suggestive views capable of helping their delicate task. But at the present time—in short, where so many among us are thinking of the eternal destiny of their dear departed—this study of Father Mainage brings back most opportunely the wonders of the Divine Grace.

**WAPELHORST'S COMPENDIUM SACRAE LITURGIAE.** Revised according to the latest Roman Decrees. 8vo., cloth, net, \$2.50. (Postage extra.) New York: Benziger Brothers.

As a text-book of Sacred Liturgy, Wapelhorst's Compendium has not been excelled. It has all the excellences of a model text-book. It does not claim to be exhaustive nor comprehensive nor complete, but it embodies all the elements that a student of Sacred Liturgy should become acquainted with. The style is simple, clear and concise. The division and arrangement of the book show that the author's aim was brevity and clearness. This new edition has been thoroughly revised to date—an important feature of liturgical works. It is in the true sense a handbook, and in most cases will answer all questions of liturgy that come up in practice.

**THE LITTLE MANUAL OF ST. RITA.** By *Rev. Thomas S. McGrath*. 16mo. 50 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

St. Rita, especially of late, has come into the confidence of the faithful. The world over this sweet saint is besought as the Achiever of the Impossible. Father McGrath has gathered together all the prayers and devotions composed in her honor and prefaced them with a most interesting account of St. Rita's life as girl, wife, mother, widow and nun.

**THE SERVICE OF THE SACRED HEART.** Commentary and Meditations by *Rev. Joseph McDonnell, S. J.* 18mo., cloth; net, 35 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The object of the meditations and instructions in this book is to set before the clients of the Sacred Heart a most beautiful, most logical and most touching method of paying to that Heart of Love a homage and the loving service of our own poor hearts.

**FRIENDS AND APOSTLES OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.** Fourth to Nineteenth Century. With their Prayers and Other Devotions. By *P. F. Chandlery, S. J.* 257 pages, 18mo., cloth; net, 75 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers

The reader will find here many golden words which will supply him with abundance of holy thoughts in his visits to the Blessed Sacrament and to the altar of the Sacred Heart.



# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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VOL. XL.—OCTOBER, 1915—No. 160

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## THE NEW SPIRIT IN IRELAND.

IT IS very remarkable how, from time to time, public opinion undergoes a radical change, altering completely the outlook; how minds, obeying, as it were, a hidden impulse, change their orientation and regard with approval what they had hitherto viewed with disfavor. There is, of course, no effect without an antecedent cause. The root-cause of this altered mentality may not be apparent, but it is there. It is like the seed hidden in the obscurity of the earth slowly germinating, until, in the fullness of time, it produces a plant that clothes itself with leaves and puts forth seeds that later expand into blossoms.

Public opinion in Ireland on the centuries-old question of nationality has experienced such a change. They call it "the new spirit;" but in reality it is an old spirit revived; a linking up of the present with the past; men of diverse creeds and parties recognizing that, as they have common interests, they should have a common bond of union. It is the irrepressible national idea reasserting itself and forcing conviction upon all but the most obtuse that no class can stand apart from the others in frigid isolation without self-effacement; that the time has come for union among all creeds and classes; that as government by party has admittedly broken down in England, party divisions should cease in Ireland, or, however people may differ on details, that public opinion and public action should be reorganized upon national lines. It is what is tersely summed up in the familiar phrase "Ireland a Nation," the great rallying cry of the Nationalists.

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The most recent and noteworthy manifestation of this new spirit, which is effecting a *rapprochement* between classes and creeds hitherto divided, was an utterance of the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, a dignitary of his Church well known for his fine culture. Addressing his clergy at a synod in Kilkenny as Titular Bishop of Ossory, he said: "Democracy was on its trial. It was for us and our like to determine how it would answer the test. Perhaps after the war the test by which our democracy would be tried would be one which would demand even greater qualities than those which were called for now. No man could foresee what the political condition of Ireland would be after the war was over. No reasonable man supposed that it would be unaffected by the war. Indeed, how could it be so? The best blood of Ireland, North and South, had been poured out freely in the common cause of King and country and freedom. Northern regiments and Irish Guards, the Dublins and the Munsters and the Inniskillings, have died in the same trenches for us and for each other. The same grass grew over their graves in far-off fields. We made no distinction between them, Unionists and Nationalists, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians and Churchmen, when we spoke with pride through our tears of their brave deeds, of what our children's children should tell their children in the days to come. Here in Kilkenny," he continued, "we know we have come closer to each other in a common sorrow. We rejoice that Captain Smithwick has been restored to his friends. I am sure that our Roman Catholic neighbors grieve in like sincerity for the sorrows that have come to some in this synod. We Irish Church clergy do not forget that the first Irish chaplain to be killed in the war was the Roman Catholic chaplain of the Dublin Fusiliers, who went to his death like the brave man he was, because he would not be separated in action from those to whom he was sent to minister. Nay, we shall never forget these things. The memory of these things must and ought to soften the bitterness of political antagonism by and bye." He did not mean that on one side or the other we should abandon old convictions or yield weakly to what our better judgment refused to approve, but—and it was best to speak plainly—it had become to him unthinkable that Irishmen should draw the sword against Irishmen, because of political differences, when the war was over. We should contend by all lawful means for what we believed to be politically wise, but he prayed that we might never settle our differences by the arbitrament of war. It would not be easy to compare those differences; it would demand patience and large-heartedness and freedom from prejudice and the abandonment of old party shibboleths. The success with which that would be accomplished would

be the test, the hard test, of the democracy of the future. He hoped that they would hear no more of Irishmen arming against Irishmen. We were proud of our Irish soldiers who fought shoulder to shoulder on behalf of us all. God forbid that any should encourage them to fight with each other. "Much that I have tried to say to you," he concluded, "was said nearly 200 years ago very shortly by the greatest man who ever went to school at Kilkenny College—the greatest Christian philosopher, as I think, who wrote in the English language. This was Bishop Berkeley's counsel to Ireland: 'Candid, generous men who are true lovers of their country can never be enemies to one-half of their countrymen. or carry their resentments so far as to win the public for the sake of a party.' His words are timely to-day."

This pronouncement by Dr. Bernard is a distinct and unequivocal repudiation of Carsonism by a Protestant leader of thought, high-placed in the same Church to which the ex-Attorney General for England belongs. His election by the Bench of Bishops to the Archbishopric of Dublin, which soon followed its utterance, is generally regarded as an indorsement of the policy of conciliation enunciated.

A no less significant pronouncement by another prominent Protestant was a letter by Professor W. F. French, of Trinity College. After recalling the attitude he and Mr. James Walker took up during the controversy on the coronation oath at the accession of Edward VII., suggesting the organization of Irish Protestant opinion in favor of its abolition or alteration, which resulted in the collection of thousands of signatures in the space of a week, he goes on to argue: "Now it appears to me that there is good reason for recalling that incident. . . . At the present time, as every one knows, there is a grave political problem to be faced by us sooner or later in connection with the proposed changes in the government of this country. It is natural that much strong language should have been used on behalf of Protestants and Conservatives in Ireland; yet it is worth inquiring whether the views of a majority of educated men among us are not represented by admirable words such as those of the Bishop of Ossory in his address to the Ossory Diocesan Synod. If our differences are to be composed, if a satisfactory solution of our domestic problem is to be found, it will have to be found in Ireland, as Sir Horace Plunkett has said, and not at Westminster. But when is any attempt to be made to find a solution? It is universally assumed that no move is to be made until after the end of the war, and indeed it may be most desirable that it should be possible to postpone it until then, but, unfortunately, that will most probably be too late. . . . Those

Protestants and Conservatives who desire an Irish reconciliation ought to be drawing together now. It may be that much of the nation's future depends upon their doing."

It is refreshing and hope-inspiring to read these expressions of opinion after the hysterical appeals to passion and prejudice made before the war by Carson and the Covenanters in the North. The war, like a thunderstorm, has cleared the atmosphere. Although it is the all-absorbing topic of the hour, in the background of men's minds other thoughts have been silently influencing opinion, and saner views are at least beginning to prevail.

Sir Edward Carson, the Unionist member for Dublin University, would fain have had the world—at least the world of Great Britain—believe that Ireland is still irreconcilably divided into two hostile camps; that a line of demarcation is sharply drawn between North and South, which the hand of time has not obliterated; that Ulster, which the British electorate are told is Protestant to the core—although Catholics numerically predominate in many of the northern counties—recoiled from the prospect of being ruled by an Irish Parliament in which Catholics would have the power to enact laws, and was ready at a given signal from him to plunge into civil war to prevent Home Rule becoming an accomplished fact. Not endowed with the saving grace of humor, he failed to see anything ludicrous in the Quixotic phantasy of Ulster Orangemen, in virtue of an act of the Imperial Parliament which has received the royal assent, should assemble in the Irish metropolis to discuss such prosaic subjects as the drainage of the upper reaches of the Shannon, the reclamation of waste lands, reafforestation, the improvement of ports and harbors, providing better and cheaper facilities for the transit of Irish produce to markets, the development of Ireland's industrial resources and similar questions which appeal not to religious or racial differences, but to level-headed men who have the interests of the country at heart. Carson will find, if he has not already found, that the national idea—the *idée germe* which has shaped and is still shaping the destinies of all the smaller nations of Europe—is too strong for him; is too deep rooted in the hearts and minds of peoples who are struggling for freedom and expansion and self-expression to be easily uprooted. It was this idea which was Kossuth's and Déak's strong leverage in wresting from Austria the recognition of Hungary's right to existence as a semi-independent, autonomous State, to that extent that the Hapsburg monarch cannot perform a single sovereign act in that country until he is crowned King of Hungary in Budapest. It is this idea which has liberated Greece and the Balkan States from the hated Turkish dominion; which is helping to bring about the ex-

tion of the Ottoman Empire and the resuscitation of Poland. The history of Ireland—not to look farther afield—ought to convince him of its indestructibility and vitality as an energizing force. Irishmen of his own creed bear witness to it. To select one out of many, and that a representative Ulster man, in the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, we have a notable instance of the unifying influence of the national idea. He was born and bred in that very city of Belfast which lately echoed to the tread, the marching and counter-marching of the Ulster Volunteers and Carson's inflammatory speeches. But—*impar congressus Achilli!* What a difference between the two men and the ideas they represent!

"If ever there was one who was an Irishman to his very heart's core," said the late Lord Plunkett, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, "it was Samuel Ferguson. His was a pure, single-minded, disinterested form of patriotism. He embraced within it a love for all his fellow-countrymen, to whatever class or creed they might belong; and, keeping apart from political bitterness, the one thing he longed for was the prosperity and peace of his native land."

Born in March 10, 1810, he traced his descent from the Fergusons of Thrushfield, an offshoot of one of the oldest of the Highland clans, Mhic Fhearghuis of Athole, who migrated from Scotland in the seventeenth century and settled in Donegal circa 1605. Like John Mitchell, another Ulsterman, he came of that sturdy, hard-headed, enterprising Scotch-Irish stock who have left the impress of their strong character on the mixed race, a blend of two Celtic nationalities who inhabit Northeastern Ulster—brainy, brawny and full of backbone, both morally and physically. Though he lived most of his seventy-six years in Dublin, the North never lost its hold upon his mind or heart. Educated partly in Belfast and in Trinity College, where he never graduated, and held no academical rank until Dublin University made him an honorary LL. D. in 1865, he was called to the Irish Bar in 1838, took silk—that is, became a 2 C—in 1859, and retired from the practice of the law in 1867, when he was appointed the first Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland. The Scotch Society of Antiquaries elected him a member in 1874; in 1878 he received the honor of Knighthood, became president of the Royal Irish Academy in 1881, and died on August 9, 1886.

Poetry, inspired by patriotism, was the first emanation of his genius. He was only twenty-one when one of the most popular of his poems, "The Forging of the Anchor," appeared in "Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine" and caused Professor Wilson—the "Christopher North" of the "Noctes Ambrosianæ"—to predict that "the world will yet hear of the writer" and that "Maga will be proud

of introducing him to the world." As a national poet, as the author of "Lays of the Western Gael" and "Hibernian Nights," as an archæologist who made Irish antiquities his life study, as an historical investigator and archivist, the world has since heard a good deal about him. In these days, when the preservation and cultivation of the vernacular has led to the founding of the Gaelic League, of which Dr. Douglas Hyde is the *decus et tutamen*, it is interesting to note that he formed among his schoolfellows and youthful associates in Belfast a private class for the study of the Irish language. The early history of Ulster, an inspiring theme to any Irishman justly proud of the race to which he belongs, seized upon his imagination, and the "Return of Claneboy," a prose romance contributed to "Blackwood," and the "Adventures of Shane O'Neill," written before he had attained his twenty-fourth year, may be regarded as the first indication of his ambition to raise the native elements of Irish story to a dignified level; and that ambition was the keynote of almost all the literary work of his life. Two of his lyrics, "The Forester's Complaint" and "The Fairy Thorn," greatly impressed the late Lord O'Hagan. Of the former he says: "It has that indescribable charm of tenderness and delicacy—*molle atque facetum*—the charm not only of feeling, but of finish, which if we do not deceive ourselves, is found more amongst the poets of Ireland than elsewhere. Still more tender and pathetic is 'The Fairy Thorn.' The superstition on which it is founded is Ulster-Irish. It possesses no Gaelic coloring in the language, but yet how Celtic it is in its dreamy and mystic supernaturalism—a presence not of earth pervades and breathes from the sinking twilight."

Thomas O'Hagan, afterwards Baron O'Hagan, of Tullahogue, and first Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland since the Reformation, was one of his schoolmates in Belfast. The friendship between O'Hagan and Ferguson, begun in boyhood, remained unbroken all their lives. Both were devoted to their country and its literature, and, though they differed in creed and politics, they had so much in common that their friendship suffered no diminution. In the introduction to his translation of "Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy," apostrophizing the "fair hills of holy Ireland," he says: "Who is there who ventures to stand between us and your Catholic sons' good will? The only emulation between us shall be the honest endeavor of each to benefit and protect the common object of our affection, and, scorning the rancor of low rivalry that would contend with misrepresentation, destruction or suppression, we will be the first to tell the world what genius, what bravery, what loyalty, what pious love of country and kind have been vindicated to the 'mere Irish' by Mr. Hardiman in his collection and preservation

of their national songs. . . . We will not suffer two of the finest races in the world, the Catholic and Protestant, or the Milesian and the Anglo-Irish, to be duped into mutual hatred. . . . Let it first be our task to make the people of Ireland better acquainted with one another. . . . The Protestants of Ireland are wealthy and intelligent beyond most classes, of their numbers, in the world; but their wealth has hitherto been insecure, because their intelligence has not embraced a thorough knowledge of the genius and disposition of their Catholic fellow-citizens." And further on he adds: "What material for an almost perfect society does the national genius not represent? Instinctive piety, to lay the only sure foundation of human morals and immortal hopes; constitutional loyalty, to preserve the civil compact inviolate; legitimate affection, to insure public virtue and private happiness; endless humor, to quicken social intercourse, and last and save one attribute, indomitable love of country, to consolidate the whole."

In Petrie's study, at 21 Great Charles street, Mountjoy square, when that eminent antiquary, then engaged on the "Ordnance Survey Memoirs," was forming a school of archæology, from which emerged men whose subsequent works have done so much for the elucidation of the history, literature and language of ancient Ireland, he formed the acquaintance of O'Donovan, O'Curry and Clarence Mangan, and in the parlor days of the editor of the "Dublin University Magazine" (to which he contributed), of Stanford, Waller, Butt, the O'Sullivans and later on of Wilde. Petrie, a first-class judge, formed a high opinion of Ferguson's contributions to Irish archæology. "You are certainly destined to do great things for Ireland," he said, "and are worth a whole regiment of such fellows as Ledwich and Vallancey." Referring in the "University Magazine" of 1844 to the "Ordnance Survey" and the commission relating thereto, Ferguson says: "Is it not a delightful spectacle, now, perhaps, for the first time exhibited in Ireland, to see Irishmen of all parties and creeds, the most illustrious in rank and the most eminent in talents, combining zealously for an object of good to their common country? And may we not take it as an auspicious omen of the happiness and peace yet in store for us and which must follow us as an inevitable result of the continuance of a unity thus happily begun?"

John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry were the first Celtic scholars of the age. They and their collaborators investigated the existing remains on Irish soil of both pagan and Christian antiquity. The grand and comprehensive scheme of the "Ordnance Survey Memoirs," the first volume of which was published in 1839, was intended to comprise within its scope every county in Ireland.

"Irishmen of all sects and parties," says Stokes, "felt that in the completed work they would have for the first time the materials for a true history of their country." But these hopes were not fulfilled—the parsimony of the English Treasury officials blocked the way. It is to be hoped that at no distant date a Home Government will be enabled to resume and carry to completion this truly national work.\*

Ferguson, on the death of George Smith, the publisher of O'Donovan's monumental work, the "Annals of the Four Masters," wrote regretfully of the gradual disappearance of an illustrious band of men of mind who made the first half of the last century a memorable epoch in the later intellectual history of Ireland. He was the continuator of a tradition associating learning and culture with patriotism; and if the tradition has been interrupted, it was not his fault. In reviewing the "Four Masters," he pointed out to his countrymen how inferior they were in taste, erudition and, above all, in patriotic spirit to their predecessors, suggesting that had they been better Irishmen, the chasm between them and the people would not have been so great as it had become, nor would the landed gentry have fallen into their helpless and humiliating position, having lost touch with their fellow-countrymen and become powerless and isolated. "So long," he says, "as the populace are set against the gentry, and the gentry, attaching themselves to external associations, refuse to know their own country and its people, that state of things must continue; for no power of laws or government ever will or can make the people of Ireland other than Irish; and the more the minds of the upper classes are withdrawn and fixed on external attachments, the wider and deeper must be the chasm separating those who ought to be united, and the more deplorable and humiliating the weakness inseparable from that division. And, in returning to the position whence they ought never to have departed, our gentry have to make no retrograde movement in civilization. Their grandfathers, better Irishmen, were also better scholars and more polished men." One of the effects of the Act of Union and the extinction of the Irish Parliament by Pitt was to denationalize the Irish gentry. While patriotism was left to the masses and put under a ban, a premium was put upon Anglicism or the adoption of English habits of thought and action. As Moore poetically expressed it:

"Unprized are her sons, till they learn to betray;  
Undistinguished they live, if they shame not their sires;

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\*O'Donovan's letters on the subject, preserved in manuscript, are deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, where they may be consulted by those interested in Irish antiquities.



And the torch that should light them to dignity's way  
Must be caught from the pyre where their country expires."

The trend of the present national movement is to undo all that and to renationalize the Irish gentry—consolidating the classes and the masses into one compact people, interpenetrated with the same spirit, realizing that they have a common country and common interests to serve.

In some lines in imitation of the third Satire of Juvenal and entitled "Dublin"—the supposed utterance of an emigrant about to transfer himself from the Irish capital to San Francisco—he wrote in 1849:

"In Ireland now, would Irishmen advance,  
Who but your supple servile has a chance?  
And, in the struggle for the helot's goal,  
Your foremost runners still the servile rôle;  
For British patrons owe you nothing till  
You've made your Celtic selves contemptible;  
Then view your efforts with approving eyes  
When they, by contrast, adequately rise,  
And chiefly feel themselves exalted thus  
When most you make yourselves ridiculous.  
But thou, let not the uncounted treasures rolled  
In yellow sacraments' sands of gold  
Tempt thee, young Irishman, while health is spared  
And strength for earning honest sweat's reward,  
To rise, howe'er the eminence be prized,  
On helot arts, applauded and despised."

He was the antithesis of a West Britonized or Anglicized Irishman. He drew the line clearly and sharply between self-respecting constitutional loyalty and West Britonism—that policy of the mid-Victorian epoch which sought to reduce Ireland, like Scotland, to two letters of the alphabet. "Our last president," said Dr. Haughton in his address to the Royal Irish Academy in 1887, "was not—any more than I am myself—the mean hybrid for whom the title 'West Briton' has been coined. He was intensely Irish, and in his young days dangerously so:

"' . . . Si Pergama dextra  
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.'"

He saw in the impossibility—as others have done—of such methods and devoted his life to the effort to win for Ireland, if possible, both in literature and science, the first place. His ideas are perhaps best expressed in his own words:

“‘ . . . The man aspires  
To link his country with his country's past  
And live anew in knowledge of his sires;  
No roofless colonist of alien earth.  
Proud, but of patient lungs and pliant limb;  
A stranger in the land that gave him birth—  
The land a stranger to itself and him.’”

The “younger days” to which Dr. Haughton alluded were the days of the Repeal and Young Ireland movements, which appealed to all that was Irish in Samuel Ferguson, and that was the whole man. Of all those ardent spirits whom Thomas Davis, who in prose and poetry preached the gospel of nationalism, made proselytes of his propaganda, when “the young husbandman of Erin’s fruitful seed time” was sowing those principles of self-reliant patriotism which germinated in Irish minds and hearts, none drew closer to him in sentiment than his co-religionist and compatriot who voiced in verse the nation’s lamentation when the gifted author of “Fontenoy” and “The Sack of Baltimore” died—a poem Duffy said “the mose Celtic in structure and spirit of all the elegies laid on the tomb of Davis;” the last verse, he added, “sounded like a prophecy; it was at any rate a powerful incentive to take up our cause anew.” Ferguson appealed to the young Irishmen of his generation:

“Oh, brave young men, my love, my friends, my promise,  
’Tis on you my hopes are set,  
In manliness, in kindness, in virtue,  
To make Erin a nation yet;  
Self-respecting, self-relying, self-advancing,  
In union or in severance free and strong,  
And if God grant this, then, under God, to Thomas Davis  
Let the greater praise belong!”

In a character sketch of Davis in the “Dublin University Magazine” of February, 1847, he wrote: “The young mind of the country, starting as from a trance—or from that fabulous spell which our legends tell us keeps Finn’s mighty youths asleep under the green hills, waiting the advent of an Irish Arthur—came out from its forgotten recesses, strong and eager for any achievement to which he might decide to guide it. Song, the instinctive expression of generous emotion, gave the first indication of reviving power. He had sounded the intellectual *reveille* of a whole people, and, if they had slept long, they awoke refreshed.” Alluding to the frequent provocations to resentment which Ireland received from the insolence of writers in the London papers, the flippant

sneers of cockney witlings, he said: "We would beg leave to remind these gentlemen that every petulance which they indulge in against the Irish generally is resented by those on whose continual good temper and forbearance the maintenance of the integrity of the empire depends. For if the Conservative gentry of Ireland thought fit to invite their friends and tenants to meet them at a new Dunganannon, there is no power in Britain which could prevent the severance of the two islands. And there can be no more fatal delusion than to suppose that Irish gentlemen, because they do not profess the Roman Catholic religion, are insensible to contemptuous language against their country, or that they are disposed to rest satisfied under any social inferiority whatever to the rest of the Kingdom." And he concludes: "The great essential service which Mr. Davis personally effected among the better classes of his countrymen was the diffusion of amicable feelings among those who differed in politics and religion." Thus wrote one whom D'Arcy Magee called "the mighty master who voiced our grief o'er Davis lost," and who himself declared that there is "no other way we can better serve Ireland than by burying out of sight our old feuds and factions."

Ferguson saw that there was "a strong, manly intellect growing up in Ireland" and set himself to foster it. He was an implacable enemy of the centralizing policy and throughout his life strenuously opposed the schemes of "those projectors and centralizers who keep society in Ireland from consolidating into a settled strength and refinement." So when during Lord Clarendon's vice-royalty it was proposed to abolish the office of Lord Lieutenant—the symbol and recognition of Ireland's existence as a separate national entity—and to transfer the Irish law courts to Westminster, he raised his voice in opposition and in a vigorous speech at a rotunda meeting proposed the principal resolution which expressed the determination "by all constitutional methods to resist the further progress of centralization," declaring that "it costs the State more to repress the discontents caused by past metropolitan plunder of local institutions than would support all our civil authorities in dignity and peace." He was, it need hardly be said, opposed to absenteeism, deploring the spending in England by the self-exiled Irish, or rather Anglo-Irish, nobility and gentry wealth which "would be amply sufficient, if spent at home, to create as great inducements to the cultivation of all the higher arts of life in Dublin as now exist in most of the capital cities of Europe."

When Irishmen of all classes, creeds and politics assembled in Dublin in 1847 to consider what ought to be done in the emergency caused by the failure of the potato crop, there was a widespread

and well grounded conviction that Ireland would have weathered the crisis more successfully if it had been legislated for by a native Parliament. Ferguson fully shared this conviction, and with the courage and candor which always characterized him, boldly and manfully gave utterance to it. At the Protestant Repeal Association in May, 1848, he began his speech with these words: "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am a Protestant and an inhabitant of Dublin and I desire the restoration of a domestic Legislature." He went on to declare his belief that the foundation of the amelioration of Ireland must be looked for in it, pointing to the fact that prior to the union the country enjoyed a greater degree of material prosperity, and that society was much further advanced in the arts of life and of civilization than it has been since; that since the union it has retrograded both in the elements of that material prosperity which had resulted from the mass of the upper classes being averse to the great national question upon which the minds of the people were fixed. "We are not a colony of Great Britain," he declared in conclusion. "We are an ancient Kingdom, an aristocratic people, entitled to our nationality and resolved on having it."

Ferguson was the compeer and compatriot of many distinguished Irishmen who thought as he did. No doubt many of those whom he refers to as "the gentry" did so, too, but then, as later, they committed the socially suicidal blunder of never coming forward as a body or in any large numbers and identifying themselves with the people from whom they held aloof in haughty isolation, looking askance at or opposing the few who did. While his warmly patriotic feelings naturally drew him towards the '48 men, there was still a clear cut dividing line which he never overstepped. "Davis and Duffy, Mangan and McCarthy and later on Thomas D'Arcy Magee, the greatest poet of them all," he wrote, "burst into song, and, while I followed up the endeavor to elevate the romance of Irish history into the realm of legitimate history in the 'Hibernian Nights' Entertainment' in the 'University Magazine,' awoke the whole country to high and noble aspirations through their fine enthusiasm in the 'Spirit of the Nation.' I did not at that time sympathize in their political views, but applied myself steadily to the prosecution of my original design, to keep the Irish subject up to a higher standard and to discountenance that helotism which so often vulgarized the efforts of Irish writers. seeking to gain the ephemeral applause of the magazines and newspapers of the metropolis." He meant, of course, the English metropolis, that huge, overgrown city or agglomeration of townships which has absorbed or appropriated so much of the intellectual wealth of the Kingdom. His efforts were not in vain. "Your silent, inestimable services

to Ireland," wrote Judge O'Hagan, "will be remembered in the days of light and peace which, in spite of everything, I cannot but believe God has in store for us."

In 1846 Ferguson collected materials for a work on the Irish monk missionaries on the Continent, but did not utilize them. "It appears to me," wrote the Protestant Primate, Dr. Beresford, "that a stigma attaches to the literature of our country on account of our having neglected to bring forth to view in a complete form the missionary labors of the Irish Church on the Continent in the middle ages. It is a department of ecclesiastical history deeply interesting not only to us, but to those nations that benefited by the labor of the Irish Bishops and monasteries in former times. I am not aware of any work that gives a connected view of this portion of our history and that of Switzerland, France and Germany." The late learned Dr. Reeves, the great Irish scholar, has made a valuable contribution to the history of the lowly Celtic Church in his edition of "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba," which Montalembert made use of when writing his "Monks of the West," and Miss Margaret Stokes has treated the subject referred to by Dr. Beresford very sympathetically and interestingly in her "Six Months in the Appenines—A Pilgrimage in Search of the Vestiges of Irish Saints in Italy." It was perhaps the special interest which Ferguson took in the career of the founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio which prompted Miss Fitzsimon (O'Connel's eldest daughter) and Miss Mary O'Meara to attempt his conversion to Catholicism, in which, unfortunately, they were not successful. They are credited, however, with getting him to write a sketch of the once famous controversial discussion between Father Tom Maguire and Mr. Pope, a Protestant clergyman, under the title, "Father Tom and the Pope, or a Night at the Vatican." In his defense of Richard Dalton Williams, one of the "Nation" poets, indicted for felony as publisher of the "Tribune" newspaper, of which he was acquitted, he said: "I am not a member of that ancient and venerable Church within whose fold Mr. Williams seeks salvation and has found tranquillity and cheerfulness under afflictions, but I cannot withhold my sympathy and my respectful admiration from those services to religion and piety which Mr. Williams has rendered, both by his personal exertions in founding one of the most efficient of public charities—I mean the St. Vincent de Paul Society—and by his pen in embodying in pure and beautiful poetry the highest aspirations of faith and the noblest sentiments of patriotism." During an antiquarian tour in Brittany he was much and favorably impressed by the faith and fervor of the Catholic peasantry. Writing of the Irish monks, he says: "We must still remember that in

the midst of this heap of human frailty they brought us the pearl of God's word, and that, through God's grace, it is to them we chiefly owe the planting of Christianity among us. Certainly the diffusion of Christianity among us in their teaching was something marvelous and not to be accounted for by anything short of a universal spiritual contagion, accompanied on the part of its early preachers by an appreciation of character and a power of seizing on favorable and avoiding unfavorable circumstances only vouchsafed to men who are made special instruments of the great designs of God."

When he passed away his panegyric was spoken by many tongues, and the pens of writers of the highest distinction paid tribute to his worth and work. His great aim was, in conjunction with Whitley Stokes and other Irish scholars, to lay the foundations of a national Irish literature, of a great Irish School of Letters. "He lies," says Lady Ferguson, his biographer, "amid scenes endeared to him from childhood. He sleeps among kindred dust on an Irish green hillside."

Over the remains of his friend and contemporary, Thomas Davis, in Mount Jerome Cemetery, at Harold's Cross, on the southern outskirts of Dublin, rises a Celtic cross, symbol of a common Christianity and a common country, pointing to high thoughts and aspirations. Davis was, of all the '48 men, the greatest and most consistent advocate of the doctrine of nationality. It is his teaching, his spirit, his political principles which find expression in the present national movement. His ideals of nationality, as he defined it, was "such nationality as merits a good man's help and awakens a true man's ambition—such nationality as could stand against internal faction and foreign intrigue—such nationality as would make the Irish hearth happy and the Irish name illustrious. It must contain and represent all the races of Ireland. It must not be Celtic; it must not be Saxon; it must be Irish. The Brehon law and the maxims of Westminster—the cloudy and lightning genius of the Gael, the placid strength of the Sassanach, the marshaling insight of the Norman—a literature which shall exhibit in combination the passions and idioms of all, and which shall equally express our mind in its romantic, its religious, its forensic and its practical tendencies—finally, a native government which shall know and rule by the might and right of all, yet yield to the arrogance of none—these are the components of such a nationality." Further he says: "Rightly to conceive and passionately to pursue self-government are the real wants of Ireland. We want an educated and purposeful public opinion—educated, for knowledge is power—the power to be free." He strongly deprecated secret society methods.

"Open, honest combination—a resolve in the face of day and of our tyrants to regain our rights, are the safe, sure and only modes of winning liberty for Ireland." Ireland, by constitutional agitation, has won it—at least, for the present, as far as its enactment insures legislative freedom; and by its organized and armed volunteers proclaims its determination to retain at all costs what it shall have won when the Irish Parliament is reopened in Dublin. In acting thus it is acting in accordance with the teaching of Davis. "A national militia," he wrote, "is the constitutional right of Ireland, the proper trustee of peace and the warden of legal liberty. . . . Without it Irish rights depend on the honor or justice of England; and as Grattan said in College Green, the country that depends for its liberties on the honor of another, depends on its caprice, and that is the definition of slavery." He was no extremist or separatist as long as a *modus vivendi* was possible. "On an equality with England and out of the reach of her rapacity there is nothing in the privilege of the monarch to which Ireland could be averse. The respective advantages of each country would compel from them mutual respect, and the throne would ever be the honorable medium of adjusting international differences. What would lead to separation? Injustice, treachery, crime on either part!" Elsewhere he declared: "If separation do come, it will be from too long withholding a Federal Government or a repeal of the Union." Repeal is not what the Irish Party now seek, but a readjustment of the Union by the devolution of Irish domestic legislation to an Irish Parliament with an Irish Executive responsible to that Parliament; in other words, the setting up of constitutional in place of bureaucratic government. "Peace with England—alliance with England—to some extent, and under certain circumstances confederation with England," he admits, "but an Irish ambition—Irish hopes, strength, virtues and rewards for the Irish." He never ceased emphasizing the importance of self-reliance and of united action and the interdependence of all classes forming the community. Writing of Ireland, he says: "Her inhabitants are composed of Irish nobles, Irish gentry and the Irish people. Each has an interest in the independence of their country, each a share in her disgrace. Upon each, too, there devolves a separate duty in this crisis of her fate." Another crisis has now arisen, and whether it is to eventuate in weal or woe, in peaceful progress or civil disturbance, depends upon the descendants of the settler classes grasping the fact that all Ireland outside of them is absolutely united, and that, if they do not throw in their lot with the triumphant Nationalists, they will be reduced to a state of hopeless and helpless impotence for good or evil. To the North Davis specially appealed, as Duffy

did with some transient success. "The Orangemen of Ulster," wrote the former, "have two open tracks before them. The one is the broad way of honor, the other a thorny path leading to nothing. They have not the destiny of Ireland in their hands, for even if they go wrong, Ireland is still safe; but they can terminate her struggles; they can disperse her enemies; they can heal her feuds and pacify her troubles; they can leave prosperous independence to their country and a name holy to all generations of men." It is earnestly to be hoped that Northeast Ulster will at last follow the lead of Davis and Ferguson, pay heed to the wise counsels of Dr. Bernard, and, by adopting the new spirit, assist in the blending of orange and green until the "various tints" form that "one arch of peace" of which the Poet Moore speaks.

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## OUTLINES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

THE PART SUSTAINED BY THE SACRED HUMANITY IN THE MYSTICAL  
MARRIAGE OF THE SON OF GOD WITH A CHRISTIAN.

THE mystic may be considered under two diverse aspects—first, as a mere individual; secondly, as the member of a society. All we have said up to this refers to man considered as an individual. Now we cannot continue to view him only as such. We cannot go on looking solely at the relations of each of the Divine Persons with the mystic as an individual. The Christian is not isolated any more in his spiritual than in his physical life. He is a member of a society of which Jesus Christ is the head; he is one particular stone out of a structure of which Jesus Christ is the very foundation; he is a branch of a tree of which Jesus Christ is the stem. And through Jesus Christ, to Whom he is united, the Christian finds himself united also to all those who cling to Jesus Christ. “So we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.” (Rom. xii., 5.)

For not only has the Son of God assumed to Himself, when He came into our world, a human body, which is His own, and which, together with His human soul, constitutes the Sacred Humanity, but He is, moreover, assuming another body, a collective, a mystical one, of which all Christians are members; another body which clings to the physical body of Christ, which is made one with it, and thereby made one also with the Divine Person of the Son of God. In other words, the mystery of the Incarnation, after having taken place in the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, is, by the very virtue of the Flesh and Blood of Jesus, extended, in a way, to all Christians.

A Christian is, together with all his brethren, an offshoot of the Incarnation, a branch of the mighty tree which has sprung from the open side of Jesus, dead on the Cross; he is one of the multitudinous grains of wheat which owe their origin to the death and burial of the Saviour. “Amen I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground dieth, itself remaineth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.” (Jo. xii., 24-25.)

This important truth gives us a deeper insight into the mysteries of mystical life. The Bridegroom of the Christian soul, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter, is the Word of God, the Son of God, the second Person of the Blessed Trinity. Therefore, the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, as distinct from His Divine nature, is not the Bridegroom; nay, it is the very first bride which the Word of God espoused, and it is from this marriage of the Word of God

with the Sacred Humanity, which was consummated by the mystery of the Incarnation, that we are born. "*Ex Deo nati sunt*," says St. John i., 13.

This is to be understood not only of the redeemed, that is to say, of mere men, but as well of the blessed angels who needed no redemption, and also of the Queen of Angels and men, Holy Mary, who was to be the very Mother of Jesus according to the flesh, only after the course of many centuries, but who in the great plan of God, and by the foreseen merits of her Divine Son, was the true *primogenita*, the first fruit of the Divine Marriage. "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His ways. . . . I was set up from eternity. . . . Before the hills I was brought forth. . . ." (Prov. viii., 22-25.)

The Bull of Pius IX., proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, applies these words of Holy Writ to Mary, and asserts that not only was she redeemed "*excellentiore modo*" before the fall of Adam and Eve, but that she was conceived in the mind of God and born to an unapproachable height of sanctity before even the dawn of creation, before the creation and probation of the Nine Choirs of Angels.

We come here upon mysteries which baffle ordinary speech and the narrow concepts of the human mind as they transcend the common sequence of things purely natural. We must bear in mind that the great Operator of these mysteries is God, the absolute Lord of all, Who is infinitely above time, space and all conditions of created beings. From this transcendental point of view we shall have no difficulty in realizing that in the plan of God, though not in the order of execution: First, the Sacred Humanity is the first Bride of the Son of God; secondly, Holy Mary, the Virgin, the first fruit of the divine marriage, is the second bride of the Son of God; thirdly, only after Holy Mary, and in strict subordination both to the Sacred Humanity and to Mary, all the blessed angelic natures are also the brides of the Son of God; fourthly, finally, all the members of the human race, from Adam down to the last man that will be created, all men, as they come in their millions, generation after generation, may become brides of the Son of God; all are desired, nay, commanded, so to become.

The Christian, whatever his sex, becomes the Eve of this new Adam, who is the Son of God made man—first hewn out of His side when He was in the deep sleep of death on the Cross, the fruit of His merits, "flesh of His flesh and bone of His bone," presented to Him by His Father as a bride, for the love of whom He left His house of glory, and whom He will cherish with the most tender and delicate affection.

The case of the blessed angels is somewhat different from that of man, in that they needed no redemption. It is true that when St. John tells us that "*gratia . . . per Jesum Christum facta est*" (Jo. i., 17), we must understand that the whole order of grace, as well for angels as for men, is founded on Our Lord Jesus Christ, on His Sacred Humanity, on the anticipated merits at least of the Incarnation of the Son of God. The first grace of the angels, that of their creation in a supernatural state of knowledge and love of God, was absolutely gratuitous, as far as the angels themselves were concerned, but it was not quite so on the part of God, as the Giver of that grace. With God the first grace of the angels was paid for. By whom? By the Son of God. With what? With the anticipated merits of His Incarnation. With the same coin was also bought and paid for the grace of final perseverance for all the angels, so that they could all have attained to glory if they had wanted to. At this point they were called upon, each one individually, to do their own part in accepting the grace that was offered them and in coöperating with it. It was left with them to do this or not; they were free, so as to have the merit or the full responsibility of their own act, with all its momentous consequences.

The greater part of the angels chose to adhere to God, to make themselves one with the Son of God, by getting hold of the supernatural merits of His Incarnation, and thereby deserving to become His wedded brides forever. The others freely chose to keep aloof from the loving advances of God. They refused the grace of final perseverance and even put off the first grace with which they had been invested. They were not pleased with the supernatural order as it was revealed to them. They were so much in love with their natural excellence and priority that they preferred to forego the supernatural gifts of grace and glory rather than lose their first rank and come only second to the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord and to His blessed Mother and some of the greatest saints. Thus, through pride, they became the first runaways from the love of God, banishing themselves from His kingdom and plunging headlong into eternal ruin.

Thus it appears that all those, as well among the angels as among men, who have ever been or ever will be raised to the supernatural state of grace or glory owe it to the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord. The blessed angels are not only the servants of the Incarnation, but its debtors as well; they owe it everything; they are linked to this mystery from the very beginning of their existence; nay, from all eternity, in the mind of God, they are involved in its scheme.

One more consequence, and a very remarkable one, is that as the blessed angels are united among themselves, and to the Son of God,

and to the Blessed Trinity, through the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, so also are we on earth already united to the blessed angels and made one Church with them through the same Sacred Humanity of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

St. Thomas assigns to the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord its proper place and function and dignity when he calls It "*Instrumentum conjunctum Divinitatis*," a thing which is not the principal, but subordinate to a higher thing; an instrument, merely an instrument, but such an instrument as has been made one with Him Who is using it; an instrument as personally united to the Son of God as my hand or my arm is united to the rest of my person, or as my body is united to my soul and its instrument for the purposes of physical life—an instrument which has the virtue of uniting together all the members of the mystical body of Christ, wherever they be and of whatsoever nature, and of uniting them to the Word of God and to the most Holy Trinity. Thus are we made partakers of the Divine Sonship and of the divine life either of grace here below or of glory in heaven.

Thus, therefore, there is a wonderful element intervening in the spiritual marriage of the intellectual creature with the Son of God—there is His Sacred Humanity. Whether angels or men, all have to be incorporated to Him. His flesh and His blood, which He took from the Blessed Virgin Mary's womb, together with His Human Soul—these are the "cords of Adam" with which, centuries before His advent on earth, He predicted that He would draw us and bind us to Himself. "*In tuniculis Adam traham eos, in vinculis charitatis*" (Osee. xi., 4). And the blessed angels as well as men are caught up in those created meshes of uncreated love.

The mystic revels in the contemplation of these mysteries. He is filled with unspeakable joy at seeing himself an integral part of that marvelous world of grace and glory, already in full communion with all its denizens, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory forever!

#### VERBUM CRUCIS.

Agnus in crucis levatur  
Immolandus stipite levatur  
Mite corpus perforatur,  
Sanguis, unda, profuit  
Terra, mundus, astra, pontus  
Quo lavantur flumine.

—Claudian Mamertus.

This most important section on the mystery of the Cross in relation to mystical life is, for clearness' sake, divided into three parts. In the first I strive to show the action of Jesus Crucified upon the world at large. In the second part I try to show the direct action of Jesus crucified upon each individual soul. In the third part I call

attention to some important conclusions which follow from this doctrine.

In the two preceding chapters we have been at pains to show that the special function assumed by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity towards the mystic is that of Bridegroom, and that He unites us to His Divinity through His Humanity. Now the last touch to this entrancing doctrine will be given when we are made to perceive that it is in His Passion and Death, and not otherwise, that Our Lord consummates such a union of ourselves with Him forever.

In other words, we have to realize that our Bridegroom is the Second Person of the most Holy Trinity, not simply as such, nor simply as Jesus, that is to say, as the Word made Flesh, but as Jesus crucified. Our Bridegroom is the Lamb of God that has been slain for our sins. He is eternally the Victim and the Priest of His own sacrifice, and He comes into our life for no other purpose than to make of each of us an oblation of sweet odor to the Father with Himself, and He makes of all the Christians together "a priestly race," of which He is the High Priest for evermore.

It has pleased God to build the whole structure of the supernatural order upon the mystery of the Cross, upon that "*Verbum crucis*" of which St. Paul, the great exponent of this doctrine, speaks in his first epistle to the Corinthians (ch. i., v. 18), just as it has pleased God to build the whole edifice of the natural order in direct reference to the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord. Starting from the lowest forms of created existence and life, each successive species or series of species in concentric circles is a distinct step towards the final realization of "The Son of Man." In just the same way Jesus crucified is the centre of absolutely all the works of God *ad extra*. The sacred Blood of Jesus tinges everything—men first, then the whole material universe, and even the angelic natures. Several remarkable passages of Holy Scripture will bear us out in this assertion.

In Ezechiel (chapter xlii.) we see the prophet, in a vision, led by an angel to the gate of the Temple of Jerusalem, "and behold, water issued out from under the threshold . . . coming down to the right side of the temple, to the south part of the altar," and (the angel) "measured a thousand cubits, and he brought me through the waters up to the ankles. And again he measured a thousand, and he brought me through the waters up to the knees. And he measured a thousand, and he brought me through the waters up to the loins. And he measured a thousand, and it was a torrent I could not pass over; for the waters were risen so as to make a deep torrent which could not be passed over. . . . And behold, on the

banks of the torrent were very many trees on both sides, and he said to me: 'These waters that issue forth towards the hillocks of sand and go down to the plains of the desert shall go into the sea and shall go out, and the waters shall be healed. And every living creature that creepeth whithersoever the torrent shall come shall live; and there shall be fishes in abundance, and they shall be healed, and all things shall live to which the torrent shall come. And the fishes shall stand over these waters. From Engaddi even to Engallim there shall be drying of nets. . . . But on the shore thereof and in the fenny places they shall not be healed, because they shall be turned into salt pits. And by the torrent on the banks thereof, on both sides shall grow all trees that bear fruit; their leaves shall not fall off and their fruit shall not fail; every month shall they bring forth first fruit, because the waters thereof shall be for food, and the leaves thereof for medicine.' " We know by the interpretation of Holy Church that the spiritual meaning of this prophecy is about the far reaching and all embracing effects of the death of Our Lord on the Cross. The temple is the Body of Christ stretched on the Cross—at once a Temple, an Altar and a Victim of sacrifice. The torrent represents the flood of grace that issued forth from the pierced side of Our Lord, together with the water and Blood, and which grows wider and deeper as century succeeds century. The sea is the broad expanse of all nature. The fishermen are the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The fishes and creeping things are the souls of the just and sinners that will be saved. Engaddi and Engallim represent the whole earth from sunrise to sunset, or again, the whole order of centuries to the very end of time. Those that are not healed, but turned into salt pits, barren of all vegetation and life, are the reprobates who would not avail themselves of this plentiful redemption. Finally, the trees, whose leaf shall not fall off and which every month yield choice fruit, are a symbol of the glory and bliss in store for us in heaven, thus showing that all the order of grace and glory is a direct, immediate outcome of the mystery of the Cross.

Striking as the above prophecy is, it is not more pregnant with meaning than the brief statement of Our Lord Himself: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to Myself" (John xii., 32). I will draw all things to Myself; that is, I will gather together and link to Myself on the Cross all the threads of past, present and future events. I will make of My immolation on the Cross the great central fact of all times, going far beyond the requirements of the mere redemption of fallen mankind, catching up in the mighty schemes the angels as well, not only the blessed ones, but also the fallen and the reprobate souls, reaching out even

from eternity unto eternity. Indeed, what other meaning are we to attribute to words like these of St. Paul: "It hath well pleased the Father . . . through Him . . . to reconcile all things unto Himself, making peace through the Blood of His Cross, both as to the things on earth and the things that are in heaven?" (Coloss. i., 20); or, again: "God, indeed, was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself" (Cor. v., 19). He does not say "the world of men" only, but simply the world, the whole world, the lower one as well as that of the angels, "of the things that are in heaven." Why did the world, the whole world, need to be reconciled? Because sin had made it hateful to God.

In the light of such passages, in their almost blinding refulgence, one may be justified in assuming that, had it not been for the fore-known atonement of the Son of God by His death on the Cross, God would not have created the world, with the perspective of sin as a corollary to the necessary gift of free will in the intellectual creature. God could not permit His work to be permanently marred by sin; rather than that He would never have made the world. But now, in the act of obedience of His divine Son unto death and unto the death of the Cross are atoned for superabundantly; first, the disobedience of the fallen angels and their perpetual state of rebellion, as well as that of the reprobate souls that were to come afterwards; then the original sin of Adam and Eve; finally, all the actual sins of men until the very end of the world. At the same time Our Lord unites to His supreme act of obedience by His death on the Cross all the virtuous acts of His elect, both men and angels, either in *via* or in *patria*, as well before as after the time of His earthly life, making them all a victim of sweet odor to God with Himself, or rather, as St. Paul would express it, "in Himself" forever. In such a way does Our Lord fulfill His own prophecy—"And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to Myself."

Not to swell this chapter to undue proportions, I must be content to refer the reader to the celebrated passage of St. Paul, Coloss. i., 12-20, and again, Philipp. xi., 5-11, and kindred passages, and signally to the whole epistle to the Hebrews, which all go to show that the mystery of the Cross reaches out infinitely beyond the mere redemption of men. I cannot, however, in that line of considerations refrain from quoting a page of the Apocalypse which is of surpassing beauty and of transparent significance. In chapter v. St. John is favored with a vision of God seated on His throne in heaven and holding in His right hand a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals, and an angel cries out with a loud voice: "Who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof?" And as no man was able to open the book, nor even to look on it,

John wept bitterly. Then one of the ancients said to him: "Weep not; behold the lion of the tribe of Juda; the root of David hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seven seals thereof." He proceeds then in these words: "And I saw, and behold in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the ancients, 'a lamb standing as it were slain,' and he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne; and when he had opened the book the four living creatures and the four and twenty ancients fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of the saints, and they sang a new canticle, saying: 'Thou art worthy, O Lord, to take the book and to open the seals thereof, because Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God in Thy blood out of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us to our God a kingdom and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.' And I beheld and I heard the voice of many angels, thousands of thousands, around the throne, saying with a loud voice: 'The Lamb that was slain is worthy to receive power, and divinity, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and benediction.' And every creature which is in heaven and on the earth and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, I heard all saying: 'To Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, benediction, and honor, and glory, and power forever and ever;' and the four living creatures said: 'Amen!' And the four and twenty ancients fell down on their faces and adored Him that liveth forever and ever."

It would, in my humble opinion, be difficult in a more emphatic way to give us to understand that all the mysteries of the works of God *ad extra* gravitate around the central one of the Cross, and that, though the occasion of it was merely the fall of mankind and its redemption, yet at the same time the death of the Lamb of God gives the last word and final reason of all the doings of God with men and angels and the material universe in time and throughout all eternity.

*Verbum crucis his qui salvi fiunt est virtus Dei.*

Two distinct actions of Our Lord are to be considered in the economy of Redemption:

First, the paying up by Our Lord, in the hands of God the Father, for all men *in globo*—nay, for all the world of angels and men, as well of the reprobate as of those that shall ever be saved. This we have seen in the preceding chapter.

Secondly, the personal application by Our Lord Himself of His plentiful Redemption, separately and individually, to each soul of good will in particular. It is this which we are now to consider.



How does Our Lord manage to come to each one of us individually, to act upon each one of us individually, to unite each one of us individually to Himself as the Lamb of God that was slain on the Cross? In other words, how are we made one with Jesus Crucified? How is such a thing made possible?

The difficulty lies in the fact that Our Lord Jesus Christ being Man. How can that Man, Jesus Christ, "homo Christus Jesus," Who is now in heaven, be able at the same time to act upon all men and upon every one of them individually, in a direct, personal, immediate manner? Furthermore, how can He place us in actual, lively contact with His sufferings and death on the Cross, which took place so many hundred years ago? Theologians answer that it is the hypostatic presence of the Godhead in the body and soul of Christ which elevates the powers of Christ's humanity, natural and supernatural, to the point of being able to act upon all men and upon every one of them individually, in a direct, personal, immediate manner. It is not a figure of rhetoric when we speak of our union with Christ, of a soul dwelling in His wounds. It is the enunciation of an actual fact.

But, it may be objected, Jesus is not suffering and dying at this present moment; how can we be united with Him Crucified? Is not this a sort of pious, hyperbolical expression? No, not in the least; it is the expression of as great a reality as any that can be thought of. Here again theologians come to our help and inform us that the divine personality of Our Lord lifts His Sacred Humanity out of the narrow limitations not only of space, but of time as well. Jesus, when He was dying on the Cross, because He is a Divine Person, to Whom there is no distinction of past, present and future, to Whom all is an eternal present, was able, even as Man, to seize and act upon everything and every one, distinctly, separately and for His own sake, either before or after the actual happening of His immolation, at any distance of time and in any number possible, because no created number of persons or things can exhaust the possibilities of a divine person. Thus it comes that every individual man can really, through faith and the sacraments, make himself in touch directly and personally with his Saviour dying on the Cross and receive straight from His wounded side the water and Blood of his redemption.

This doctrine of an actual, immediate contact with Jesus Crucified because Jesus is a Divine Person may well appear difficult to understand, subtle and metaphysical, for, truth to tell, so it is indeed. Not even all the genius of an Angelic Doctor could make it less difficult for the human mind to grasp. Few Christians could express it satisfactorily, but this notwithstanding, they all have a

sort of instinctive or intuitive perception of it. Not alone the great canonized saints or learned doctors of theology, but many an humble follower of Christ, in the most lowly walks and conditions of life, find it no difficulty to live and die with their Saviour Crucified, as though He were still on the Cross. The "*Christo confixus sum cruci*" of St. Paul has a startling reality and actualness as well for them. They are by their faith and through the efficacy of the sacraments made contemporaries of the Passion of Christ and actual sharers in it. These, one will perhaps say, are mystics. Very true; but then our contention is that every Christian is called upon to be a mystic, and finds precisely in the treasure of his faith and of the sacraments the means of being so.

Our Lord has found a way of bringing home to us this great truth of our union with Him crucified; I mean the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, with the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist, whereby he who so wills is made actually to eat the flesh of the Lamb of God Who was slain on the Cross and to drink the Blood of our Redemption. "The Lord Jesus, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread and, giving thanks, broke and said: 'Take ye and eat; this is My Body, which shall be delivered for you; this do for the commemoration of Me.' In like manner also the chalice, after He had supped, saying: 'This chalice is the New Testament in My Blood; this do ye, as often as you shall drink, for the commemoration of Me. For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the chalice, you shall show the death of the Lord until He come.' " (I. Cor. xi., 23-26.)

Now, is not this marvelous? There is made at Holy Communion a personal application of the Body of Christ crucified to the mouth of the individual communicant, even, we may say, as of the mother's breast to the mouth of her babe. Nay, this comparison of the mother with her infant does not go the whole way, for with us there takes place, moreover, a transfusion of the whole Body and Blood of the Lamb of God into the communicant through his open mouth, whilst the mother gives but a few drops of her milk. See there, Jesus coming to you and acting upon you as the Victim of the Sacrifice of the Cross. If you eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, you shall have life "in Him;" you will thus be in direct, immediate and lively contact with the mystery of your Redemption. He comes to you in Holy Communion both as Bridegroom and as Lamb of God to embrace your soul, and He wants you thus to welcome Him and embrace Him.

The royal prophet seems to have had a glimpse of these ineffable divine realities when in Psalm xi., 12, of the Hebrew text he thus speaks: "Kiss the son, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and you

perish from the right of way." He is there very much at once with Our Lord Himself, Who said: "Except that you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, you shall not have life in you."

Holy Eucharist is one of the seven sacraments and the greatest, since it is Our Lord's very Person; but it would be a mistake to think that the other sacraments in their manifold graces have any other object in view than that of making us one with Jesus crucified. Grace, under all its forms, has for its primary object to make the Christian conformable to Jesus crucified, and one with Him "that sharing in His death, he may be worthy to share also in His glory;" to make of him "a new creature" in Jesus crucified. Such is, as proclaimed emphatically by St. Paul, the primary object of all the economy of grace through the sacramental system. "Know you not," he says to the Romans, "that all we who are baptized in Christ Jesus are baptized in His death? Our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin may be destroyed" (Rom. vi., 3-6), and to the Ephesians: "Now, in Christ Jesus, you who sometimes were afar off are made nigh by the Blood of Christ." "He loved me," says again St. Paul, "and He gave Himself up for me," and every Christian can say the same with as much fullness and exclusiveness and actuality of meaning.

So true it is that through the sacraments the mystery of Jesus and Him crucified enters into the very making of the Christian and is the whole pervading element, as all the great doctors of the Middle Ages, St. Anselm, Hugo of St. Victor, the master of sentences; St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas and Dun Scotus, have been at pains to show very explicitly and luminously. And these were but the echoes of all the fathers of the Church who had gone before.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF THIS DOCTRINE.

Very important consequences follow from this doctrine. The history of the Church and the lives of the saints show that from time to time there have appeared chosen souls which have received from Our Lord a public mission of special atonement and of vivid representation of His Passion by miraculous infliction of sufferings and miraculous exterior phenomena, such as the sacred stigmas, wonderful sheddings of blood, etc. To such only does the narrow school of theologians of which we spoke in chapter i. of these "Outlines" reserve the name of mystics. Now it seems to me that in view of all that we have just stated these theologians appear to err grievously.

The true mystic life of the saints does not consist in these exterior phenomena, which may even not come from God, which are at

best but extraordinary manifestations of a life of union with Our Lord, lying deeper where the eye of man cannot pry. "All the glory of the daughter of the King is from within." Mystic life is precisely that hidden, deep, secret intercourse between the holy soul and her Beloved in the sanctuary of the soul, where the sacraments do their work, where there is no room for deception. Mystics are those who lead this interior life, whether they be favored or not with miraculous manifestations.

The contention of the narrow school of mystics is very mischievous. First, it has a tendency to make us lose sight of the fact that all Christians without exception, in all walks of life and in all situations and in all the details of their daily lives and sufferings, are expected to identify themselves with "Jesus and Him crucified," and that they are able to do so by faith and the use of their sacraments. Then it has also a tendency to persuade some silly persons that they are not in actual union with Jesus crucified unless they do something extraordinary or unless something miraculous happens to them, which persuasion, as will be readily understood, opens wide the door to all sorts of extravagant desires and spiritual delusions, as indeed it has come under my own personal notice more than once.

There is yet another consequence to draw from our doctrine of the "Verbum crucis." It is that, in his turn, the non-mystic, the tepid and negligent Christian, errs also grievously when he looks upon the death of Our Lord simply as an event which took place nineteen centuries ago and in which he had no part, except to be somehow benefited by it—a mighty event, to be sure, but still for all that nothing more than a fact of ancient history, with which his personal connection is very remote indeed.

In the eyes of the fervent Christian, on the contrary, in the eyes of the mystic, the death of Our Lord is a never ending reality and actuality—a sacrifice which began on Calvary, which has not ceased, but goes on through time and space, on earth on our altars and at the same time on the altar of heaven, gathering everything unto itself, and the mystic feels himself caught up in it and a part of it now and forever.

Again, for the non-mystic perpetual union in life and death with Jesus crucified is considered as a sort of luxury of the Christian life, a pious excess to which all are not called, whilst in the eyes of the mystic, union and identification with Jesus and Him crucified is simply the essential condition of being a Christian at all.

A last remark which may not fail to help us to realize the mighty scope of the "Verbum crucis" is this: The sinner himself, in the very act of sinning, falls (alas! that it be to his own misfortune)

under the spell of the mystery of the Cross as of an event actually taking place and in which he has a distinct personal, undeniable share: "Crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making Him a mockery" (Heb. vi., 6); "Therefore, whosoever shall eat this bread or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the Body and of the Blood of the Lord" (I. Cor. xi., 27); "A man making void the law of Moses dieth without any mercy under two or three witnesses; how much more do you see he deserveth worse punishments who hath trodden under foot the Son of God and hath esteemed the blood of the Testament unclean, by which He was sanctified?" (Heb. x., 28-29).

Let us conclude this very important chapter with the affirmation of St. Paul, "*Verbum crucis, his qui salvi fiunt est virtus Dei*;" *i. e.*, "Those who shall be saved, shall be saved through the virtue of God," which is hidden in the mystery of the Cross. In other words, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, our Heavenly Bridegroom, acts upon us for the ends of the mystical life, through His Sacred Humanity, immolated on the Cross, and He does it through the instrumentality of the sacraments. The virtue by which we are saved is that of the Son of God; the joint instrument (*instrumentum conjunctum*) through which we are saved is His Sacred Humanity; and He makes use also of separate instruments as the hand of the workman makes use of tools—these are the sacraments. And the result is the making of the mystic into the likeness of Jesus and of Him crucified, to Whom be glory and love forever more!

THAT THE HOLY GHOST IS THE "FIRST GIFT" OF GOD TO THE SOUL.

"*Si scires donum Dei*" (Jo.)—"If you only knew the gift of God."

In this chapter we proceed to state the distinctive part played by the Third Person in our mystical life. As a matter of fact, the Holy Ghost is the one of the three Divine Persons with whom we have most to do in our present condition.

From the moment of our baptism, provided we commit no mortal sin, the Holy Ghost is in us all the time, day and night, without so much as a single moment's interruption of His presence. He it is by Whose operation we are to be changed into a divine being, so that the whole secret of the spiritual life consists in allowing the Holy Ghost to do in us and with us what He will. He is, moreover, the Divine Person Whom we may and ought to enjoy most during our pilgrim state, whilst we enjoy the other two Persons only through Him.

God the Father, Who is the prime mover of our mystical life, as we have seen in chapter viii., acts upon us not directly and by Himself, but through His Divine Son, Whom He sent on earth for this

very purpose. In His turn, Our Lord, the Son of God made man, acts upon us in two ways—first, by Himself; secondly, by His Holy Spirit. He acts upon us directly by Himself, through the instrumentality of His Sacred Humanity, under the veil of the sacraments, as we have seen in the two preceding chapters, and He acts upon us also, and indeed much more indirectly, through His Holy Spirit. In fact, this is even the very first way, in order of time, in which God the Father and God the Son do act upon any one they want to draw to the divine union; they act upon him by the agency of the Holy Spirit; they first of all give him their Holy Spirit. This is what makes St. Thomas to say that the Holy Ghost is the first gift—"primum donum."

God has first loved us and then created us.

God has first loved the world and then He gave it His only Son.

God has first sent out His Holy Spirit upon the turbid elements of what was to be the world, and then He sent out His Word, His *Fiat*, to organize it into the beautiful Cosmos.

In the first explicit revelation of the Most Holy Trinity, when the Angel Gabriel announced unto Mary that she would be the Mother of the Redeemer, the Holy Ghost is first mentioned. His coming into Mary is the first divine fact, paving the way, so to say, to the coming of the Son of God. He was the first gift to Mary.

And so it is likewise not only in the mystery of the Incarnation proper, but as well also in the extension of the Incarnation; that is to say, in the mystery of the Church and in the mystery of the union with Christ of every individual soul.

The Holy Ghost is the first gift we receive, perfectly gratuitous, without any previous merit on our part—so really a gift that He is never to be recalled or taken away from us, but to be ours throughout all time and all eternity.

It is through His indwelling in us that we enter upon the supernatural life and that we will do the supernatural acts it calls for. "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit" (Gal. v., 25). We live in the Spirit when we are in the state of grace; we walk in the Spirit when attending to the demands of the Holy Ghost for the purposes of mystical life. It is through His operation that we are united to Jesus Christ in His mystical body of the Church. One is first baptized in water and the Holy Ghost, and then only is one admitted to the other sacraments, and especially to the partaking of the Flesh and Blood of the Saviour in Holy Communion.

In the fourth Book of Kings, chapter iv., we read of the great miracle of the oil wrought in favor of the poor widow of Sarepta. In the spiritual sense this was a prophecy of the coming of the Holy Ghost in our souls. The poor widow represents Holy Church

on earth, widowed of her husband, Our Lord. The vessels are our very bodies and souls; the oil is the pouring out of the Holy Ghost Himself, this "oil of gladness" which wells up from the very heart of God the Father and of God the Son, and wants to diffuse itself and fill our vessels to overflowing. Now this pouring out of the Holy Ghost in us, this extension of the great event of Pentecost, is not done with great noise as of a whirlwind and with visible tongues, as it were, of fire, but all silently, secretly and yet as powerfully and efficaciously, if only the Holy Ghost finds clean and empty vessels, quite free from self-love and the disorderly affections of creatures.

Then indeed will He fulfill His office of Paraclete or Consoler. The Holy Ghost is the very gladness of God, the very joy of God, the mutual, eternal, infinite love of God the Father and of God the Son. How could such a Person, such a Gift, such a Guest not bring gladness to the fervent soul who sets herself to enjoy Him? He teaches that soul "all things" she ought to care for—the ways of purity, simplicity, good will to all, solid and cheerful piety, the "beautiful ways of God." And He fills her with deep, secret consolations.

When you experience joy in your Christian life, in the full adhesion of your mind to the truths of faith and in their contemplation, in prayer and the receiving of the sacraments, in the practice of the Commandments and of the evangelical counsels according to your state in life, it is the gladness of the Holy Ghost making itself felt; the very essence of mystical life is being imparted to you. But if, on the contrary, the performance of your Christian or religious duties afford you no joy, if you have no relish in them, if you find them irksome and tedious, it is that the Holy Ghost has not found the vessel of your heart clean and empty and His sweetness cannot take effect in you until disorderly affections have been all thrown out and washed away from the heart.

Finally, let us consider for a moment the case of the Christian in mortal sin.

When, after the Holy Ghost has been given to a man, He ceases, on account of mortal sin, to be in that man, it is not that God has withdrawn His Gift—"the gifts of God are without repentance." What has happened is this: The man has made himself unfit for the further indwelling of the Holy Spirit. As when the light of day is streaming through the windows into a room and filling it with brightness and warmth, if you close all the shutters tightly there will be darkness in that room. Is it that the sun has withdrawn its rays? The sun has withdrawn nothing; its rays are still besieging this room and pressing their kindly light and warmth all around it. So true is this that as soon as the shutters will be thrown open

the light will flood the room again. So the Holy Ghost with the souls He is sent to illumine and to warm to all the purposes of the Christian life.

THAT THE HOLY GHOST IS THE SECRET DIRECTOR OF THE MYSTIC.

"*Si Spiritu vivimus, Spiritu et ambulemus.*" ("If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.")

The Holy Ghost, this first gift of God bestowed upon the Christian by the united action of God the Father and of God the Son at the moment of his baptism, constitutes the dowery of the soul, the dowery of our divine marriage with the Son of God.

A dowery assigned to a young maiden constitutes her fortune. It enriches her; it may serve to make her more desirable in marriage. It may serve also to set off her beauty, enabling her to deck herself with diamonds and precious pearls and stuffs of marvelous texture and costly materials; but for all that it remains a dead thing. Not so our dowery, the Holy Ghost. Indeed, It enriches us; indeed, It decks us with costly gifts and sets off the beauty of our soul, or rather gives it its beauty, for without Him we have none; but, moreover, It is alive, It is a Person, a divine Person; It acts; It acts divinely. It is God, the breath of God, the flame of the life of God, the substantial love of God, an infinite Person. Such is our dowery. We can well understand that it should make us instinct with divine life, breathing spiritually the fire of the love of God, crying out to the Father with the feelings of true children and yearning with unutterable groanings after our heavenly Bridegroom. The Holy Ghost sets the mystic all on fire with the love of God, makes him act in the way that will please God, prepares his body and soul for the chaste, fiery embrace of Jesus in Holy Communion, and prepares him from afar for the ardently longed-for consummation of his nuptials in the beatific vision.

All these things the Holy Ghost works out in us by the two operations of the Mystical Life, Divine Contemplation and Saintly Action, in the manner that we shall see later on, at great length (in the second and third parts of this work). Suffice it for the present to note that it is the Holy Ghost who operates in us sanctifying grace, and with it the infused virtues, both the theological and the moral ones; also actual graces; and finally that magnificent cluster of special graces which are called the Seven Gifts and the Twelve Fruits and the Beatitudes.

It is the Holy Ghost Who operates heroic virtue wherever it is found; the heroic constancy of the martyrs in the midst of the most appalling torments; the heroic self-inflicted expiations of penitents; the heroic abnegation of true Christians under all circumstances,



especially in the discharge of the varied duties of their state of life, whatever this happens to be, whether conjugal or celibate, in the cloister or out in the midst of the world.

The Holy Ghost is the secret Director of the mystic.

The whole art of the spiritual life consists in our attending to the Holy Ghost in us; in our making ourselves docile to His lights and responsive to His motions.

The spiritual father must, so to say, take his cue from the Holy Ghost in his direction of each individual soul. Priests and superiors of religious are not to direct those in their care arbitrarily or at random, or again by uniform inflexible rules, but according as they read the signs of the peculiar dealings of God with each one separately.

Hence it is unnecessary that he that wants to be directed properly should be very simple and open and sincere, and should give a candid account of his own interior lights and motions. Particularly is this the case where there is a special attraction. I call by this name a steady inspiration or motion of the Holy Ghost to some particular virtue or form of life, which it is therefore very important first to discern; secondly, to follow up faithfully.

We do not, as a rule, pay enough attention to the real presence of the Holy Ghost in us; to that Kingly, Divine Guest Who silently came to take His seat in our soul and anointed our very body as His temple, and Who will take in hand, if we only let Him, the government of our spiritual life.

If we only let Him. That is to say, if we do not take the government of ourselves out of His hands and give it to some of His rivals. What rivals? Any of these: First, our own personal, narrow, ungenerous spirit; then the spirit of the old Adam and corrupt nature in us; then the spirit of the world; finally, the evil spirits or fallen angels that tempt us. The proper discernment of these spirits and of their motions in the soul is a most important branch of the spiritual art.

How easy, then, ought to be mystical life when the very Operator of it is in us, at our beck and service, so to say, and is burning to work it out in us! The Holy Ghost at His very first coming into a soul by baptism infuses in it all virtues. It is a fact that all virtues are in every Christian in the state of grace. They are there, though perhaps unknown, uncared for, ineffectual, inoperative. They are in the infant child, dormant as the seed just dropped by the sower and covered under the sod. They are in the beginners only as germs which may or may not develop according to the nature of the soil and to the care which they will receive at the same time with the rain and the sunshine of the actual graces which God will

not fail to shower upon the soul. They are in the *Advanced*, as blooming flowers, giving out great delight to the beholder and sweet perfumes and good promise of a rich harvest. They are in the *Perfect*, as full and matured fruit, delightful to look at and sweet to the taste. All these virtues the same Spirit worketh out in us according as we let Him free to act.

The Holy Ghost, then, is God making Himself in the secret of the heart an object of ineffable enjoyment to the fervent soul. He is the hidden sweetness of all our supernatural life. He is the link which binds us to Jesus Christ, even as He is the bond of union between the Father and the Son. He is the substantial unction that consecrates us into children of God; the divine oil that insinuates itself into all the cogs and wheels of our supernatural being to make them work readily and smoothly. He is the well-spring of the eternal joy of God the Father and of God the Son poured out upon and into our very souls. He is the perfume of sweet odor which makes us to be verily an object of delight to the Most Holy Trinity.

In the tepid, negligent soul the Holy Ghost is treated with great indignity, even as a prisoner, not as an honored guest. He is fettered and gagged, with all the springs of His divine energies in the soul stopped up and obstructed.

#### THE CHURCH, THE ORGAN OF THE HOLY GHOST.

The Holy Ghost does not act on us for the ends of mystical life, only internally, by His intimate presence into the soul, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter, but He acts also upon the Christian man externally; that is, from the outside, by means of an instrument, which is the Church.

It must not be supposed when we say that the Holy Ghost is the secret Director of the mystic that we fall into that individualism in religion, which is the bane of Protestantism. Highly personal and strictly private and exclusive as are the mystic's relations with God in the secret of his heart, they cannot be said to savor of individualism, because they in no way withdraw him from his necessary relations with the whole mystical body of Christ, which is the Church; nay, they render him most submissive to her teaching and her government.

The mystic knows that the Church is the chosen organ of that same Holy Ghost Who secretly moves him and Who cannot fall into contradiction with Himself. He knows that if any interior inspiration of his were in contradiction to the teaching of the Church, such an inspiration would thereby stand convicted of coming not from the Holy Spirit, but from quite another sort of spirit. The Church is set up by Almighty God to act as a check and as a sort of con-

trolling authority upon the mystic. The true mystic's reliance upon interior experience is never such as to make him prefer his own judgment to that of the Church.

It is worthy of remark that the father and founder of the science of Mystical Theology, Dionysius, called the Areopagite, is not only the author of the first treatise on the matter, but also of the treatises "*De Cælesti Hierarchiâ*" and "*De Ecclesiastica Hierarchiâ*" (treatises small in bulk, weighty in matter), thus demonstrating that the more one is a mystic, so much the more also has one the perception of the golden links which bind us to the unseen world of grace and glory. He shows that through the grand Hierarch and Head of the Church, Christ, the mystic lives in a conscious, vital union with the whole Church of the past and of the present, visible and invisible, militant, suffering and triumphant, of men on earth, and of separate souls in purgatory and in heaven, and of the blessed angelical natures, and of the Three Divine Persons. Can a more opulent, magnificent life be dreamt of for a wayfarer?

Holy Church is the mistress of mystical life.

To her it is given to invite all men to it by the preaching of the Gospel and to initiate all men of good will to it by the administration of the sacraments. The mystic, wherever he finds himself in the world and upon whatever rung of the social ladder, is well cared and catered for by Holy Church. The whole hierarchy of the Church and her oral and written teaching and the treasure of her sacraments and sacramentals, with the Holy Sacrifice and the whole order of the liturgical service the year round, are for him. He has a father in the person of the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, and another father in the person of his Bishop, and yet another father, nearer to him, in the person of his parish priest, and he knows that all these diverse spiritual paternities merge themselves into the universal paternity of Jesus Christ, "Who," says Abbot Vonier, "is the true inwardness of the Church." ("*The Personality of Christ.*" Ch. xxxiii.)

In fulfillment of her office as mistress of the mystical life, the Church has promulgated from time to time, as occasion offered and as heresy compelled, a long series of illuminating condemnations of false propositions bearing on the subject of the mystical life, and she has put upon the index a host of dangerous works on the same subject from the pens of deluded souls.

At the same time as he sees in the Church the authorized organ of the Holy Ghost, the mystic sees also in her the fullness of Christ, the "Wife of the Lamb" in whom He takes His delights, in whom He still lives on earth, and continues His work of saving souls to the end of time—a revelation of Him, especially in the lives of her

saints and in her works of mercy, spiritual and temporal. To the mystic the Church is the City of God on earth and he the citizen; she is the kingdom of God on earth and he a loyal subject; she is the mystical body of which Christ is the head and he a living member of the same. The mystic is constantly receiving from the Church and also constantly giving to the Church, as the ripening bunch of grapes is constantly receiving of the vine and also adding to it.

The part which devolves upon the Church in the formation of the mystic is that of a true mother. The mystic is born of the marriage of the Son of God with Holy Church; he is the child of both parents. Could he ever forget that she is his mother and the Bride of Christ?

It is in this relation of our vital union with the mystical body of Christ, the Church and of the external action of the Holy Ghost upon us through the Church that we must view the part played by our guardian angel in our spiritual life.

Our guardian angel is the personal embodiment of the Providence of God upon us individually. He is the guardian both of our natural and of our supernatural life. To him it belongs, from the moment of our conception in the womb to our last breath upon earth, to foresee and turn aside the many dangers that invisibly beset us on all sides and which might prevent us from attaining the end of our creation. Theologians tell us that for this purpose God communicates to our guardian angel a large share of His own special love for us, together with a marvelous knowledge of the soul he has to guard and the power to influence it for good as no other spirit can, without, however, lessening either our own liberty or our responsibility. We shall never know till we are in the land of the spirits to what extent this action of our guardian angel upon us and upon the external world in our behalf stretches itself, or how many times his intervention will have saved us from material harm due to the relentless working of the laws of nature, so imperfectly known to us, or to the malice of the evil spirits.

This is but one side, the less lofty, of the guardian angel's ministration. He is, moreover, in a certain way a real partner in the great undertaking of our spiritual life. He is linked to his charge and his charge to him in a bond of spiritual relationship in such a way that after the present life they will stand to one another in heaven and throughout all eternity in a mutual relation of love quite apart. At present and for the purposes of mystical life this close and active relationship of ours with a particular member of the celestial hierarchy is intended by Almighty God to be productive of much good to us, provided only we keep quite awake to this marvelous supernatural fact, for then we shall not fail to turn often to

our guardian angel, doing him honor, calling him frequently to help us and being careful not to make opposition to him through ignorance, stupidity or tepidity.

What an entrancing thought, this, that one of the princes of heaven has charge of me; that he is my own, my very own guardian and brother, to whom I am expected to look up for help at any time and who forestalls my needs and employs himself in a thousand ways for my service. But that is not all. The very fact of this active relationship and ministration of a guardian angel to each one of us brings home to us in a vivid manner how closely related we are to the whole world of glory, to the Church Triumphant. And so it is that in Christ the mystic finds it no difficulty to fraternize with all the blessed angels and the dear saints who are already in heaven, giving them the meed of praise and admiration which is their due, asking the help of their intercession and animating himself by their example to a more fervent service of God, rejoicing over their triumph, their glory, their security, their bliss, in which he sees a sure token of what is soon to be his also.

Thus we see that in giving himself to the loving intercourse with God alone in the secret of his heart the mystic is far from isolating himself. He does not keep aloof from his brethren, either those on earth or those who are in glory; he does not claim an exemption from the control and action of the Church; on the contrary, he is all the more united to her and to his brethren that he is more closely united to God.

#### MAN HIMSELF THE REAL MASTER OF THE WORK.

The master of the work in mystical life is, strange though it may appear at first sight, not God, but man.

The person really at the head of it all, the one finally responsible, is each individual man.

True, nothing can be done without God. The raising of man above himself to a share of the divine nature cannot come but from God; and we have seen in the foregoing chapters how indeed each one of the three Divine Persons contributes to this work and employs Himself about it. But the fact is that God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost are in this work (I say it reverently) nothing more than co-workers with man. They start the work because it cannot be started by him, and then wait upon his good pleasure to press it forward and bring it to a finish, if he will but lend a hand and concur with them. The three Divine Persons are in collaboration with the Christian in the work of his making himself into a saint, but they leave to him, if not the principal, at least the decisive action, the casting vote, so to say.

If we were to view things with the eyes of a philosopher we could divide all beings roughly into two classes—first, on the one hand, this supernatural being, God, in the Trinity of His Persons and the fullness of His mysteries; secondly, on the other hand, the universality of things created, all and each in their own peculiar nature. But we are not only philosophers, we are, moreover, Christians, and we know that through grace the angel first and then man are lifted out of the low plane of nature and transferred into the sphere of the divine.

To say nothing more of the angel at present, man, natural man, is through the instrumentality of grace raised above himself and all earthly things and transformed into a being of quite another kind. He is transfigured into a divine being. He is made, in Jesus Christ, partaker of the divine nature. Body and soul, the whole man of him is mysteriously, mystically, united to the Sacred Humanity of Jesus, as the branch to the vine (Jo. xv.), and thus he receives the influx of the divine life in him. Thus is he made apt to be inhabited by the three Divine Persons, Who, as a matter of fact, come and dwell into him (Jo. xiv., 23). Then is he truly a new being, "nova creatura," very different from the purely natural man, incomparably more exalted, nobler, richer, for he is endowed with new faculties which make him capable of eliciting divine acts—the acts, namely, of faith, hope, charity and of the infused moral virtues.

Previously, or by virtue of his purely natural state, man was capable of holding his own place among the bodies of this visible universe, subject to the natural laws which rule among them. He was capable, moreover, of feeding and growing and multiplying in the same way as the rest of the vegetative kingdom, and also he was capable, in a higher degree of excellence than the beasts, of attending to the acts of relation with the exterior world by means of the senses and of the faculty of local motion. Finally, he was capable, by means of his natural intellect, of discovering the universal under the particular, of comparing ideas and of drawing conclusions, and by means of his free will of shaping his course of action as he pleased within the limits of the purely natural order of things in all the details of his private and of his domestic and of his social life. All this, but nothing more. Even the most noble among the natural faculties of man—I mean his intellect and his free will—though they place him at the head of the material universe of things, do not lift him up above the plane of nature.

But now, with grace intervening, the same man finds himself impregnated through and through with this marvelous new element, the divine life, and as a consequence he becomes capable of eliciting divine action. He is lifted above nature and made wholly

divine and transferred into the family of God, into the society of the Three Divine Persons. The very substance of his soul and even of his body, with their faculties high and low, are filled, invisibly to the eye of sense, with the glory of the divine Essence, informed by it, colored and made resplendent with it. Thus a colored glass in a cathedral window when a flood of light passes through it; thus a sponge in midocean filled with salt water; thus a roll of cotton-wool dipped in balm; thus a piece of iron in a blazing furnace; thus a light cloud in the splendor of the setting sun—even thus is natural man transfigured and transformed by the grace of God in a new being.

He is raised to the divine knowledge, to the divine sanctity and even, in part at least and alas! with frequent painful eclipses, to the divine joy. His mind is rendered capable of apprehending somehow the very mysteries of God and of giving his assent to them. He is informed by divine revelation of truths which no created intellect could ever reach by itself, God making Himself his witness. His will, strengthened by the virtue of the sacraments, is made capable of producing with a divine energy acts corresponding to the revelation made to his mind. It is rendered capable of approving and loving what has been revealed to us of the perfections and works and life of God and of adjusting his whole human life to these new data.

Thus the Christian knows what God is, namely, a trinity of Persons in the most absolute unity of essence and of substance; though he cannot wholly grasp this fundamental truth, he gives joyful assent and adores.

He knows what God wills, namely, his own sanctification and deification, and he wills it also and proceeds to do all the acts necessary to this end. He knows what God loves, namely, Himself and the works of His hands, each in its degree, and he loves also God with his whole heart and the things He has made under him and in their proper rank. Thus man's higher faculties, mind and will, are made to have the same object of their activities as God, namely, God Himself. Through grace God grants to man the power to see somehow by faith, and to will, and to love, and to share what makes the very life of God.

It is from the summit of these two higher faculties of man, his intelligence and his free will, that the grace of God enlightens his lower faculties, trains them, forces them to fall into line with the divine order, and makes them serve, each in its proper place, to the ends of supernatural life.

So we may say that grace consists in this: First, that God proposes Himself directly as the Object of our knowledge and love;

secondly, that He renders our mind and will capable of these supernatural acts; thirdly, that He actually inclines and solicits us to do these acts, and thus to attain this supernatural object, Himself, directly and without any go-between. Divine operations, these, not only on the part of God, but on the part of man as well—divine operations, since they have God directly for their object, with this difference, that in God they are subjective and immanent, whilst in man they are necessarily objective and transient, inasmuch as God is distinct from the essence of man and outside it.

God has come into that man in order to cause him not only *to be* divinely, but also to cause him *to act* divinely. God fills the Christian with His own divine substance and all His gifts in order that, under the divine impulse and motion, that man should of himself produce divine fruits, works of edification. Now, in proportion as a man lends himself to these divine operations in him and follows their motions, in the same proportion does he grow in divine life and does he become divinely fruitful; as, on the contrary, in proportion as he sometimes puts obstacles to the divine motions in him and refuses to obey them, in the same proportion does he make himself guilty or very imperfect, and will have to redress such a great wrong and to atone for it either in this life or hereafter in purgatory unless (which may God avert) he happens to be rejected altogether and condemned to hell for having made himself wholly unfit for the supernatural.

We see there man's doing man's work. He has always the last word in this matter of his sanctification. God has placed him in the hands of his own counsel—a rational being, with rights and duties and responsibilities that can never be shifted. Each man decides for himself whether he will or not accept the divine advances, the divine motions and directions, the divine supernatural help we call grace, and impregnate his whole life with it.

This casting vote remains with every man all through life, from the first moment of his adult conscious activity to his very last breath. He can at any time reconsider his verdict, shift his position, retrace his steps for good or for evil. He is *sui uris*, and God Himself will not tamper with his freedom or touch the spring of his self-determining will. Man is truly the master of the work; man is the maker of his own self for good or evil, for a fervent life or a tepid one, for mystic life or the very reverse, for eternal merit and glory, or for his own damnation. "Perditio tua ex ta Israel," says the prophet. It is for each man to will for himself, and every man does it.

The sooner we understand our exclusive partnership with God and our paramount personal responsibility in the affair of our own



sanctification the better. We have, perhaps, until now laid the blame of our not making much headway upon this person or that, or upon this or that other outward circumstance. We must cease to do so. We must lay the blame at our own door, take the full and exclusive responsibility of our life, such as it is.

#### A CREATURE IN THE MAKING.

During our pilgrimage on earth, in our present condition of trial under sin, the supernatural state is as yet attended with many infirmities. It does not receive its full development and perfection, still less its full manifestation. "It is true," says St. Paul, "we are already the children of God, but what we shall be like is not yet revealed." "Nunc filis Dei sumus, nundum apparuit quid erimus."

We have seen that, through the grace of baptism, we enter into the sphere of the supernatural, **into the family of God**, into the blessed society of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But the fullness of eternal life that is promised us will begin only after the General Resurrection "in regeneratione," when the Son of Man will take His seat on the throne of His Majesty to judge the living and the dead. This will be the grand birthday not only of the Bride of the Lamb, Holy Church, who then will have at last come to the fullness of her charms (Apoc. xxi.), but it will be the birthday, or we may say re-birthday; that is, the regeneration complete and final of every individual predestinate from among men.

Till then man remains in an unfinished state; but it is the swift little drama of our life which decides everything.

Till the day of the Last Judgment man is a future creature, a creature in the making, a beginning of what God intends to do with him. "Initium aliquod creaturæ ejus" (Jac. i., 28). Each man will be quite finished only after the Resurrection, when all angels and all men that shall ever be, being assembled together in one place, each man will receive at last in his body and soul, reunited together, the full meed of glory or shame due to him for his work whilst on earth. Then also will each angel and each man be assigned for all eternity his **definitive rank**, **either in the splendid hierarchy of perfect charity** or in the gloomy hierarchy of confirmed, unreclaimable malice and reprobation.

The purpose of the present life, it will be seen, is therefore to give each man time to turn himself, with the help of God, into that exquisite piece of workmanship, a saint, worthy of the ultimate glory of the heavenly Jerusalem.

Mystical life consists in the fact of a man working thus with God at his own making every day of his life.

What a glorious thing, then, is mystical life! The more so when we take into consideration what God wants to make man into, namely, into a being so like Himself, so near His own Divine Self, so united to His own divine goodness, that man may at last live in his body and soul the same divine life with Him, taste the same divine joy, take part in the same divine operations; in a word, really be one with God; and this not any more under the veil of faith and with many restraints, but in perfection of charity and fullness of the beatific vision.

We may go through the diverse degrees of life, beginning with the lowest, and at each we shall be obliged to say, "That is not good enough for man," until we come to the very life of God as it is lived in God. The life of a seed dropped in the ground and buried there until it becomes a blade of grass, or a flower, or a shrub, or a majestic tree—not good enough for man. The life of an insect, of a worm, of a butterfly, of a bee, or that of a bird, of a beast of the field or of the desert—not good enough for man. The conscious, intelligent, free life of a man as we may picture him to ourselves in a purely natural state, or of an angel as God could have created him in a purely natural state—not good enough for man as God wants him to become. The life of a Christian, with the light of faith and the consolation of charity, but (by supposition) without the hope, and eventually the actual granting of the beatific vision; or, again, the life of a blessed soul enjoying the bliss of heaven all by herself, I mean without the companionship of the body in which she lived and suffered and merited on earth—not yet good enough for man as God wants him. Finally, the life of a blessed one in soul and body after the Resurrection, but without link or reference (if it was possible to conceive it so) with all the rest of the inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem, and without the sharing in the accumulated bliss of all and imparting to them His own bliss—not good enough for man!

Nothing is good enough for this child of the loving God short of the immortal, eternal, divine life as it is lived in God with all His blessed ones around Him, short of the very joy that God finds in His own Self and in His saints. Each one of us is to be made, through charity, into a vessel of purest gold, into which the divine essence will be poured, and which it will fill, so to say, to the very brim. Nay, the golden vessel of man's soul and body, after the resurrection, is to be immerse and wholly swallowed up into the divine essence, so that it will be pressed by it on all sides, both from within and from without. Not an unconscious vessel, but an animated one, which will know and taste and enjoy the glory thus poured out into it and will actively and vitally unite itself to it,

even as on earth it actively and vitally made itself worthy of it by its own exertion. Then will the saint throb and palpitate with all the accumulated life of all the other saints as well as with the very life of God.

The purpose of the present life is to give us the time and the occasions of hammering ourselves into shape. No wonder that St. James should cry out to us: "My brethren, count it all joy when you shall fall into diverse trials, knowing that the trying of your faith worketh out patience, and patience hath a perfect work; that you may be perfect and entire, deficient in nothing" (Jas. i., 24). No wonder that the book of Ecclesiasticus should describe the saint "as a vessel of solid gold, adorned with all sorts of precious stones" (Ecc. 1., 10).

The great secret of mystical life is that a Christian should make himself very yielding to the soft and strong pressure of the grace of God within himself and thus enlarge his own capacity more and more, that he should try and become, under the mighty hands of God, ever more and more refined and delicately and elaborately chiseled and should adorn himself with the brightest pearls and most precious stones of virtues and good works. The mystic always bears in mind that the greater he shall have made his capacity, whilst on earth, of loving God, the more also he shall have adorned himself with merits and so much the more will he give glory to His beloved God throughout all eternity. Therefore is it that he sets no bounds to his ambition and will not consent to lose one single moment of the precious time of the present life.

#### ALONE WITH GOD ALONE.

If we were to try and make out the *personæ dramatis* of our own spiritual life from childhood up to whatever age we have attained in this little drama of which we are the centre and the hero, it would seem at first as though there were a very large number of persons concerned.

There are servants of God, some visible, as those around us living in the flesh—our parents, teachers, friends, superiors; others invisible, such as our guardian angel, and other pure spirits, and even the saints in heaven, whom at critical junctures we ask to intervene in our behalf, and, above all, God and our Lord Jesus Christ. And, on the other hand, there are also the archenemy, the devil, and we do not know how many of his satellites or slaves, some in the flesh, others invisible, because pure spirits, though fallen, all eager to tempt us away from the path of duty and to mould our soul, if we let them, to their own image and likeness.

I am the person around whom centre all these activities; I am

the stake for which all these adverse forces are contending. But as it is my privilege (so we have seen in the preceding chapter) to finally decide for myself, we are led to conclude when we look closely into the matter that in reality each man lives his own spiritual life alone with God alone.

Other men around us, and pure spirits, whether good or evil, and inferior creatures and inanimate nature—all these may bring to bear upon us their varied influences, and they do so, but they are outside us; they stop at the threshold of the soul, and it is left to each one to admit their influences or reject them, to turn their action upon him either to his spiritual advantage or the reverse and thereby to associate himself with God or to separate himself from him, for that is finally the upshot of it all.

Alone with God alone. Each man supremely solitary in the awful presence of God, whether that man adverts to it or not.

But how natural, in a way, and how easy does not mystical life appear in the light of this great primary fact. The mystic is he who takes heed of this wondrous state of affairs and for whom, most naturally, God is all in all. Mystic life is a sort of "Divina Comedia," in which all is performed by these two actors, God and the faithful, loving soul. God plays His part and the soul plays her part. God has engaged in this venture everything that is His, and the mystic, on the other hand, keeps nothing back of all that he may call his own. In this play the more one loses, the more one is the gainer. "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that shall lose his life for Me, shall find it" (Mat. x., 39).

To live alone with God alone, consciously and willingly, then, is the ideal. To live with God upon a footing of great intimacy is the very essence and perfection and consummation of mystical life. It is a sort of life, in turn, most delightful and then most painful, because at times God is pleased to make the loving soul to taste His infinite sweetness, and then again He scorches her with the flames of His own infinite sanctity; but such a pain is preferable to all the delights of the creatures.

Thus to live with God does not demand an effort of the imaginative faculty. Indeed, fancy has nothing to do in the matter. It is simply the sober perception of the grandest reality which could be thought of. God is always with us, though we, on our own part, are not always with Him. God is nearer to me than I am to myself; God is more within me than I am within myself, because God is within me with the fullness of His infinite essence, whilst I am within myself as a created finite being, held within narrow limits and moreover diminished by sin, a shadow, an evanescent being. Job says: "Remember that my life is but wind" (vii., 7),

and again: "Man born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries; who cometh forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state" (xiv., 1-2). But God wants me to unite my puny self to the fullness of His divine being; yes, consciously, joyfully, by a free choice constantly renewed, with intensity of love, to unite myself to Him. The more I do this, the more God repairs the crumbling fabric of my nature, building me up upon and into His own divine essence, building me up into a being wholly supernatural. And then to the natural presence of God in me is super-added His special presence of love, which constitutes me in the state of grace and to a degree more or less exalted.

It will be asked, Can one really sustain such a life of active relation with God constantly without interruption and not be consumed by the intensity of it?

Well, it is very true that the poor sheath of the body may be quickly burnt out by the flaming soul. This has happened to some—a glorious, quick consummation! Is not such a crowded short life of sanctity and consuming love, such as that of St. Stanislaus Kostka, for example, a thousand times better than a long, listless, colorless life of tepidity? "Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time" (Wis. iv., 13). But this is not always the case. There are special graces of strength and endurance meted out to both soul and body, according to the designs of Providence upon each one. St. Teresa lived sixty-seven years. St. Alphonsus Liguori died at the age of 91; St. Anthony, the founder of cenobitical life in the East, died at the age of 105, and St. Paul, the first hermit, at the age of 120.

Besides, it is not a question as yet, especially for all of us indiscriminately, so long as we are here below, of living quite the life of the seraphim in heaven. We walk by faith, in the infirmities of the flesh, surrounded by enemies which we have to fight and by fellow-creatures which we have to help, which means that without ever losing hold of God we have to do a good deal of active or even mayhap of apostolic life; now all this is a providential check and temperament upon the consuming intensity of the pure flame of divine love.

Moreover, to live with God is also to live in spirit with His servants, the blessed angels and the saints of paradise, actively to keep in touch with them by prayer and loving intercourse. "Our conversation is in heaven," says St. Paul. This also is a beautiful derivative which helps one to bear the awful weight of the felt presence of God. Then again, after having for the sake of the Beloved, renounced all things created, the mystic is led back by the Holy

Spirit in the very midst of them, to lay hold of all the creatures, animate and inanimate, of this visible universe, to make them come with himself and through himself into the divine encounter, and this is yet another solace to the intensity of pure thought and consuming love, because, in giving free play within healthy limits to the senses and the phantasy, it diverts the activities of the soul into different channels and thus prevents a sort of dangerous congestion in the higher part of our being.

We must also own that in our present condition, owing to the consequences of original sin, which have not all been abolished, there will always be a somewhat tardy and imperfect correspondence to the motions of God unto supernatural life. As long as this is not deliberate nor fully consented to, the loving God looks leniently upon our shortcomings and makes it His business to redress and correct them. "I am the vine," says the Lord, "you the branches. My Father is the husbandman. Every branch in Me that beareth not fruit, He will take away, and *every one that beareth fruit, He will purge it*, that it may bring forth more fruit" (Jo. xv.).

Here an important remark finds its place. To live alone with God alone means a good deal more than to practice the exercise of the presence of God so much recommended by modern writers of spirituality. To live with God implies a greater intimacy and familiarity. I was always struck, in the play of Shakespeare entitled "Henry VIII.," with the accusation of Catherine of Aragon against Cardinal Wolsey, that he would tell untruth even "in the presence," meaning the presence of the King seated on his throne. Nothing can convey a higher idea of the state and the ceremony which surrounded the person of the King and made him the image of God on earth and rendered the telling of an untruth in his presence, even apart of the moral turpitude of it, seem such an absolute irrelevancy. "In the presence" one ought to hold oneself in an attitude, both interior and exterior, of deepest respect ruled by convention and stately formality. But when one lives constantly with the King in the relation of father, or mother, or wife, or child, or of bosom friend, admitted to his privacy, there are times when ceremonies and etiquette are dispensed with, especially when not under the public eye. It is the time for unconventional intercourse full of sweetness and tenderness, imparting deep joy in one another. Now to live with God is to entertain such a sort of intercourse with Him. Except in the acts of the sacred liturgy, where everything is necessarily set down by rule and strict ceremonial, he who lives with God goes at all times to Him with perfect directness, simplicity and familiarity. Says Juliana of Norwich in her quaint but

expressive language: "God loves a silly soul to be full homely with Him."

It is an art to know how to live with God. One gets into it not all at once, but by little and little. One must learn and practice and be an apprentice before one can hope to become proficient in it. But when at last one has become a past master in it, oh! what joy! what security! And what heaps of eternal merits one piles up, the one upon the other—a multi-millionaire's fortune in heaven! And what enlargement of the heart and progress in sublimest charity, and at the same time what unshakable humility, what simplification of one's all life, what unification of one's whole being! "The one to the One," sang St. Francis of Assisi. "The one to the one!"—a beautiful and significant variation to our motto, "Alone with God alone." Instead of scattering all one's powers at the mercy of passing impressions, one holds them all together well in hand and all applied to the single purpose of the life with God.

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## AMERICAN MYTHOLOGY AS RELATED TO ASIATIC AND HEBREW TRADITION.

THE matter treated in the following pages will no doubt awaken criticism on the part of historical students; and by historical *students* we do not mean mere writers or compilers of books called histories—we mean serious, thoughtful men who have something more than feeling or bias upon which to *base* an opinion. In the present article we have no pet theories to defend; we are simply calling attention to facts, analogies, coincidences, if you like, and we leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The vast field of American mythology remains, for the most part, unexplored, and most of the writers who have sought to analyze it intelligently have done so without possessing within themselves as a basis some idea of a positive Christian faith. A more "scientific" basis will produce very unsatisfactory results, and the idea of "natural religion," in the sense in which this term is generally used, will prove of very little assistance.

We who believe the Bible to be true are delighted when we see its historical statements "verified" from time to time by the remarkable "finds" which "scientific" men are digging up in Egypt and elsewhere. In our article on the "Buried Cities of the East"<sup>1</sup> we showed that a number of cuneiform tablets found among the ruins of Babylon contained a very complete narrative of the Deluge, in wonderful harmony with the Bible account. We find among the Aztecs pictures representing the Ark, a man lying in it, symbolizing the family saved from the waters that submerged the earth, and the Dove, with the branch in its mouth. Another picture represents twelve men walking towards a Dove, from the mouth of which issued reeds, which in their mythology symbolized the "gift of tongues."<sup>2</sup>

The great Jesuit missionary and martyr, Father Brebeuf, thought he detected among the myths of the Huron tribes he visited, especially in that of Aataentric and Sousksha, some faint traces of the story of Adam and Eve, much distorted, it is true, and all but "faded from memory in the handing down through countless generations." He also found a trace of the story of Cain and Abel in the murder of Tauscaron by his brother Iouska.

As in the early chapters of the Bible we find men likened unto animals, so do we find these comparisons among the legends of peoples all over the world. Among the American tribes we cannot

<sup>1</sup> See article, "Buried Cities of the East," in AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW," April, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> See article, "Land of the Montezumas," October, 1913.



fail to notice that two subdivisions of the animal kingdom have attracted the attention of men by their unusual powers, and that they enter so frequently into the myths of every nation on the globe, that a correct appreciation of their symbolic value is a very necessary preliminary to the discussion of the various legends. We cannot enter into such a discussion here, and we must content ourselves with giving our attention to but a few points.

Prominent among the animals that figure in American mythology are the bird and the serpent, and we shall not go amiss if we look for the reasons of their preëminence in the facility with which their peculiarities offered sensuous images under which to convey the idea of divinity ever present in the soul of man, ever striving at articulate expression.

In the bird we find the marvelous power of *flight*; it floats in the atmosphere; it rides on the winds; it soars heavenwards to the abode of the gods; its plumage is tinted with the hues of the rainbow and the sunset; it was its song that gave man his first idea of music; it defies the clouds that impede man's advance, and flies proudly over mountain and snow while he plods wearily along.

In the mind of the aborigines there is no more enviable creature; he imagines the gods and angels as winged beings, and he looks forward to that day when he, too, after shaking off this mortal coil of clay will soar on pinions to the realms of bliss. The Esquimos hold that all living beings have the faculty of soul (*tarrak*), but that birds possess it in an especial manner.

In Indian mythology we find the bird a most important symbol. For the winds, the clouds, producing the thunder and the changes that take place in the ever changing panorama of the sky; the rain-bringers, lords of the seasons, and not that alone, but the primary types of the soul, the life, the breath of man and the world—these, in their rôle in mythology, are second to nothing. Therefore, as the symbol of these great powers, as messenger of the gods and as the embodiment of departed spirits, no one will be surprised if they find the bird-figure most prominent in the mythology of the red race.

It happens that even in our own day some particular species seems to have been chosen as most befitting these dignified attributes. No citizen of the United States will be apt to assert that their instinct led the indigenes of our country astray when they chose, with almost unanimous consent, the great American eagle as the bird beyond all others proper to typify the supreme control and the most admirable qualities. Its feathers composed the war flag of the Creeks and its images, carved in wood, or its stuffed skin, surmounted their council lodges (Bartram); none but an approved warrior

dared to wear it among the Cherokees (Timberlake), and the Dakotas allowed such an honor only to him who had first touched the corpse of the common foe (Father De Smet). The Natchez and Arkansas seem to have paid it religious honors (Sieur De Tonty Du Pratz), and very clearly it was not so much for ornament as for a mark of dignity and a recognized sign of worth that the plumes were so highly prized.

Let us now endeavor to trace the analogy of the rites and feasts of the American aborigines with those of the Hebrews, as described in the Sacred Scriptures.

Among the Blackfeet the feast of the sun has been observed from time immemorial, in compliance with the commands of their "hero," *Napi* or *Natus*, the Old Man. It must be remembered that, properly speaking, it is not the sun itself, but the "hero" that came down from the skies long ago, spent a number of years on earth under the name of *Napi*, wrought miracles, made laws and established a religion, which he gave to the Blackfeet. In a word, he proved himself their benefactor and father, and he is still regarded as the protector of the Sioux. His spouse is the moon (*Kokoye-Natus*), also known as the "Old Woman."

In obedience to the commands of their legislator, *Napi*, the Blackfeet observe an annual feast to the sun—at the time of the renewal of the August-September moon. This feast lasts for four days, and during this time the high priest receives the offerings of the Indians and presents them to the sun, or rather to *Natus*, who is supposed to reside in that planet. During this time, too, the more devout practice macerations and public penance very much after the fashion of those practiced by the fakirs of India, the fanatics of Benares and the Juggernaut.

Now this *Napi*, the Old Man of the Sun, who came down from the skies to become the deliverer, the benefactor and the lawgiver of the Sioux or Dakotas, and who later on returned to his celestial abode, is evidently the same hero who is honored by the Esquimos, *Dindjie*,<sup>3</sup> *Dénés* and *Algonquins*, as he claimed to have dwelt first in the sun, whence he descended to the earth to minister to their wants. If these four nations make him reside in the moon, they still admit the fact that after his return to heaven their great lawgiver went first to the sun and then took up his abode in the moon. Although while on earth he had reached the full age of manhood, the four above mentioned nations generally designate him as the

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<sup>3</sup> The *Dénés* (men or people), an aboriginal race of North America, also called *Athapascans*, and known among the earlier ethnologists as *Touné* or *Tonnach*. *Dindjie* (men) allied to the *Dénés*, also of the *Athabaska-Mackenzie* region.

*child*. So also do the Blackfeet call their sidereal hero *Natus*, a Latin word which signifies a *child*, yet in spite of this they represent him as a very old man (Napi).

The feast of the sun has been observed for all time by the Blackfeet, as commanded by their hero, Napi or Natus, just as the feast of the moon has been observed by the Déné-Dindjie by command of Sa-Weta.

The name *Sa-Weta* means an inhabitant of the sun as well as a dweller in the moon, as the word *Sa*, which means sun or fixed star, applies to the moon as well as to the sun. To distinguish them we must add *dzin-di-sa* (day sun) and *treve-di-sa* (night sun). So also among the Blackfeet the word *Natus* is used in reference to both sun and moon, and the moon, in the part of the feast devoted especially to it, represents the spouse of the day-star. The feast among the Blackfeet as well as among the Déné-Dindjie is observed at the time of the new moon, the months alone being different. The Déné-Dindjie hold their feast of "Passage" at the March-April period; in other words, at a time which corresponds with the feast celebrated by the Israelites at our Easter, with which the lunar feast of the Déné-Dindjies has the closest relation.

With the Sioux the feast of Natus, or the sun, is solemnized in the months of August-September, and this corresponds precisely with the Mosaic feast of Tabernacles, or Scenopagia, which is celebrated with an octave, just as among the Blackfeet it is celebrated for eight days. Four of these days are spent in purification and four in oblations and public rejoicings. From the beginning of the month the Sioux began gathering such provisions as are suitable for offerings at these sacred repasts. Every lunar month of August-September was dedicated by the Hebrews to the gathering of first fruits.

The Blackfeet prepared for this solemnity by four days of fasting and of purification by means of vapor baths, and they even went so far as bloody expiations. Among the Israelites the days preceding the feast of Tabernacles are days of fasting and penance, because it was at this time that the worship of the Golden Calf in the desert had occurred.

The Blackfeet, who as a rule live in tents or wigwams made of skins, built for their national feast a sort of pavilion of wickerwork and branches of trees. The Hebrews spent the feast of Tabernacles under habitations made of boughs and verdure.

The Blackfeet began their feast to the sounds of such musical instruments as were known to them. Among the Hebrews the second day of the August-September month was called *Ros-Ass-ana*, or the feast of the trumpets, because the beginning of the civil year

was celebrated with the sounds of these instruments. May we not trace from this the public fanfares that prevail to this day in many of our cities on New Year's eve?

The Temple of the Sun among the Blackfeet is surrounded by posts planted six feet apart and joined together by a sort of green hedge. It is surmounted by a sacred fagot, which is supposed to be ignited by the sun and to burn on the top of the pavilion. In this temple there is a second or private room called the Holy Land, the dwelling place of the lunar woman, or visible spouse of the deity who has gone up to the sky. There is also an altar covered with fragrant herbs; in the centre of this altar is the head of a bison painted in black and red, the colors of death and blood. Finally, there is kept alive in this temple a sacred fire tended by the spouse, the sun.

May not all this arrangement be regarded as a facile type, modified, of course, by time, of the tabernacle of the true God, surrounded by the "pillar of fire," in which there was also a sacred fire, the Holy of Holies, the altar of incense and the altar of the holocausts? In this Vestal, the spouse of Natus, may we not recognize the invisible woman so frequently mentioned in the traditions of the Déné-Dindjies—that pure, celestial woman whom their lawgiver never tired of lauding and in whom it would not be difficult to recognize the goddess concealed in the temple? In fact, this Vestal imparts her prophetic dreams to the high priest, and he tells them to the people, even as Moses revealed the oracles of God to the Hebrews as He manifested Himself to the prophet in the Tabernacles. And both of these receive his mysterious communications in an inner chamber, hidden from the vulgar gaze and which they called the Holy of Land, but which among the Hebrews was known as the Holy of Holies.

As soon as the feast of the sun begins, the Blackfeet give themselves up to transports of joy—to shouting, to dancing and feasting. We read of the same proceedings during the August-Septémber month, in the desert of Sin, when the Hebrews gave themselves up to the idolatrous worship of the Golden Calf (Exod. xxxii., 17), which may well be imagined to be symbolized here by the head of the bison on the altars used by the Blackfeet, as referred to above. Indeed, many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, among them St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome and others, have said that the idol known as the Golden Calf was nothing more than the head of Apis, or Serapis, and they based the opinion on the words of King David referring to the attitude of Moses towards this idol: "*Contribulasti capita dreconum in aquis.*" Now Serapis was none other than dead sun or infernal sun incarnate

with the ox, Apis. This accounts for the use of the bison's head among the Blackfeet in their worship of the sun and for their painting this head black and red, funeral colors.

Again, the Blackfeet follow their dances and shouts of joy by war songs and by the death-sleep and the war-sleep. So also do the Déné-Dindjie invest their feast of the moon with a funereal character. So, too, did the Hebrews during this same month lament the sudden destruction of the 23,000 worshipers of Apis cut down by the sword of the Levites, and they also mourned the death of Moses, their lawgiver and benefactor.

The Blackfeet, after hailing with shouts of gladness the orb of day as it appeared on the horizon, the abode of their benefactor and father, Napi, or Natus, also end their feast on the eighth day with the setting of the sun, to which they commit their griefs and their prayers. Here we have the oldest dogma of Oriental Sabianism. It was after this fashion that the Egyptians mourned the dead Osiris and that the Syrians deplored the death of Adonis. Under our boreal climate, at the winter solstice, when the day-star sinks below the horizon for a period more or less prolonged, the Déné-Dindjie consider the planet as dead and hence no longer mention its name, as they are wont to do regarding their deceased relatives. They no longer mention the sun save as *Eyl Dene* (that man), or as *Begare dzine misca illi* (he that makes the day short). But when the hours of twilight peculiar to the winter solstice are followed by days once more illumined by the orb restored to its former splendor, the Déné-Dindjie say that the orb is resurrected (*ti-Kron-Kode-dedjya*), and the old man adds, with a sigh: "*Meni-tchinke rana-zenzi*" ("Who will renew my youth like the sun's").

The dead Osiris was metamorphosed and incarnated into Apis, the white and black ox. Napi, or Natus, having returned to the sun, communicated with the Blackfeet by sending the Bison, their second Providence, even as Sa-Wota, whom, dying, incorporated himself into the muskox, the main sustenance of the Déné-Dindjie in times of famine.

We cannot help noticing that in the various theogonies of the red race, as well as in those of the ancient nations of the East, the sun and the moon are identified with the bovine species, which in time received the same idolatrous worship. And as the god, father, lawgiver and benefactor of these various American tribes—in whom we have not failed to recognize the Moses of the Hebrews—is by them identified either with the planets or with the different varieties of the bovine species, we may conclude, with no little presumption of birth and by analogy, that it was really Moses who in the old world was the prototype and the origin of the myth to which we

have just referred. In India this myth gave birth to Brahminism and Buddhism; in Thibet it became associated with Catholic ceremonies introduced either by the Christians of St. Thomas, by the Nestorians or by European missionaries who lived at the court of the Great Kahn or Great Mogul, and which brought forth Lamanism. In America it retained its most primitive form and followed more closely the principles and traditions of the Hebrews or Chaldeans.

By comparing the legends of the Chactas with those of the Guatemalans, we shall find much to indicate a common origin. A careful examination will bring out more and more glaringly the many points of similarity which connect these same legends with those of Oltsintredh, of Kolsidatreh and Etsiege. In all of these we cannot help recognizing the account of the wanderings of the Israelites from their exodus from Chaldea to their advent into the Land of Promise. If, as some writers maintain, among them the Count de Charancey, the primitive types preserved by the Floridian aborigines, "seem to be precisely those forgotten by the Tzendales," we may also assume that many of these features complement the account of the legends of the Déné-Dindjies and the Blackfeet. The tradition of the Creeks forms a natural hyphen between the traditions of the Indians of the North and those of the aborigines of the northern part of South America.

We shall find the same conditions prevailing among the Choc-taws along the Florida shores as among the Dénés and the Dindjies among the uncultivated plains that skirt the frozen ocean. Further on we shall again see Guatemalians and Yucatans transporting into New Spain the same absolutely identical events. Now, all these facts or conditions being traced to those recorded in the Pentateuch, especially in Exodus and Deuteronomy, it becomes evident that these American traditions refer to none other than the history of the Hebrews under the leadership of Moses.

Time was, says a Creek tradition, when the earth opened on its west side, where its mouth is situated. The Cussitaws came out of it and settled nearby, but, as this land "devoured its inhabitants," they moved further off to the west, only to return later on to the east. The Déné-Dindjies tell us that a long time ago the great genii "who can see forwards and backwards," *Ehna-guhini*, opened the earth on the west side to give exit to their ancestor, "the wanderer without a home," *Kpon-edin*. He settled nearby, went down to the sea to the southwest in search of his spouse, who had been taken from him, and then returned to the east.

Now the Pentateuch tells us that Abraham-Hedir, the Wanderer, led by God from Chaldea, went to the northwest, towards Egypt,

and later on returned to the land of Canaan, to which the "spies" sent by Moses long afterwards bore testimony that it was "a land that devoured its inhabitants."

The name of Arabia and of Chaldea is *Chus*, which the historian Flavius Josephus writes *Cush*. May not the Cussitaws be able to trace their name to this source?

The Choctaws located the mouth of the earth to the west; so also it was in the west that the Déné-Dindjie located their great cavern out of which came the god of thunder and through which the manes of their ancestors returned to their origin.

The ancient Mexicans represented the west by a zodiacal sign representing a house (*calli*); in Tzendale and Kollouche, *Nuh*, whence the name Nahua (people from the west) given to the Toltecas, and that of Nahanne, the name of one of the most western tribes of the Déné-Dindjie.

The Cussitaws, as their legend tells us, continuing to be destroyed by this land, finally went to the east. They came to a "troubled river," then to a river of blood, near which they dwelt for ten years, living on fish. The Hebrews, wanderers, without a country, as their name indicates, not being able to abide for a long time in the land of Canaan, because of the famine which "devoured the people" that dwelt therein, went into the land of Egypt under the rule of Joseph. For 200 years they dwelt along the borders of the Nile, which Holy Writ describes as a "troubled stream," a *fluvius turbido qui irrigat Egyptum* (Josue xiii., 3), and the waters of which Moses turned into blood.

The Cussitaws lived on fish while they dwelt along the borders of this "troubled" river. It was likewise on fish that *Etsiege-Niottsentane*, the Moses of the Déné-Dindjie, nourished his people. Moses fed the Israelites with manna. Now as they had just come out of the Red Sea, it is not at all surprising that the tradition, by a distortion of the fact, may have mistaken or called this food fish (white meat).

The Cussitaws removed from the mouth of this river of blood to a mountain in the midst of fire and that made a great noise. The smoke and fire were red. The Hebrews, having left the Nile, whose waters had been changed into blood, and crossed the Red Sea (Homer sometimes refers to this sea as a river), came to the foot of Sinai, where Moses, who had gone up into this mountain, which appeared to them in "a smoke, because the Lord had come down upon it in fire"—and the people saw the flames and the sound of trumpets and the mount smoking (Exod. xx., 18). Etsiege, the

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\* Dindjie (men), sometimes called *Loucheux*, or cross-eyed or squint-eyed, by the French missionaries.

Moses of the Dindjie (Squint-eyes<sup>4</sup>), having ascended a high mountain, had himself thrown from it in his chariot, which in rolling down the steep slope made a noise like thunder. Oltsintredh, the Déné hero, with his brother, goes up into a mountain amid fierce lightning and thunder. The Cussitaws also climbed a mountain encircled by a roaring fire.

A Floridian legend says that from the summit of this "queen of mountains there came forth what seemed to be the sound of a song, and it came from out of the fire that was burning." From the summit of Sinai came forth the voice of Jehovah proclaiming the Decalogue. The harmonious tones of the trumpet told the Hebrews that God had come down upon it. Moreover, it was God, in the Pillar of Fire of the Tabernacles, who delivered the oracles and guided the steps of the Israelites.

The Cussitaws kept fire constantly burning on their mountain. It was on the summit of Mount Sinai that the Hebrews received their laws concerning the worship of Jehovah and the keeping up of a perpetual fire. A large proportion of the red race has from time immemorial preserved the sacred fire.

At the foot of the smoking and roaring mountain the Cussitaws were instructed in the knowledge of herbs and in many other useful things, and it was at the foot of Sinai that the Hebrews received the Mosaic law, the prescriptions relating to lawful purifications, acquired different branches of knowledge and learned such occupations as that of goldsmiths, embroidering, weaving, melting of metals, woodwork and other useful callings. The herbs known to the Cussitaws were used in their purifications, and Moses taught the Israelites to wash themselves with hyssop.

At the foot of the mountain the Cussitaws found a people composed of three nations. In the desert of Sinai the Hebrews encountered three peoples—their brethren, the Idumians, the sons of Isaac; the Moabites and the Ammonites, the sons of Lot. Because of the close bond that united them with these descendants of Abraham, their common father, God forbade the Israelites to make war upon them. Among the Israelites that had come out of Egypt, as Exodus tells us, there were also Canaanites who had joined their fortunes with those of the people of God.

From the east the Cussitaws saw a white fire coming towards them; from the south came a blue fire; from the west a black fire, and from the north a red and yellow fire. They rejected the first three and accepted the fourth. Would it be going too far to recognize in these symbolic expressions the historical relations of the Hebrew people with the various races of different colors by whom they were geographically surrounded? And even if the col-



ors and the orientation indicated by the legend might not agree strictly with the colors and orientation in geography and history, would that be any reason for us to reject an assumption at least probable enough?

On the summit of the mountain the Cussitaws found a post or pillar in motion, and which made a great noise which could only be heard when a motherless orphan was fastened to it and had its throat cut. Here we have a double suggestion of Mount Moriah, on which Isaac was about to be sacrificed, and of Mount Calvary, on which Our Blessed Lord was immolated. The cross appears to be the pillar that made so much noise. It did so then and it will continue to do so for all time throughout the world, especially among the people of Israel, since their dispersion dates from Calvary and the Crucifixion. Isaac may be regarded as the motherless orphan, as Sarah was so advanced in years, and Christ as man had no father and as God no mother until after the Incarnation.

The Déné-Dindjie likewise preserve a vivid tradition of a wooded mountain, to which they "appeal in all their prayers, some at every renewal of the moon and others at every eclipse of the moon on the occasion of the feast of their lunar Moses. They then invoke this mountain, imploring it to come to them with all haste and lead them out of the frightful land in which they dwell." The Blackfeet also have their Sacred Pillar.

The Cussitaws celebrate a green corn feast, which they call *Bush*, a word resembling the *Pasch* of the Israelites. We have referred to a similar feast among the Blackfeet and among the Dénés. The word *Phase* or *Pasha* signifies a passage, and the feast of the Déné-Dindjies is called the Passage of the Angel of Death through the tents. During this feast they pray to their lunar god, the Yellow Mouse, to pass over the earth in the form of a cross (or crosswise) and thus save them from their enemies. The cross, which was the emblem of shame among the ancients, was a sign of benediction among the Israelites—the blessing bestowed by the dying Jacob on the sons of Joseph; in the erection of the brazen serpent in the form of a cross; in the offering of sacrifices, etc. It had the same meaning in Mexico among the Déné-Dindjies and among the Choctaws. The Cussitaw women observed the same rites as the women of Israel, and the same customs have long prevailed among the Déné-Dindjies and among the Algonquins.

A dispute arose among the Chaktas as to the primacy of their four tribes. A similar dispute arose among the four families of the house of Levi with regard to the priesthood, Chore claiming that his family took precedence to that of Aaron (Exodus). The Choctaws tested the difference by means of poles, which were hung

with the scalps of their foes. Moses settled the differences among the Levites by means of the rods of each family, which he placed in the Tabernacle. The tribe whose rod bloomed and preserved its vegetation was to be recognized as the most ancient and the first, and it was the rod of Aaron that blossomed. (Numbers xvii., 8.)

An enormous eagle came and killed the Choctaws every seven days. It was attracted by the effigy of a woman set up along the road who gave birth to a red rat (erroneously, no doubt) as a son of the blue eagle. This red rat caused the death of the bird by gnawing the string of his bow, in which lay his power. The Déné-Dindjie traditions are identical on this point. They tell us of a great white eagle that devoured the Indians; of a great giant that had already devoured seven persons; of a monster that roamed along the road and devoured every passerby. We find analogous myths in the Chimera and in the Minotaur, which every year exacted seven victims; in the Sphinx, etc. Among the Cussaws we find a monster which likewise made victims every seven days. One can scarcely question a unity of ideas in these various apologies not in America alone, but in Europe and Asia, and this number *seven* is not a thing of chance.

Although we might see in this Minotaur, as more than one authority has done already, the god Moloch, or Baal, of the Phœnicians, to whom human victims were sacrificed, or in a brazen bull that men embraced, we can with just as much reason see in it the symbol of one of the four great empires of the East that most hindered the existence and growth of the people of God, viz., Egypt, so often represented in the Scriptures by a crocodile or a lion; Assyria, which by its name of *Ashour*, or *Astor*, which signifies an ox, might well be symbolized by the Minotaur. Moreover, its emblem which appears so often on the walls of the palaces and among the ruins of Khorsabad, was the bull with the human head.<sup>5</sup> Babylon was the third empire; it had its god, Nisroch (man with an eagle's head), the idea of which may be traced to the Hebrew *Rouach-Elohim*, or *Rouach-El*, the Spirit of God, as it also served as a foundation for the fable of the Heraclides, the Hercules of the Greeks. Finally, Syro-Phœnicia, which also worshiped the same divinity under the name of Illus.

But the present apologue relates to Egypt, for in the red rat that was regarded by the Cussitaws as the son of the blue eagle and the woman found by the roadside, the reader has already recognized the red rat of the sands or the shrew-mouse of the

<sup>5</sup> See article on "Buried Cities of the East" in *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* of April, 1914.

Hare-skin Dénés; the yellow rat of the Dundjie, or Squinters; that is to say, the figure of the lunar hero of the Déné-Dindjies, the conqueror also of the Shaved Heads, who oppressed them, and in whom we have recognized Moses, the conqueror of the Egyptians, even as the red rat of the Cussitaws helped them to overcome the winged monsters that oppressed them. Is it not true that Moses was called by the Egyptians a red rat, a mole or a shrew-mouse (*Sephnus*), as much because of his crypto-name, *Osar-Siph*, as for his having crossed the Red Sea (*Suph*), as we have shown above? The identity of the symbol among the Creeks, the Dénés, the Dindjies, the Egyptians, as well as among the Hindoos, is ample evidence and should constitute a strong proof of the correctness of our identification.

From the land of the Great Eagle the Cussitaw passed into a land whose soil, trails and even the grass of which was of a whitish hue. It will be remembered that after their flight from Egypt, the Hebrews, on coming out of the land of Canaan, lived in the wilderness on the manna which whitened the earth every morning. The Dénés record the same miracle (according to Leroux's *Monographie des Déné-Dindjie*) without any kind of apologue. Moreover, is it not also true that Palestine (a word signifying a "place covered with ashes") is bounded by the chain of the Libanus, a word which in Hebrew signifies "white, candid?"

Going further on, the Cussitaws came to a rocky and smoky bay. The Dénés tell us that on coming out of the land in which they dwelt in bondage under a people "with shaven heads," they dwelt for many years in a rocky wilderness and for a time "in great darkness." The Israelites, on coming out of Egypt, crossed the rocky desert of sin and doubt for forty years under the protecting clouds.

From the rocky and foggy bay the Cussitaws journeyed eastward and came to the village of the Cushass (or Cussaus). The Israelites journeyed from the wilderness into the city of Hesebon, which belonged to the Amorites, sons of Chus, or Cush, from which some authorities would have us trace the Indian names Cussitaws or Cussaws.

The Cussaws complained of a monster maneater that dwelt in a cavern and devoured their children every seven days. The Cussitaws slew this monster by making him fall into a pit into which cross-shaped pieces of wood had been placed, but not before he had wrested an orphan child from their tribe. Estiege, the Moses of the Dindjie, delivered his people from the Serpent of Death, that also dwelt in a cavern, and which he induced to come out by fastening a symbol upon a post near the cavern in which it dwelt. Mases delivered the people of Israel from the burning serpent by raising

in cross-form the brazen serpent—the symbol of Christ dying upon the Cross for the redemption of mankind. If the reader is disposed to question the fact as related in this apologue as having any reference to Calvary, combined and confounded with the erection of the brazen serpent by Moses, it will be enough for us to quote the language of the Cussitaw concerning the child given to the monster, “It is better to let one man die than the whole nation,” and these were the words uttered by the iniquitous High Priest Caiphas before the Sanhedrim on the occasion of the arrest and premeditated death of Christ. Strange as it may seem to hear the echo of a deicide voice in the depths of an American wilderness, who can question the fact?

The beast and bird monsters so often mentioned in the traditions of the Choctaws as well as in those of other tribes may be regarded as the Oriental emblems of the great nations that were once, and on another continent, the enemies of the Indians. This idea seems quite plausible, since the Christians, the Dénés and the Dindjies only mention these in connection with wars and enemies far more powerful with whom they had to contend. They are inborn among these people, and as soon as history degenerates into apologue, what do we see? An enormous eagle, a lion, a monster that bars the way. Evidently the thought of these chimerical monsters has dwelt in their minds as the symbols of nations they once represented. Now this was precisely the case with the prophets of Israel. The Holy Scriptures never described great nations and the great Kings that oppressed the people of God save under the figure of monsters and wild beasts. Thus were represented the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans.

The Prophet Ezechiel (xxix.) says of Egypt: “Behold, I come against thee, Pharaoh, King of Egypt, thou *great dragon* that liest in the midst of thy rivers” (crocodiles), and further on he says: “Thou are like the *lion* of the nations and the dragon (crocodile) that is in the sea.” Juda himself, the stock of the Kings of Judea, is compared by his father, Jacob, to a *lion* as he blessed his children, and Ezechiel continues the comparison in regard to Joachim: “And he went up and down among the lions, and became a lion, and he learned to catch the prey and to devour men” (Eze. xix., 6). May not this be one of the maneaters come down into Indian tradition? “And the nations came together against him on every side out of the provinces, and they spread their net and he was taken” (Ib. xix., 8). The same prophet compares the Babylonians to an *eagle*, and the Egyptians likewise: “A large eagle with great wings, a long body covered with feathers of various colors came to Libanus

. . . and there was another large eagle with great wings. . . . Know ye not what all these things mean? The King of Babylon (represented by the first eagle) cometh to Jerusalem (figured by the Libanus) and the King of Egypt, represented by the second eagle (Eze. xvii., 3-15).

Again, the Prophet Daniel represents the Persian monarchy under the figure of a bear, and that of the Babylonians he likens unto a monster having the "body of a lioness," the "wings of an eagle" and standing upright upon its feet like a man. The kingdom of the Macedonians he likened unto "a leopard with four heads . . . and it had four wings." Finally, the Roman Republic was likened unto another monster with "great iron teeth . . . and it had ten horns." So also the prophet compares the kingdom of the Medes to a ram and that of the Greeks to a he-goat. (See Daniel vii., 3-8, and viii., 3.)

It may be well to add that these animals to which the prophets likened the nations that were hostile to the Church and to the people of God are what is known as cherubic animals. They are four in number—the eagle, the lion, the bull and man. In the mysticism of the Hebrews, Chaldeans and Egyptians we frequently come across these figures of animals which were at one time the emblems of the divinity itself and which the prophets of Israel saw ever present before the throne and at the feet of the Eternal.

The Assyrians had as the emblem of their country a cherub combining a bull, an eagle and a man—it was the *Schour*, or *Tour*, a winged bull with a human head crowned with the royal tiara.\* This symbol was warranted by the real name of Assyria, which was *Haschour*, or *Astour*, from which are derived the names of *Asturias*, a province in Iberia, and *Turkestan* (*Tour-estan*), the land of the Turks or Scythians.

It is no doubt Assyria that is described in the traditions of the Déné-Dindjie as a gigantic ruminant that lured them into sins of impurity, and it is equally beyond doubt that it was Babylon or Egypt that these Indians as well as the Creeks represented as a gigantic eagle, the foe of their tribes and which devoured them. Let us not forget that the god-eagle *Nisr* or *Nisoch* of the Babylonians was none other than the *Michra* of the Persian god of war or death. As an evidence that the Déné-Dindjis, and by analogy the Creeks themselves, derived these emblems from the Chaldeans, we need only consult Father Petitot's *Report on the Geology of Makensie*. The appendix referring to the stone weapons used by the natives of this region shows that the weapons used by the Déné-

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\* See "Buried Cities of the East" in AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1914.

Dindjie are in every respect similar to those of the primitive people of the Asturias, in Spain; of Erivan, in the Caucasus; of Russia and of Denmark. We see strong probabilities that this region was originally peopled by the Danites, as Father Petitot seems to show further on in his report. Moreover, we find in this region many myths that prevailed among the Chaldeans, the Tartars and even among some other tribes of the red men on our continent.

These same Assyrians have for their cherub the griffon, a fantastic animal, part eagle and part lion, which represented their great deity *Cronus*, the *Elloim* or *El* of the Hebrews, and the *Illus* of the Phœnicians, under the form of a winged man, like the cherubim of the Ark, and like those seen by Ezechiel. He had four wings, two in repose and two in action; four eyes in front and four behind, to indicate, says Sanchoniathon, his omnipotence and his omniscience. Now what do the Déné-Dindjie call their great deity? *Ehma-guhini*, he who sees forwards and backwards; *Ehta-odu-hini*, he who has eyes before and behind. It will be hard right here not to admit that we have found in the New World a deity identical with *Elloim*, *Illus* and *Cronus*, especially as the Déné-Dindjie traditions which refer to God recall in every particular the relations of Abraham with the Angel of the Lord, and the "wrestle" of Jacob with the Angel, etc.

If the Assyrians had a bull for their emblem because of its name, *Schour*, the Hebrews had for their emblem a figure in the form of man, that is, the Angel of God, who named Jacob *Sara El*, or Israel, "strong against God" (Gen. xxxii., 28). We see indeed throughout the history of the Israelites the Angel of the Lord visibly protecting and succoring this nation which derived its name from God Himself, *El*. It was the Archangel Michael, the strength of God, who guided them through the desert and who commanded them to exterminate the seven Canaanite nations, abominable in the eyes of Adonai because of their crimes. (See Deut. vii., 1; Josue iii., 10; Deut. ix., 3; xii., 8.)

Can one wonder that the pagan nations by whom the Israelites were surrounded were filled with wild imaginings? They had been the witnesses of this miracle wrought by the Angel of the Lord in behalf of His chosen people because of the persecution they had visited upon them and which had brought the anathemas of heaven upon them. Is it any wonder, then, that they recognized in the cherub the protector of Israel and the avenger of the crimes of the seven nations—the prototype of the man-eating monsters described in tradition as coming every seven days and every seven years? And what is there astonishing in the fact that a people descended from the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the rebellious Israelites or the

Phoenicians should have brought their traditions with them to the shores of the New World?<sup>7</sup>

Out of these traditions sprang the giant of the Déné-Hare Skins, the destroyer of seven persons; so also the Minotaur of the Cretans; from here, too, came the lions and the eagles of the Choctaws and the Dénés, which came "every seven days or every seven years" to commit ravages among their tribes.

It would be difficult to see a fatuity of ideas in the constant similarity of myths and traditions among peoples so widely separated by time and space. The facts speak for themselves; they are open to endless interpretations, but they still remain.

Again, the Cussitaws practice fasting, as do also the Blackfeet, the Déné-Dindjie and the Israelites. They all recognize the period of seven days.

Having set out once more, the Cussitaws came to a place called Thunder Bay (?), because of the abundance of noisy birds, cranes and other game found there. They camped here only one night. Dénés, in their journeyings through the wilderness, lived on snow-ortelans and white fowl. The Hebrews in the wilderness fed on quails, or as Rabbis Salomon and Kunchi tell us, on "very plump birds"—the nature and species of these birds not being mentioned in Hebrew, the Septuagint makes them ortelans, as the Dénés describe them.

The Cussitaws dwelt for four years in the land of the Cussaws, coming and going continually, fighting the monster and using weapons of flint. The Israelites spent forty days in the desert of the sons of Cush, wandering continually and making war on the Amalekites and the Ammorites represented by the monster maneater.

After crossing creeks and rivers the Cussitaws came to a mountain on which there was a village and asked of the inhabitants for "leave to pass through their territory." They were answered by a declaration of hostilities. After crossing the torrents of Zarred and Armon the Israelites came to the fort of Mount Hermon and under the walls of Hersebon. Moses asked "leave of the King of the Amorites to pass through the land." Schon replied by gathering

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<sup>7</sup> We have no doubt that many of our readers will regard certain of our conclusions as somewhat rash, not to use a stronger term. We are not yet ready to "stand pat" on all we have said, but we would ask our readers to suspend judgment until they have read a report submitted to the American Congress, session of 1875. They will find in it very strong proof that the remnant of the Canaanite nations, and probably some Israelitish also, landed in the New World. We have only to study the monuments discovered in Peru, Yucatan, Honduras and Mexico and we shall not fail to discover their identity with those of India and Egypt. See also Father de Roo's masterly work on Pre-Columbian America.

an army . . . and fought against them" (Numb. xx., 22-23). Mount Hermon is part of the chain of Libanus.

The Cussitaws next followed the course of a stream and came to a region of huge rocks. On some of these rocks they saw a number of bows. Supposing that the nation of the "white trail" occupied the heights, they sent peace messages to them, and were answered with hostile demonstrations. Again, this accords with what has been stated above. The people of the "white trail," no doubt, correspond to the people of Palestine and Libanus.

The Cussitaws were always accompanied in their wanderings by two scouts or "spies," who went before their army. The Israelites sent "messengers" to the Amorites before attacking them. Moses sent Caleb and Josue to visit the Promised Land and Josue sent two "spies" to Jericho, and we read that they abode for a time with Rahab.

The Cussitaws resolved to attack the rebellious town and to appropriate a house for each of their warriors. It was this same course that was pursued by the Israelites in regard to the Amorites, to the inhabitants of Jericho and to the people of Palestine (Deut. iii.). The Dindjies tell a similar story in their tradition of Estiege. The foe of the Cussitaws won the Flatheads; those of the Déné-Dindjies won the Shaved Heads, from their name (*Kfui de telle*). We have not failed to recognize in the latter the Egyptians and perhaps even the Phoenicians.

In order to reach the town they were bent on destroying, the Cussitaws forded a stream by filling it with stones, and on reaching the town they massacred all its inhabitants except two. To reach Jericho, that God had delivered unto them, the Israelites crossed the Jordan dry-footed; they "took out twelve very large stones . . . which they set up" as a monument to commemorate their passage. They sacked Jericho, but spared Rahab and his household (Josue iv., 9).

The Cussitaws finally reached the people that dwelt in the "white land" and were disposed to destroy them also, but they succeeded in gaining the good will of their invaders so far as to induce them to form an alliance with them and thenceforward to dwell with them in peace and friendship. The Déné-Dindjie also tell us that they abode for a long time among their enemies, the Shaved Heads or Dog-men, and eventually intermarried with them.

So, too, the Israelites, after reaching the Promised Land, which it had been their mission to destroy, the primitive inhabitants thereof—the seven Chaldean nations—were moved with compassion for them and abode with them and even took their daughters for wives.

We are far from having exhausted the field of analogies between



the manners, customs, religious rites and languages of the American Indians on this continent and those of the aborigines of the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans, as well as those of Egypt and Asia. The study is full of interest, it develops astonishing results and it would require volumes instead of pages to treat the subject with anything like the detail it requires. We may return to it at some future time.

MARC F. VALLETTE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

# RULMAN MERSWIN, THE MYSTERIOUS FRIEND OF GOD FROM THE OBERLAND.

Je tiens auberge avec Jésus.  
Il est mien et je suis sienne.  
Il me dépasse nuit et jour,  
Il a volé mon cœur:  
Je suis englouti dans sa bouche,  
Je n'ai rien à faire dehors.

By a Flemish Béguine.

THE life and writings of Rulman Merswin are involved in a great deal of mystery, which it is not the intention of the present writer to attempt to solve, seeing that the learned doctors who have made a study of the subject differ "toto coelo" in their elucidation of the problem it suggests. Happily on the main facts of his life all are agreed. He lived in the fourteenth century and was a friend of Tauler and Suso, and a member of the group of mystics known as the Friends of God.

He was originally a very rich man, a banker and merchant of Strasburg, but although then living in the world, he was not of the world, but was always pious and scrupulously honest and honorable in all his dealings with his neighbor. He was twice married; his first wife is said to have been very beautiful, but she died shortly after their marriage. He then married a second time, but beyond the name of the lady, Gertrude von Bietenheim, little has come down to us; all we are told is that she was the daughter of a knight; he had no children by either marriage. He lived with his second wife until he was forty, and then by mutual consent they separated; he gave up his business, retired from the world and from henceforth led a life of prayer and penance. During the first year after his retirement from the world he practiced such austerities that he became very ill. He then met the Friend of God and great preacher, John Tauler, and placed himself under his direction. Tauler ordered him to give up these practices for a certain time; he obeyed, but as soon as the time fixed had expired, he returned to them, as he quaintly says, "without saying a word about it," being determined to bring his body into subjection.

In this weak state of health he now became a prey to horrible temptations, and among them were some doubts against the faith, and between his corporal austerities and his mental sufferings he became so feeble that on a certain feast of the Assumption he could with difficulty sit up to hear a sermon. He then fell into a trance and had a vision, in the course of which some doubts about the Holy Trinity which had previously troubled him were removed.

In this vision he saw a great stone, and on it were carved three men's faces, and he heard a voice saying, "Now mayst thou well

believe, since thou hast seen in one stone, there may be three persons and yet it is one stone, and the three persons have the nature of one rock."

We pause for a moment to remark that St. Hildegarde, with whose works Merswin was probably familiar, also compares the Blessed Trinity to a stone in her vision of the Holy Trinity, but develops the simile differently from Merswin. She says: "There are three virtues in a stone—the virtue of moisture, the virtue of palpability and the power of fire. And this virtue of moisture signifies the Father, Whose power is never dried up nor finished; and the palpable comprehension means the Son, Who being born of the Virgin, is able to be touched and comprehended, and the fiery power signifies the Holy Spirit, Who is the kindler and the illuminator of the hearts of faithful men."<sup>1</sup>

But to return to Merswin and his vision. We are told from the day on which it happened he was never tempted to unbelief again. His health had now become so bad that he was forced to give up all his disciplines and hair shirts and iron chains, and his life was despaired of by his friends. But at the end of the fourth year of his retirement from the world, he recovered and Our Lord brought him such superhuman joy and peace and happiness that he forgot all the pain which he had borne so perseveringly for four years. Among other of his practices he assisted at the public processions and flagellations of the Flagellants, but when Pope Clement VI. forbade these processions to take place in public, he conformed to the rule. At the close of these four years of austerities he had a radiant vision, in which he was told he was in a state of grace and one of the dearest of the Friends of God.

The apocalyptic idea dominated his whole life from the year 1347. This idea had been initiated by St. Hildegarde in the twelfth century, and Merswin, like her and St. Elizabeth of Schönau, Joachim de Flore, Henry of Nordlingen, Dante, etc., all felt they had a duty to perform towards Christianity by instructing and reproving every one, even Popes and Bishops.<sup>2</sup>

From 1352 to 1364 we hear nothing of him, and then on October 9 he received an order in prayer to found a religious house. He hesitated to obey, but at Christmas the order was repeated with some indescribable visions, and he fell ill and was told he would not recover unless he obeyed this command. This illness, which was a kind of paralysis, lasted two years; then he obeyed the order

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Visions of St. Hildegarde*, by Francesca M. Steele; 1914; p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> A. Jundt. *Rulman Merswin et l'Ami de Dieu de l'Oberland*; 1890; p. 1—32.

and recovered. In 1366 he bought the old ruined monastery of I'lle Verte, near Strasburg, also called Grünenwald. This he restored and endowed, for he was very generous and charitable. He also founded a house of Béguins at Strasburg.

A somewhat similar experience to this mysterious illness of Merswin's is recorded in the life of St. Hildegarde, when it was revealed to her that she must remove her community from Mount St. Disibode to Rupertsberg, to a site pointed out to her in a vision. Owing to the opposition that she met with from the monks of St. Disibode and to her reluctance to speak of her revelations, she said nothing about the site or the vision, whereupon she was seized with blindness and a kind of paralysis, and it was not until she recognized that this was a punishment for her silence and reluctance to obey the instructions she had received that she recovered her sight and the use of her limbs.<sup>3</sup>

Merswin's greatest work of charity was the restoration and endowment of this old ruined convent of I'lle Verte, as the French call it, or Grünenwald or Grünenberg, as it is called by the Germans. After consulting the Layman and Friend of God, Nicolas of Basle, as to whether he should give his money to the poor or use it to rebuild and endow this old monastery, he decided to employ it for the latter purpose, and with the Pope's consent he rebuilt it and opened it as a house of retreat for any priests or laymen who wished to retire from the world and lead a life of prayer, only he stipulated that they should conform to certain rules which he drew up. It was designed particularly for those who wished to lead a strictly contemplative life, and four priests and one Nicolas von Laufen,<sup>4</sup> who had formerly been a draper, but was then also a priest, entered the convent, but they did not agree, and after a little while Merswin decided to install the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem there in their stead. These Johannine monks were an order of laics founded on chivalry and distinguished by their nobility as much as by their piety. It was in the year 1371 that these knights entered Grünenwald. Their first commander was Henri de Wolfach. Nicolas von Laufen entered the order and never left it or the monastery. He acted as Merswin's secretary.

This same year Merswin lost his second wife and retired to this monastery himself and lived there until his death. He enlarged the choir of the church, built a portico and baths and decorated the garden with fountains and pavilions; these last were probably shrines. From henceforth his interior life was shrouded in mystery; to others he was full of fun, but it was not until after

<sup>3</sup> Migne, Pat Lat., cxcvii.

<sup>4</sup> A. Jundt. Ibid. Note—He is called von Löwen by some writers.

his death that they discovered what favors he received from God and what an intimate Friend of God he was.

In 1378 the Great Schism broke out, and on St. Patrick's day of the following year a most extraordinary meeting of seven of the Friends of God took place among the mountains, near a hermitage, where dwelt a priest and two brothers and a chapel stood. Four of these seven were laymen and the other three were priests. The priests were John Tauler, Henry Suso and a learned jurist whose name has not come down; Rulman Merswin, Nicolas of Basle, a converted Jew named John, and the mysterious Friend of God from the Oberland were the laymen.

One of the latest authorities on Merswin, W. Preger, thinks that this mysterious man, the Friend of God from the Oberland, who visited all the Friends of God from time to time, none of them knowing from whence he came nor whither he went, was one Jean de Rutberg, a native of Coire and founder of the hermitage of Ganterschyl, which was probably the place where this extraordinary meeting took place.<sup>5</sup> Herr Schmidt, on the contrary, thinks the layman from the Oberland was no other than Nicolas of Basle, who was burnt as a heretic in Vienna and accused unjustly of being one of the Beghards.<sup>6</sup>

But to return to this meeting at the hermitage. The seven Friends of God spent the week in prayer and met by a brook every afternoon to discuss what part they should take in this great calamity which had befallen the world and to which Pope they should adhere. On the last day of this retreat a great storm of wind occurred, followed by darkness, which lasted for an hour, and then a light broke over the scene and they heard the voice of an angel saying that God had heard their prayers and that He would delay the punishment coming upon the world for a year. They returned to their homes and on Holy Thursday in the following year they met again in the same place, but this time there were twelve of the Friends of God. Of the five new ones, two came from Hungary and one from Genoa. Still more extraordinary phenomena are said to have occurred on this occasion than at the former meeting. There were winds and storms and lights appearing, and in the midst of it all a letter is said to have dropped down from the clouds telling them all to retire from the world, to receive Holy Communion three times a week, and that three years later they would receive further communications.<sup>7</sup> Both Merswin and Nicolas

<sup>5</sup> Preger Wilhelm. *Geschichte der Deutschen Mystik un Mittelalter*, 187, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidtlad. *Die Gottesfreunde in 14 Jahrhundert*. Jena, 1856.

<sup>7</sup> Jones, Rufus. *Studies in Mystical Religion*; 1909.

record this extraordinary incident, which seems as difficult to interpret in a mystical sense as to accept literally.

In the following year, 1380, Merswin had a cell built for himself adjoining the monastery of Grünenwald, and was enclosed in it and lived the rest of his life there as a recluse. Two years later, on the feast of Candlemas, he felt constrained to write "A Last and Amiable Exhortation for His Brethren at Grünenwald," but this work has not come down to us. Three weeks later dropsy set in, but during the last days of his life he was compelled by some interior force to write "The Book of Prevenient Grace." He frequently assembled his brethren around his cell and from the window exhorted them to progress in the spiritual life.

He died on July 18, 1382, on a Friday, at three in the afternoon. His second wife, who had become a nun and had died some years previously, was buried in the choir of the church which he had built at Grünenwald, and he was laid to rest by her side.<sup>8</sup>

Four days after his death the brothers opened a little sealed cupboard in his cell and discovered the MSS. of "The History of His Conversion" and the "Book of the Nine Rocks." His literary career, as might have been expected, is strongly affected by the mysticism of his time. In the "History of His Conversion" he related his interior life from 1347 to the middle of 1352. In it he says "that God constrained me to write some books for the salvation of my neighbor, in spite of my resistance, and I was obliged to do it."

Another of these books is called "The Book of the Banners." It is a cry of alarm from a pious, simple nature on the decline of the religious life and at the progress of free thought in Christian lands.

It was the mysterious Friend of God from the Oberland who commanded Merswin to write the "History of His Conversion" and to seal it up, and he did the same himself. On this subject there is diversity of opinion. Père Dénifle, who has made close researches on the subject, believes that this Friend of God from the Oberland never existed at all, but was a creation of Rulman Merswin's brain, and that he himself wrote both books. A German writer, Friedrich Lauchert, indorses this opinion of Père Dénifle's, and says: "The more I busy myself with the whole circle of writings on this subject, the more am I strengthened in the conviction of the justice of Dénifle's researches, and that the 'Gottesfreund von der Oberland' is an invention of Merswin's and that he composed the writings of this last. In this conviction can also

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<sup>8</sup> A. Jundt. *Ibid.*

the opposite opinion of Preger, who still believes in the existence of the Friend of God, not shake me."<sup>9</sup>

In this opinion of Père Dénifle's, A. Jundt disagrees, inasmuch as he is sure that Merswin had no intention of deceiving any one; he believes that it was a case of dual personality; that Merswin sometimes without knowing wrote in his own person and sometimes in that of the Friend of God from the Oberland. Jundt's book on "Rulman Merswin and the Friend of God" is written to prove that this is the true solution of the problem of the Friend of God from the Oberland. He says: "The phenomenon of double personality thus defined seems to me to be the natural and satisfying solution of the psychological problem which our texts place before us."

We cannot see anything "natural or satisfying" in this theory, which, considering the sanctity of the man whom it concerns, strikes us as unnatural, strained and most improbable. We might as well suggest that St. Catherine of Sienna was a victim of dual personality, because she clothed her mysticism in the form of a dialogue, for it is the fact that Rulman Merswin threw his "Book of the Nine Rocks" into a dialogue that M. Jundt bases his Stevensonian idea upon, for he says he sees in this tendency "an indication of a disposition to duplication of the personality which is not to be neglected."

The most natural and also the most satisfying solution of the mystery of the identity of this Friend of God from the Oberland is that he was a holy layman, perhaps Nicolas of Basle, who from humility concealed his real name, who visited Tauler, converted him and wrote the history of Tauler's life and conversion.

Another modern theory about this Friend of God is that a German writer, Carl Rieder,<sup>10</sup> who thinks that he never existed at all, but that Rulman's secretary, Nicolas von Laufen, invented him after Merswin's death, and edited the notes left by Merswin and added to them and passed them off as autobiographical works of Merswin's and the Friend of God from the Oberland. This does not seem to us a much happier suggestion than that of M. Jundt, for why should a holy man, as Nicolas von Laufen seems to have been, have been guilty of such deception?

The old idea that this Friend of God who came and went so secretly was Nicolas of Basle is certainly as probable as any of the modern suggestions; perhaps the reason that so much doubt has been cast upon it is the fact that he was burnt as a heretic; but it

<sup>9</sup> Lauchert, Friedrich. Bonn, 1896. Preface to "Bach von den Zwei Mannen," by Rulman Merswin.

<sup>10</sup> Rieder, Carl. Der Gottesfreund von Oberland. Innsbruck, 1906.

seems hardly likely, now that nearly six centuries have elapsed, that his identity will ever be established.

Merswin's longest work is the "Book of the Nine Rocks," written as we have seen in the form of a dialogue; in it he describes all the troubles, interior as well as exterior, that he had passed through. It is divided into two parts. In the first part he describes the state of Christendom at the time he wrote; in the second part he describes nine stages in the spiritual life of the soul—the stages being the rocks which gave the title to the book.

These nine rocks are again subdivided into three stages, which correspond really to the three ways into which all ascetical writers have divided the spiritual life, namely, the purgative way, the illuminative way and the unitive way. The purgative way is appropriated to beginners, the illuminative way to proficients and the unitive way to the perfect.

Most ascetical writers think that the mystical states do not begin till the close of the unitive way; others exclude mystical states altogether from these ways. St. John of the Cross employs all these terms of purgative, illuminative and unitive, and applies them, as do other spiritual writers, to beginners, proficients and the perfect; but he makes the mystical life to begin in the illuminative way, when meditation ceases, and calls this way the way of infused contemplation, which is a mystical state, called by St. Theresa mystical theology or mystical contemplation.

St. Bernard compares these three ways to three kisses, which he says Our Lord graciously permits to His lovers—to kiss His feet is equal to the purgative way; to kiss His Hands is for those walking in the illuminative way, and the saint thus beautifully describes the third way: "We seek His helping Hand to lift us up and to strengthen our feeble knees that we may stand upright. When we have with many prayers and tears obtained these two former graces, then at length we perhaps venture to lift our eyes to that Countenance full of glory and majesty, for the purpose not only to adore, but (I say it with fear and trembling) to kiss—this is the unitive way." (Sermon 3 on the Canticles.)

Merswin composed this "Book of the Nine Rocks" at the close of four years of austerities which he practiced at the beginning of his conversion.

"The Book of the Banners" we have already mentioned. Herr Preger says of this work rather severely "that it is richer in words than in thought, although it nevertheless contains many interesting things." It was written anonymously, like the "Book of the Nine Rocks." This was doubtless from humility.

The "History of His Conversion" has been recently edited by



Friedrich Lauchert, who tells us in a preface that it was printed from a MS. belonging to the University of Strasburg, to whom it passed after the death of Canon Straub. The MS. was on parchment and contains 179 small pages, with seventeen lines to the page. It is written in Gothic characters very legibly and carefully, but with the abbreviations customary at the period. The titles of the chapters are written in red ink and the text of each chapter begins with a large initial in red ink.

This book is published in Karl Schmidt's "Nicolaus von Basle," and it has also been published with editorial notes in Herr Lauchert's "Des Gottesfreundes in Oberland."

The title of this book is "The Book of the Two Men"—the two men being Rulman and the Mysterious Friend from the Oberland. It is written in old German, and we wish Herr Lauchert had modified the old spelling, for it is very difficult to read. The headings of the chapters which we translate may give some idea of the scope of the book.

There are thirteen chapters, and these are the titles:

"Chapter I. How the love of God flourishes in the Oberland, and the first five years of a God-living man laid bare to another.

"Chapter II. How one man lays bare his life to another.

"Chapter III. Of backbiting (von hinter-rede).

"Chapter IV. That God is thanked for His sufferings by very few men.

"Chapter V. How it behooves a man of the Gospel to serve God unto the end.

"Chapter VI. How it happened to the soul of a worldly-wise man when he died.

"Chapter VII. Of perfect manners as far as is possible.

"Chapter VIII. Of Preaching.

"Chapter IX. Of the sin which is called unchastity.

"Chapter X. That if Divine grace does not come to the help of a man, then is the man guilty and not God.

"Chapter XI. How so little honor is offered in Christian countries to the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Body of Christ (literally God's Body).

"Chapter XII. That so few teachers preach to me of the inheritance of God.

"Chapter XIII. The difference between a reasonable man and an immoral man."

His style is not very cultivated; in fact, his works are valuable for the contribution they offer to mystical literature rather than from any literary merit; his sentences are long and involved, but

the naiveté and originality of his expressions compensate to some extent for his want of culture and finished writing.

His autobiography, which has been lost in the course of the ages, is said to have been very long and diffuse and the sentences much involved. But as he tells us, he wrote not to win literary merit or the applause of men, but because he was urged from within to write for the benefit of his fellow-men.

Besides founding the Johannine Monastery at Grünenwald and the convent already mentioned at Strasburg, he managed a hospital in that city and was provost of the Convent of St. Argobast. Naturally, he had to give up these active works when he became an anchorite.

We have before said that the Society of the Friends of God was above all a layman's movement, and Rulman Merswin was the most celebrated and devout of the *laymen* included in it, if we except the mysterious Friend of God from the Oberland, to whom all the others seem to have looked up as a saint, and who when he did not come to them himself was constantly sending them messengers.

Merswin does not appear ever to have written anything contrary to the faith, or that was disapproved by the ecclesiastical authorities, as did some of the Friends of God. Two of them were burnt as heretics—Nicolas of Basle, as has been said, and one Berthold von Rohrbach, who was burnt at the stake at Spire in 1536 for teaching that laymen who were enlightened by God were as competent teachers as priests.

No less than sixteen treatises have been collected in "Das grosse Deutsche Memorial," and ascribed either to Rulman Merswin or the Mysterious Friend of God from the Oberland. Among these are "The Book of the Banners" and "The Book of Prevenient Grace," already mentioned. The MS. of this memorial is in the Strasburg Bibliothec.

Two entitled, respectively, "The Spiritual Ladder" and "The Spiritual Stairway" are included in A. Jundt's "Mulman Merswin."

There is another collection of treatises by the Friends of God, some of which are believed to have been the work of Merswin or this Friend from the Oberland. This collection includes "The Book of the First Four Years of Rulman's New Life" and the "Book of the Five Men." This is the story of the mysterious Friend of God and four of his companions, and is published also in Herr Schmidt's "Nicolas von Basel."

In the "Story of the First Four Years" Merswin says:

"Of all the wonderful works which God wrought in me, I was not allowed to tell a single word to any one until the time came

when it pleased God to reveal to a man in the Oberland to come to me. When he came to me, God gave me the power to tell him everything. He became my intimate friend; I submitted myself to him in the place of God, and I told him all the secrets of those four years as God inspired me to do. Then he said: 'My dear beloved friend, take this book (the book of the Two Men); thou wilt find in it the story of the five years of my conversion; and now give me in writing the story of thy four years of conversion.'

This passage seems to prove beyond a doubt that this Friend of God really existed and was no mere creation of Merswin's brain, nor as another modern writer (a non-Catholic writer) suggests, the he was an ideal character, a fourteenth century "Christian," the hero of "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress."

"The Book of the Nine Rocks" is a very great mystical work, and it is a pity it has not been translated into English, for it is now, of course, difficult to obtain in German.<sup>11</sup> This writer considers it one of the greatest mystical apocalypses of the middle ages and the greatest literary creation of the Friends of God. This is indeed high praise when we remember that Jan Ruysbroek was a Friend of God, and know that he was perhaps the greatest mystical writer who ever wrote. Comparisons being odious, it is unwise to say who was the greatest mystical writer of all these Friends of God—Tauler, Eckhart, B. Henry Suso or Merswin; they are all inimitable. "The Book of the Nine Rocks" contains a series of visions which Merswin saw about the year 1351 and was commanded to write them down. He resisted the command for some time from humility, saying, "Are there not books enough by great doctors who can write much better than I can?" He also said his book would carry no conviction, because it was not proved by Holy Scripture.

He then heard the Divine Voice answer his objection thus: "Without doubt, the Scriptures came from the Holy Spirit, but why cannot God still write such a book? Thou art not the first person through whom the waters of Divine grace have come. Is not the power of God the same as in the times wherein the Scriptures were written? Whoever does not believe that God can work His wonderful works through His Friends to-day, as He did in the times of the Old and the New Testaments, that man is not a Christian, for he does not believe that the Divine power remains the same throughout the centuries." "I will obey; speak as Thou wilt through me, a poor sinner," replied Merswin.

The plan of the second part of this book, which insensibly reminds the reader of the "Purgatorio" of Dante, we here condense

<sup>11</sup> Rufus Jones. *Studies in Mystical Religion*.

from the summary given of it by Mr. Rufus Jones in his book, "Studies in Mystical Religion."

It is a vision in which the writer sees a great net covering the whole earth, except a great mountain on which are nine platforms, cut in the rock, towards which men are running to escape from the net which a terrible figure is endeavoring to catch them in.

Those on the first rock are those who have been cleansed from mortal sin by a good confession, but they keep falling off the rock into the net. Those on the second rock are those who have determined to forsake sin and to place themselves under the direction of a Friend of God. On the third rock are those who are practicing mortification of the body. These represent the purgative way.

Those on the fourth rock are practicing mortification solely to please and glorify God, but are guilty of self-will by choosing their own mortifications. Those on the fifth rock have made the complete sacrifice of their own will. Those on the sixth rock have entirely abandoned themselves to God. These are those in the illuminative way.

Those on the sixth rock have one imperfection—they desire supernatural revelations. Those on the seventh rock have got beyond desiring revelations, but take an excessive joy in them when granted to them. Those on the eighth rock have nearly conquered self, and are ready to accept what God gives them both here and hereafter. Their only imperfection is not accepting spiritual desolation with perfect resignation. Those who reach the ninth rock, which is the top of the mountain, are very few; in fact, only three dwellers are seen on this rock. They enjoy whatever God does. They are crucified to the world and the world to them, and they love all men in God with an equal love. Those who reach this summit have the privilege of beholding the Divine Origin, and finally there comes to the writer of the book this vision of Divine Origin. Those who are on these three last rocks have reached the unitive way.

Rulman Merswin is the least known of all these five great mystics and Friends of God, namely, Eckhart, Tauler, B. Henry Suso, Jan Ruysbroek and himself, but if half the works ascribed to him are his composition, he is by no means the least worthy of fame.

DARLEY DALE.

## DANTE.

DANTE DEGLI ALIGHIERI is supreme in his class. He is the greatest of analytic and reflective poets. Shakespeare excels him in his knowledge of human nature, in his insight into human passions, in his capacity for entering into the varied world of human emotions. Milton excels him in his boldness of poetic conception, in his audacious handling of the problems which lie hidden in the mind of God. Homer excels him in uniform grandeur, in rugged energy of thought. But Shakespeare, Milton and Homer are, after all, men of like passions as we are. They belong to us, and we feel that the outstanding qualities of their genius are our own qualities in a stronger and more intense form. With Dante it is different. Human life and its surroundings are as it were accidental with him. He moves among men, but is really apart from them. He lives in the world, but in reality he is not of it. He knows passion, emotion and feeling, but his mind and intellect are stronger than they are. He has a present, but he is ever conscious of an inexplicable past and a haunting future, which render him incapable of becoming the empty singer of an idle day. He has power to act, but he must ever act in a mood of analyses which demand of him why he acts. He is the supreme poet of the analytic school, the high priest of public thought.

The great fascination of Dante lies in the fact that his work is the mirror of his own soul. It is well nigh impossible to read a page of his writings which does not reflect in some way something of the storm and stress of his own life and its circumstances. Contemporary history meets us at every turn. We feel the kaleidoscopic world of contemporary politics. We meet the men and women whom Dante knew, the opinions which Dante heard defended or condemned. The entire contemporary life seems to pass before us in all its strange and absorbing energy, but transfigured and transformed by the poet's genius. And most fascinating figure in this old world which Dante recalls is the poet himself. Its history, its men and women, its politics, its opinions, move round him and bring him into greater relief. They have passed away into the dim shadowings of the world's past endeavor. He still remains all the more immovable because they have gone. He steps out of his own pages all the more real because of the violent contrasts. Thus Dante's writings are part and parcel of his own life and of the age in which he lived, and any study of him apart from these will be singularly inadequate. They are Dante and they are the thirteenth century. No commentary on them is so indispensable as a

knowledge of the age; and, in turn, as we learn Dante from them, they become the best interpreter of his age. Once we have learned to love Dante, we find the petty local history of thirteenth century Italy full of absorbing interest. How dull we have found the family feuds and age-long factions of Italian life! How pregnant with meaning they become when we have learned from Dante the deep principles which lay behind them! The learning of the middle ages is cumbersome and dull, until we find that it is the vehicle for Dante's thought. In addition, a study of Dante's life is essential to an appreciation of him as a writer. We do not care very much where Homer was born, who Shakespeare was, what Milton's religious and political opinions were—we can appreciate their writings almost part from the men. With Dante this is quite different. Dante's writings spring out of himself, are compound of himself and his age. His personality stands out over all, clear, well defined and unmistakable; but the expression of it is so intense that he sums up, as it were, the human life of his times. These are also in all his works, detailed and elaborate, true to themselves; but after passing through the depth of his mind and the intensity of his soul they become typical of all ages in their questionings, their problems, their doubts, their fears, their successes, their lost causes and unrealized ideals. Of course, Dante's life and Dante's age will not explain his works or fill up the measure of their meaning. Generation after generation will in the future as in the past find its own solution, its own satisfaction. Individuals will still read Dante and find in him their own interpretation. Dante means so much that the half-truths of generations and of individuals are almost all that we can hope for. But, however inadequate they may be, they will be almost futile if we do not begin our study by an attempt to understand Dante's character and the influences which developed and moulded it. And this study of Dante's life will react on us. As we move along with his progress we shall be led to feel, as he felt, that time and seasons, men and women, are but symbols of the intensity of eternity and of the all-embracing personality of God.

Seven centuries ago Dante Degli Alighieri was born of a noble family in Florence. The weight of evidence seems to prove that his birth took place when his father was a compulsory exile from his home on account of his Guelfic sympathies. However that may be, the success of the Guelfic cause soon found the family circle once more complete, and as Dante advanced into boyhood he came into contact with all the new life of Florence which had been reborn out of the wars between the Church and Empire. These heavy laden years of activity emphasized the natural importance of the city's activities, as Florence was no mean factor in the great and

important struggle. A comprehensive survey of the political and ecclesiastical ideals of the moment will help us to understand the circumstances of Dante's early life.

Firstly, to Italy belonged all the principles and sentiment which gathered round the old Roman Empire. The Emperor was, in theory at least, its supreme ruler, although Italy had no part or say in his election. It is true that she gave to the age-long representative of the imperial rule sufficient honor and service to preserve the tradition, but these were modified and at time almost nullified by the fact that Italy never had ceased to claim peculiar privileges and to assert them frequently in no unmistakable manner. In addition, a new factor had entered into Italian life for which the proud construction of imperial Rome had taken no thought. Rome had become Catholic. A new force claiming to call men to a higher ideal than mere citizenship in an earthly empire had arisen in the world, and, gradually as the centuries passed, the Catholic Church developed and perfected her wonderful organization, with the imperial city as the palpitating centre of her life. Thus Rome became head of the political and ecclesiastical world—the energizing force behind the world-wide Church and the theoretical world-wide Empire. History contains no grander conception. The keys of Peter and the sceptre of the Emperor were to hold the world in parallel subjection. But, like most great conceptions, it was hard—nay, impossible—to realize. As time went on, it became increasingly difficult to define the boundaries between the things of Peter and the things of the Emperor, and, when such definitions were forced on Church and State, another problem was added—who was the authoritative source of definition? For generations Italy was torn in factions over the complicated issue, with the tragic result that the Catholic Church found herself borrowing from the State ways and means peculiar to the State. Instead of lessening the difficulties, the Church, by her methods, rendered more confused than ever the issues between the spiritual and the temporal, until St. Francis and St. Dominic called her back to something of her real mission. We shall see later how this struggle affected Dante's writings. For the moment it is only necessary to notice that Pope and Emperor appealed in turn to the Italian towns for their support, and as a consequence these towns developed an importance in history out of all proportion to their population or individual political value. Broadly speaking, the old Italian nobility stood on the side of the Emperor, while the towns and cities, even in the thirteenth century full of a strong national sentiment, were favorable to the Pope. With the Pope lay the victory. Frederick II. fell and the Suabian house disappeared. Once the imperial rule

was driven out, Florence, with its neighbors, was left to work out its own salvation. Time would tell whether the victory of the Church would be beneficial. At this point in her history Florence was full of the intense life which flowed from the success of the Papal arms. Intellectually, commercially and politically it was beginning that romantic career in the world's history which made her for generations the pride and glory of Italy. And in these early days of the new life of his native city, there lay before Dante many possibilities for success and fame in any of its many activities. But his future lay in other spheres than those of trade or war or politics. When only nine he met Beatrice, the daughter of Folco, Portinari, and his boyhood's love stirred in his Southern heart the infinite longings and vague figures of his imagination. To the vast majority of men such an episode would have faded into nothingness as the years brought the philosophic mind. To Dante it remained not merely as one of the greatest inspirations of his life, but also at the moment when the poet was born within him.

Each meeting with her strengthened in his soul all his conceptions of purity, perfect beauty and divine holiness. As a rule, the loves of boyhood and girlhood fade quickly when the boy and girl see more and more of one another, and seldom do they assume a spiritual aspect. With Dante it was different. Beatrice became day by day not only the centre of his longings, but the incarnation of his ideals. Parallel with his spiritual development, which Beatrice inspired, his mental development went on apace. Casella taught him music. Brunetto Latini, one of the greatest scholars of his age, taught him book-learning and the ways of men. To both he pays tribute in the "Divina Commedia." At eighteen the poet found himself, and he has left us in the "Vita Nuova" an intimate and minute biography of the next seven years of his life—the heroic and spiritual love of Beatrice. Even her marriage to Simone de Bardi did not change Dante's attitude to her. Her smile, the touch of her hand, her gentle presence in the distance moved him in the present as in the past. She continued to inspire his visions, etherealize his thoughts, banish his lower nature. Thus it happened that Beatrice became to him a centre of development. He found himself in her.

But the lover and poet did not kill in him the man of affairs. He pursued his studies with energy, was active in all the departments of a citizen's life, and once at least—at the battle of Campaldino—he bore arms for Florence against the Ghibellines. The death of Beatrice, while it overwhelmed his soul, only served to increase his activities and to bring out in him more prominently his business instincts. Indeed his marriage to Gemma di Donati can



largely be attributed to his keen desire to serve the State. Whether he loved her or not must remain a mystery. He never in any of his writings mentions her or her seven children. To the ordinary student of life the years following Beatrice's death must seem years of prosperity for Dante. Prosperous, respected and important, his fortune developed with that of Florence. But Dante himself always looked back on them with regret. Out of them, however, the true Dante was born. He feared that his public activities were killing the ideals which Beatrice had fostered; that he was losing hold on his real life and his real duty. In reality these years were fruitful in his life's work. Study and reflection over her death transfigured and transformed Beatrice from the girl of boyhood's love, from the idealized woman of his young manhood's visions, into his great teacher. She became his guide and he won his victory when at her dictation he sacrificed all outward success to his soul's inner development.

We need not from this point follow his life in close detail, as it is well known to most of my readers. Family feuds and disputes with the Pope drove him in exile from Florence. As an Ambassador at Rome he learned from his contact with Boniface VIII. some stern lessons in ecclesiastical politics, which as we shall see bore fruit in his "*De Monarchia*." Poor, friendless and alone, he lived a wanderer's life—now in Italy, now in France, now perhaps in England. When Henry of Luxemburg was elected Emperor, hope once more revived in his heart that the petty jealousies, the town feuds and the family wars would give place to a new and united Italy. On the footsteps of the imperial throne he greeted Henry VIII. with a clarion call to his high mission: "Italy, your bridegroom is at hand! Rejoice and be glad, wipe away your tears and put off the weeds of your widow's mourning." But Dante's dream was destined to remain a dream for centuries. Henry died within a few years. With him died all hope of a united Italy, if ever indeed he was the man to accomplish it. Dante continued his wanderings and refused to end his exile by accepting a nominal imprisonment and public penance. The same high ideals lay behind his refusal as governed his whole life. "If my city cannot receive me back honorably, it will never receive me back." The failure of his political visions only served to throw him back into the world of thought, which is his true native land. As the guest of Guido da Polenta, among the pine forests of Ravenna he pondered and completed his great epic. Here hope still followed him—would not Florence recall him and crown him as her own poet? Another age would see the event. Lonely and outcast, he passed "from human things to the divine, from time to eternity, from Florence to a peo-

ple just and sane." And his epic reflected his life. The shadow of disappointment hangs over his "Inferno." The unsatisfying calm produced by reflection and study stands over the "Purgatorio." A soul surrendered to divine love, tried by the disappointing will-o'-the-wisps of the world, finds its Father and its God in the "Paradiso."

I have surveyed shortly the circumstances of Dante's life, because, as I have said, he sums up his age. It is now necessary to turn to his writings and to see if possible the manner in which the man and his life are reflected in them. It must not be forgotten that Dante is not merely a poet, although his immortality rests on that fact. He is a theologian, a philosopher, a philologist, a politician. He studied with ceaseless care the whole round of human learning during his age and in his writings he sums up all its intellectual activities. This, as I have said, is Dante's greatest characteristic. No other writer in the world's literature has given such a complete picture of the varied complications of contemporary life—and what a time Dante's was! Then the Catholic Church knew nothing of heresy and schism and the world at large lived under the peace of her divine unity. The Empire still held out the conception of a world-wide kingdom, though men were beginning to assert themselves for themselves while professing loyalty to it. The fine arts—music, painting, sculpture, poetry—were beginning to reflect the beauty of God's creatures in idealized forms. Life was full of various fascinations in that far-off Italy of the thirteenth century, and Dante's own contact with it made it all the more wonderful. Was he not the ideal lover? Was he not the diligent student? Had he not idealized civics and politics? Had he not wandered among many peoples and learned from actual contact with life the stern realities of his age? But his experiences were not mere experiences to be recorded in the current speech of his day or stored up in his mind. Everything was analyzed, everything was pondered on, everything was passed through the alembic of his own personality. Thus his writings, whether prose or verse, are not merely a poet's writings. There is little of the poet's lightness of touch, of the poet's passion, of the poet's fire. They are intense with reflection, with thought, with high debate and sublime vision, and as his powers developed, he was forced to leave behind the simpler diction of his early poetry and prose. He required an adequate vehicle to convey the thoughts that rushed upon it, and he found it in symbols and imaginings, as in our day Francis Thompson has done.

We shall begin, as Dante practically did, with the "Vita Nuova." How often has this work been dismissed in histories of literature as a

youthful love poem, in which intense love has crowded out the world, or rather gathered in the world to its own life! Such criticism is, if not shallow and puerile, at least completely inadequate. And if the student of Dante does not pass beyond it, he will never feel the poet intimately in his midriff and his marrow; he will never know the real Dante. The "*Vita Nuova*" is no mere sigh of a lover's youth in the form of great poetry. It is, in truth, the key that unlocked Dante's personality. The great note of the poem is at once evident to the discerning reader. It is a poem of thought, not of passion—a poem where reason and intellect control the beauty of love inspired by Beatrice and place it in its proper place in the poet's life. The proper place for that love Dante found in this control. To him, as to other men, love had its glow, its sweetness, its intensity, its meccas, its exiles, its spiritual valuation. But most men—most poets who write of love—find in it something which moves the swift pen and sweeps aside Horace's nine years' mediation before writing. It is a something which comes once and must be recorded with speed ere it vanish into something elusive. To Dante love was something different in purpose, though not in origin, from the love of other men. It was to him a permanent lasting thing—part of the very warp and woof of his life. It was therefore something on which his reflective powers must work, something with which thought must deal if it were to be woven into its proper place in life's varied web. Hence the "*Vita Nuova*" is not a mere ordinary love poem, full of love's intensity, of love's kindred sympathies, of love's own peculiar marks. It is a poem—still a love poem—produced by a combination of the whole man, in which love's ephemeral movements are analyzed to find love's permanent years. And so Dante gives us his own estimate: "The image of Beatrice was of a kind so perfect that it never once permitted me to be overcome by love without a faithful council of reason." Love unrealized, as the world counts it, is the theme of the "*Vita Nuova*;" but it left to the poet a permanent gift. It becomes reasoned love fitted into its due place according to the mind of the master-lover. It followed Beatrice beyond this life, and his purpose in life became henceforth a diligent attempt to write of those wonderful ideals and thoughts which his love for Beatrice had given birth to within him. All his intellectual pursuits, all his civic and political activities never blinded him to his mission in life—to find the real behind the transitory, and this purpose inspired his first prose work—the "*De Monarchia*."

We have already seen something of Dante's Italy. The Italian cities of the thirteenth century were by no means the ideal centres of self-government which they have too often been painted. Stand-

ing before two great and rival powers—the Papacy and the Empire—their main object seems to have been to play off these two powers against each other in order to secure time and space for their own party strifes. They had no conception of the common good of a common Italy. They were part and parcel of the political theorizings of his day. Their own advantages were more important than the good of the whole. Dante in this connection, as elsewhere, reflected on his conception of their place in Italian life and found it hopelessly inadequate, because so transitory and unreal. The “*De Monarchia*” is really our first modern political system. He wishes to separate the ecclesiastical from the political sphere and to make an Italy one under the Emperor, with its centre at Rome and free from all political control on the part of the Church. He grasped the ideal of Italian unity and Italian nationality in an age of Italian disintegration, and he wrote of it in terms which strangely anticipate the letters and speeches of Cavour. We may not indeed agree with either Dante or his nineteenth century follower, but we must admire his sincerity of purpose and the thoughtful conclusion, so far in advance of thirteenth century Italy.

The “*De Vulgari Eloquentia*,” written in his early exile, is in a sense a second part to the “*De Monarchia*” and is also closely related to Cavour’s ideal. The work has obvious limitations and errors—for philology was an unborn science then—but we have concern only with Dante’s aim. Once again the man of thought is evident. Unity ought to be the goal for Italy. In his “*De Monarchia*” he advocated that Italians should be ruled by one central government and obey one system of laws. Here he sets forth the advantages of one language for them. As a system of central government would tend to eliminate futile divisions in political life, so one language, which would oust dialects, would tend to overcome family feuds—the end of both—one government and one language—to produce a strong peaceful unity in the broken ineffective life of unorganized Italy. His own poetry helped his ideal more than the speculation of the “*De Vulgari Eloquentia*.”

We need not delay over the unfinished “*Convito*,” full though it is of Dante’s reflections on the myriad life of his day. It is only interesting because it was the work on which he was actively engaged when he began the “*Divina Commedia*.” The contrast is inevitable. The “*Convito*” is full of Dante’s intellectual life, full of all the strangest problems of his age, but how poor a thing it is compared with the work which he produced when his intellectual activities were turned into the abysmal depths of his own personality! The “*Convito*” is but the body of which the “*Divina Commedia*” is the soul. The difference lies here. Dante’s great

poem is a combination of thought and imagination. All the knowledge and all the science of his day are found in it, but poetic fancy plays over them, as it did in the soul of the real Dante. And, whatever else the reader may find in the "Divina Commedia," this one thing he cannot miss—that it is the song of the soul—the song of the reality of life—the world's great epic of constructive reflection. In a way we can compare it with "The Tempest." Like Shakespeare's last play, it was written in the close of life, when the experiences—divinely appointed—were soon to be "rounded with a sleep." In "The Tempest" and in the "Divina Commedia" we find the full wisdom of Shakespeare's and Dante's maturity. But "Divina Commedia" has in reality nothing of Shakespeare's wonder-working world in it. Dante is greater than Shakespeare, because he has succeeded in giving us the picture of a soul in all its reality without any "supernatural machinery," and given it to us with all the peculiar atmosphere of his age, while keeping it true to all time. A large critical study remains to be written on the use of metaphor by Homer, Dante and Milton. The keynote of this study would, I think, be found in the closeness with which each poet followed his age. Dante is intensely realistic, with all the realism of the mediæval Church.

At the moment ecclesiastical art was employed in Florence to emphasize the divine purpose in life and to give vivid ideas of the horrors attendant on man's thwarting of that purpose. The friars were calling men back to the realities of their vocation by word-pictures of the bliss of the redeemed and the tortures of the damned. So Dante took up the ethos of contemporary life in the "Divina Commedia." His canvas is brilliantly realistic, because his faith was comprehensive. This fact answers any criticism that Dante was irreverent.

And how has the poet worked out his picture of a soul? He did not create a Prospero and his companion *dramatis personæ*. He was more audacious and more successful, because he took a soul that he knew, no half-creation of experience and imagination. He pictured the soul of Dante in all its stern reality, with no magic wand and no magic book—just the everyday Dante. He lifted his own circumstances, the activities of his complete personality, he placed them in relationship to the eternal realities, and he looked on them in as detached a manner as possible. It was a fit theme for a theologian or a philosopher, but theology and philosophy were too cold if his conception would become a universal appeal. He combined them with fancy and imagination and he laid all men under obligation to him. What has he given us? Dante Degli Alighieri and the workings of his soul, surrounded with all the

questions and doubts of his day—all placed in their true relationship to God. Such a combination precludes the possibility of trifling. No one can read the "Divina Commedia" without seriousness of purpose. It was Dante's aim to show each reader the frequent possibilities of life; and he shows them to us, because even life's meanest round is pictured in its true value to the eternal life of God. "The things not seen are the things eternal." That is the central fact of the poem, and that is the greatest claim. No other writer has taken a human soul in all its actuality, surrounded it with its own activities, its own friends, its own image—and then lifted the whole picture out of its relation to time and placed it in the sublimest color in its relation to eternity, where earth's valued nothingnesses fall aside before that Eye which "searches the very heart of man, what is in him." Such a conception must be real, because its *raison d'être* is to bring the soul into contact with the only reality. It must be stern, because the medication of right and the punishment of wrong are to the immutable Lawgiver always stern. And so Dante takes vice and virtue and gives them a concrete form in real men in order that the reality of his picture may arrest the mind and will. This note of reality runs all through the poem, even in details. Who can forget the realistic description of Inferno or of Purgatory? As Dante journeys, how carefully does he bring back to us that *he*—a human soul—is journeying. We read of his weariness, of his fear, of his toils, of his old friends. We hear much of his personal history and Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise take, as it were, a color from himself. In Inferno how haughty and arrogant he seems! He is superior to the lost souls. This is no cruelty, as superficial criticism would ask us to believe. Dante is fitting his soul into relationship with the purposes of God. He is passing through Inferno for his own benefit, and there he sees the wrath of God in its eternal punishment of sin. His soul's development must preclude any pity for those who have closed on themselves the gates of joy. In Purgatory the same is true. Dante is here a soul being purged, and there is within him the expectant hush of the waiting world. He walks with humility and thankful quiet. In Paradise the same is true. Here he is the lowliest of the low—the latest tyro in the Beatific Vision, the lowest scholar in the Divine Wisdom. Here all things take their due place. Thus we never forget reality, because all through the poem Dante is with us. In Inferno he learns the awful heinousness of sin. In Purgatory, he passes through the cleansing fires. In Paradise, "he knows even as he is known." Of earth all that remains is the far-off Beatrice of the "Vita Nuova," who, from his ninth year, had filled him with a desire to follow the real and who had drawn him

to the paradise of God. Thus the real Dante fades into the symbolism of man's high endeavor. His poem is of his own soul, but its gospel is universal. And the seven hundred years that have passed since Beatrice awoke the ideal in his heart have but added volume to that universal gospel of the "Divina Commedia."

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Toronto, Canada.

## BISHOP HUGH McDONALD—1770—1773.

THE great debt of gratitude which the Catholics of Scotland owe to the earlier Vicars Apostolic is apt to be forgotten.

The following pages deal with the life of one who truly merited well of the Catholics of his own day and of later generations also, and whose name was long a household word in the districts over which he watched with most fatherly care for the long period of forty years.

The episcopate of Bishop Hugh McDonald began with every prospect of great success and of great prosperity. He certainly was most qualified for the position of Bishop of the Highland District. The son of the Laird of Morar, he had been educated from childhood for the priesthood—first at the little seminary on the island in Loch Morar and later at Scalan, when the college was removed there. All these qualifications were placed before the Propaganda by Bishop Gordon, who from the first had an almost fatherly affection for the future Bishop, as having been the first alumnus of the little college to which he had devoted so much care.

Nor did Bishop Gordon omit to enlist the influence of "King" James on behalf of the candidate of his choice, as the following letter from His Majesty amongst the Propaganda archives shows:

"Most Holy Father: Both the zeal we have for the Catholic religion and the necessities of the case seem at present to require of us that we beg Your Holiness to appoint a new Bishop for the Western District of our Kingdom of Scotland. We are fully aware that the Right Rev. James Gordon, Bishop of Nicop, and Vicar Apostolic of this our Kingdom, has not been wanting in the greatest zeal for the office entrusted to him. Now, however, on account of his age and increasing weakness, he is the first to acknowledge himself unable to bear the fatigues of the visitations and of the journeys, and accordingly it is right that we should show our solicitude in relieving him. Amongst the missionaries of those districts we understand that the Rev. Hugh Macdonel excels in piety, zeal and careful observance of the Apostolic Constitutions. He has indeed labored with great fruit in that most difficult mission and knows the language of the country well; further, that he has fulfilled with distinction all the duties of a truly apostolic man is proved by the testimony alike of the faithful and of the Vicar Apostolic. We therefore strongly recommend the said Hugh Macdonel to Your Holiness, so that what the Bishop of Nicopal greatly desires for the good of the Catholic faith and for the assistance of the faith-



ful be carried into effect and he be appointed, by the authority of the Holy See, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Western portion of our said Kingdom of Scotland. In conclusion, we reverently beg the Apostolic Benediction and earnestly pray, O God, to preserve Your Holiness.

"Given at Rome, September 17, 1730.

"Your Holiness' most devoted son,

"JACOBUS R."

Born about the year 1700, Hugh McDonald had been ordained priest in 1725, up to which time he had never set foot outside the Highlands of Scotland. On October 18, 1731, he was consecrated Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District under the title of Bishop of Diana "in partibus infidelium" by Bishop Gordon, assisted by Bishop Wallace and three priests. The formal document recording the consecration states that "in order to avoid the danger of persecution" from so solemn and so holy a ceremony, everything was carried out as secretly as possible, only three most trusty and discreet laymen being present, along with the two consecrating prelates and their two assistants."

In 1732 Bishop McDonald wrote his first letter to Propaganda. He begins by thanking Their Eminences for the annual grant of 200 scudi, which had been made in his favor, as also for the sum of 100 scudi, which had been sent to provide him with episcopal vestments. He then continues: "Relying on this kindness on the part of Your Eminences to me, as soon as I was consecrated—which event took place in Edinburgh—I hastened to the Highlands and especially to those parts which seemed most to require the care and solicitude of the Bishop. These districts, to say the least, did not allow me to be idle, so great was the distress of the faithful in consequence of the dearth of missionaries. When I had worked here for a few months the sad state of affairs revealed itself. Wide tracts of country which have of necessity been assigned to single priests, on account of the scarcity of these, far exceed the capacity of the most diligent pastors. Necessity obliged that in the place of some who had died other missionaries should be brought from the South, but these, even though they were of Highland origin, were ignorant of the language, having forgotten it while they studied abroad; they were thus almost useless. The faithful greatly bewail the scarcity of priests and grieve that while those in other parts enjoy all spiritual comforts, they themselves suffer the greatest need, not from any want of diligence on the part of the laborers, but from the scarcity of these. . . . Whilst I ponder over a remedy for so great an evil, this seems to me to be the most efficacious—that a seminary be started in this High-

land District for the training of youths suitable to the ecclesiastical state. It will thus happen that the youths who will in future be sent to the colleges abroad will be better prepared, whilst others, being ordained in this country, will make up for the small number of those who come back as priests from the colleges. How comes it indeed that of the Highland youths who, after the most careful selection, have been sent abroad, so large a proportion give up the ecclesiastical state, and, returning to the vanities of the world, belie the hopes which had been placed in them?

"If, however, only those are sent abroad who have been tried in the seminary and who have made some progress in study at college, it is to be hoped that more will complete their studies and attain to the priesthood. If to these be added such as will be entirely educated in this country, it is to be hoped that there will at length be a supply of priests sufficient to satisfy the demands of both Catholics and well-disposed heretics. On the other hand, it is plain to me that without such an institution our holy faith will never make much progress, whilst there is great danger that from the dearth of priests—of which we shall always have to suffer, unless the seminary be started—many of the weaker amongst the faithful be led away by the arts and devices of the crowd of heretical ministers, catechists and schoolmasters who are daily being forced upon the people.

"Our Catholic Highlanders, however, are so poor that there is no hope of our beginning this most useful and most pious work unless Your Eminences lend a helping hand. I cannot but commend the whole matter to the zeal and charity of Your Eminences, for if it fail, not only will all our labors be in danger of proving fruitless, but we clearly foresee the loss of countless souls. I am on the point of visiting the Hebrides and other distant places, and shall omit nothing which may help towards starting the seminary as soon as possible, trusting to the generosity of Your Eminences, which has already been so great towards me and which I hope will never fail our pious labors and endeavors.

"That God may long preserve Your Eminences for the good of this mission and of the Universal Church is the ardent prayer of Your Eminences' humble servant,

HUGH,

"Bp. of Diana, Vicar Apostolic of Highlands of Scotland.

"Laggan, in Glengarry, March 18, 1732."

The following year (June, 1733) Bishops Gordon and McDonald wrote—the letter is headed "Prope Livetum Fluvium in Montanis Scotiæ"—that Bishop McDonald since his last letter had visited the most remote islands and all the other districts committed to his charge. The two Bishops beg for assistance for the

priests, who were often without the necessities of life. "Diana" again begs help for his seminary, which he had just established in the West. Regarding the seminary, it should be remembered that Bishop Gordon had found by experience the excellent results of the Scalan Seminary and must strongly have urged Bishop McDonald to start a similar college or seminary for his vicariate. Moreover, Bishop McDonald, having received all his education at Scalan, could himself realize most fully all its advantages, so that there is little wonder that he should be willing to make great sacrifices to maintain it.

In August of that year Bishop McDonald writes to Mr. William Stuart "att Hamburg." The letter is dated Moydart, August 20, 1733. After recommending to his care Mr. James Campbell, brother of the Laird of Lochnell, a recent convert to the Church, he continues: "In the first place, I am somewhat surprised that I did not hear from you since I left parish, having written to you several times, yet I know not if my letters came to your hands or whether your letters might have miscarried. However, soon after I came here I have learned from parish that you was very active in my behalf, not only in procuring my allowance from the exchange, but likewise interceding for some funds for keeping up a seminary in the West Coast countries, and that you was so good as to promise 300 livres a year for supporting the same. Mr. Carnegie (Mr. Innes, the principal of Scots College) tells me from Parish that the funds you had there was not so well settled, and therefore he could not as yet send the 300 livres, yet I am sensibly gratefull for your charitable disposition, as I did not fail to testify to you already by letters, and I hope since the exchange promised to give something for that purpose, you'll insist more and more for obtaining it, for I have begun that good work, haveing made up a large house in a place called the Isle of Morar, which seems to be the most proper place for the purpose in all this nation, considering my present circumstances, it being situated in the heart of our best and surest friends, where by boat all necessities can be brought and all unnecessary distractions can be kept off. I have already got three or four boys together, which is perhaps more than I am able to maintain without some help, for though I am very thankfull for the allowance I have gotten, yet I cannot spare much of it, considering the ambulatory life I lead in distant stranger countries, where I must either expose myself or behave something like the character I bear, but I shall doe all that I possibly can, being fully convinced that this is the most solid methode to procure good subjects for our college and a sufficient number of laborers, of which we never had more need in the West than

we have just now, all the neighboring countries being never more reap for conversion than they are at present. You may easily understand what disadvantages we are att in this part of the mission for want of laborers that can speak the language, for we have perhaps triple the number already Catholics, besides a greater harvest to be made, whereas we have but the third part of the laborers; not that I pretend that the rest are more than sufficiently served, but it is evident that we are ill served; from this you'll easily observe how necessary it's that **any students there** who had anything of the Highland language should endeavor to keep it, and likewise that I should be informed when you have any vacancy, because necessity requires that for a time those who have our language should be sent to the college. Hoping to have your advice and direction in this and other respects, and begging the help of your hprs, I am with sincerity,

"Rev. sir, your constant well-wisher, HU. McDONALD."<sup>1</sup>

It may be well to point out—what I have elsewhere noted—the terms of a cipher which runs through all the correspondence of this period. "Hamburg," to which this letter is addressed, is Rome; Exchange is Propaganda; laborers, the clergy; 'prentices, the students; the shop is the college, etc. Regarding the suitability of the island of Loch Morar for a seminary at this period, it may be stated that not only was the whole district of Morar most inaccessible to the various garrisons at Fort William, Fort Augustus and Bernera, but that the island, being half a mile from the nearest shore, could not be approached unseen from any direction. The inmates would thus have a chance of hiding whatever might betray the real character of the college, in case it were subjected to a visit by the military, as so often happened at the sister college of Scalan. Besides the seclusion of the spot, it is also most wonderfully picturesque. The islands on Loch Morar are beautifully wooded and stand out against the high hills which surround the Loch, so as to form a landscape which can nowhere be surpassed. The ancient college buildings—the only buildings on the island—are situated on the north side. The foundations can still be traced and measure about twenty feet square. The construction was no doubt that described by Bishop Nicolson as in general use in the Highlands at that period—stone walls filled in with peat or clay and "roofed with large timbers interlaced with wickerwork after the same man-

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<sup>1</sup> No personal description of Bishop Hugh McDonald has been preserved, nor is any portrait of him known to exist, so far at least as my inquiries have extended. If any readers of this sketch should be so fortunate as to know of a portrait, he will confer a great kindness on the many admirers of the good Bishop by communicating with me.—F. O. B.

ner that baskets are made and covered outside with divots" (turf sods). At a short distance from the college ruins the walls of the garden are still conspicuous and enclose a considerable area of what appears to be fairly rich soil, for some of the fruit bushes are flourishing even now, though they have long grown wild.

When copying the above letter in 1910 I added a note: "This letter does not appear to be written in the scholarly style suggested by Dom Oswald Hunter Blair. It has many corrections and necessary words added between the lines, giving the impression that Bishop Hugh was indeed a good Gaelic scholar, but not so perfect in English." Might it not be said that his annual letters, of which Dom Oswald admires the Latinity, were translations made by the agent in Rome? From the papers at Propaganda this suggestion is confirmed; we frequently find the Bishops writing in the vernacular to the agent, whose duty it was to transmit the report to the authorities. It should not be forgotten that to the Highlander of that date, laird though he be, English was absolutely a foreign language, often to be acquired after reaching the years of manhood, when perfection in a language is with difficulty attained. Bishop McDonald frequently insists on this when sending Gaelic speaking youths from the Highlands to the colleges abroad, where English alone was used in teaching. Moreover, the difficulties of carrying on a school at all made it more than probable that the education there conferred would not be of the same order as in a school more favorably situated.

It is worthy of note that when Aquhorties replaced Scalaw, one of the students wrote of the new establishment: "There are no ex-lactors, no more serving at table, no sweeping of the house, no other menial work to be done by them; even their beds were made for them." (Bishop Chisholm, "Discourse at Opening of New Blairs.")

It is worthy of note that when Aquhorties replaced Scalan, one patible with the forming of men of strong character and solid piety—such indeed as were probably the best suited to the troublous times in which they lived. Rather it was found by experience that the students educated in the colleges abroad grew accustomed to better fare than they could expect as priests in the Highland District, and this is urged by Bishop Gordon as one of the strongest reasons for educating as many as possible in this country. "The Bishops—so runs one report—had long noticed that many of the missionaries educated in the colleges abroad, having been accustomed during the whole of their student life to food more delicate than is usual in their own country, such as white bread, wine, etc., can on their return only with the greatest difficulty accustom

themselves to the ordinary fare of their places of mission. This is especially the case in the Highlands and islands, where there is a greater number of Catholics and where nothing can usually be obtained except barley bread or oatmeal, with water or a little milk for drink. This change of food discourages some and injures the health of others." Little wonder that the "heather priests"—as those educated entirely in the Highlands were called—were proud of their native hardihood.

Such boys as were destined for the Scots College, Rome, had usually to travel via Paris. At this period Mr. Thomas Innes was principal of the Scots College there, and to him Bishop McDonald writes, addressing the letter to him as "Mr. Melvil:"

"Fort Augustus, September 4, 1737.

"Rev. Sir: I had the favor of yours of July 4 last, and I heartily thank you for the care you were pleased to take of the 'prentices, it being very much my inclination they should be in some tolerable condition upon their arrival att Hamburg. I am very sorry that Niel McEachin has been so troublesome to that house, and to say the truth, if his defect had been known to me, I would not have sent him, but I hope he may be useful in some station or other, and truly there is no less I regret more than the want of a sufficient person to take care of youth, and therefore I am very willing that he apply to all the different branches of learning that may render him capable of that post, especially to know the latine to some perfection, not only the understanding, but the writing. And also some good knowledge of Greek, for ministers pretend now to find some secrets in that language for their owne defense, which are not to be found in English or latine editions, not even in their own translations, so it would appear that they suppose people to be very ignorant of that language when they fall upon such shifts," etc.

In 1737 Mr. Peter Grant was appointed by the Vicars Apostolic of Scotland to be their agent in Rome in succession to Mr. Stuart. The new agent belonged to Glenlivet, had gone to the Scots College, Rome, in 1726, whence he returned a priest in 1735. He was immediately sent to the mission of Glengarry. It must have been a great loss to Bishop McDonald that one of his few priests should be sent abroad, but no doubt he hoped that the new agent would look well after the interests of the Highland Catholics. As an agent Mr. Grant was most successful, remaining in that capacity till 1784—no less a period than forty-seven years. Abbé Macpherson's character of him is very charming:

"Mr. Peter Grant was a man of fine parts and of good taste in

classical knowledge, of strict honor, integrity and sweet temper, very obliging and agreeable in conversation."

During the forty-seven years he was in Rome he came to know almost all the English-speaking visitors, who in their turn came back with a high appreciation of "Abbé" Grant. He was, however, a "bad economist" and was often in want of money. After his death Lord Bute and his brother, who had been very generous to him during life, erected a monument to him in the college chapel. To him Bishop McDonald writes:

"October 19, 1738.

"I need not recommend to you to keep friends at Hamburg in mind of the promise they once made in the time of Mr. Logan (Mr. Stuart) of helping Mr. Sandison's shop, which is now fixed in Arisaig. The number of 'prentices is eight, which is much more than Mr. Sandison would wish, but some of their parents were promising to help them, yet once they gott them off their hands, they never mind them. You may judge that Mr. Sandison is not able to maintain them and the rest of the family, which comes to an equal number to what I mentioned, so you are to use your best endeavors when there is any hope of prevailing. It's a great pleasure to me to hear of your well-being, and the great loss I suffered by being deprived of your good assistance att home is very much made up by your good behaviour abroad. We think ourselves very much obliged to such persons as are helpful to you in the station you are in. . . . I hope you will not fail to advise and encourage our 'prentices in the Hamburg shop. You know what condition we are in for want of laborers and how necessary it is that Mr. McGillise should come how soon he is in readiness to help us. I suppose you have heard of a worthy good laborer we had called Antony Kelly, a Franciscan "strictioris observantive," who went to Ireland some years ago and is kept there contrary to his inclination by his superiors. Now as the principal superior of that order resides in Hamburg, if you could have recourse to him to order that gentleman back again to our trade, according to his own charitable inclination, it would be a great service done to our trade, for I think him to be one of the best subjects I ever saw in our country. We had another countryman of his, I mean O'Connor, but I do not regrate him so much. The few laborers we have are so tired with troubles that some of them are threatening to forsaick the Western trade, but if any more follow the example of those who have already left us, you may expect to hear that Mr. Sandison has doon the same, for it's impossible for him to stand out alone. Mr. Leslie had a pain in his leg, but is like to get better of it. Grant and Forrester are doing very well; the best

of your acquaintance in Glengarry are very well, but the rest are weaker than ever. As for the pilgrims, I have nothing to say of them, only that I am as much feared for their coming home as I was for their going abroad, but I hope, since they insisted so much for the reformation of others, they themselves are now reformed, since in my opinion they had more need.

"Your humble servant,

"HU. SANDISON."

"Sandison" in the signature and throughout the letter is the Bishop himself. He was the son of Alexander (Sandy) Macdonald, of Morar, and hence concocted the name Sandison. His father's first wife was a daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, Chief of Sleat, while the Bishop's own mother was a Macdonald, of Kinlochmoidart, another of the main families of the clan Donald; he was thus related to all the best families in the Highlands.

Two years later the worthy Bishop wrote in similar terms regarding the boys and their prospects:

"Kinlochmoydart, June 20, 1740.

"To Mr. P. Grant: Both of these boys have learned the rudiments of latin language and have very good capacities and other good dispositions suitable to the trade they are to take in hand, if such plans do not please our friends att Hamburgg it's not in my power to satisfy them and the circumstances of those countries in which we live ought to be considered where youths have no opportunity of being taught, unless they be sent to Presbyterian masters, which our people look upon as the greatest of evils; therefore, they think it much better for their children to have religion without learning than learning without religion, but if our friends at Hamburgg would charitably incline to grant some small funds for supporting a nursery in this country, they might expect very good plants in a very short time, wheras without this it's impossible to prepare subjects for them in the manner they ought to be prepared.

"I was surprised to see Donald MacDonald coming home without so much as a letter telling the reasons of his departing from Hamburgg shope, for there is no man in this country that keeps better health since he came home, but youths going to that country have a great disadvantage that upon their arrival there they are immediately taught by members who do not understand their language and consequently cannot be understood by them, which will certainly hinder them for a considerable time from making any great appearance att publick schools."

We cannot but notice the threat of the good Bishop in the previous letter, that if others of his clergy left the Highland mission,



he himself would resign. His was indeed to be a most troublous episcopate despite the brilliant hopes with which it had begun. One chief cause of the trouble is hinted at in the closing paragraph of the previous letter. "The Pilgrims" were two priests of the Highland District who had obtained permission to visit Rome under pretense of pleading for an increase of the annual allowance. In Rome they so far exceeded their instructions as actually to accuse the Vicars Apostolic of Jansenism. It is well known how rife this heresy was in France at the time, so that it needed little to make the accusation grow. Certain it is that throughout his life the action of these two ecclesiastics and of others who sided with them made the episcopate of Bishop Hugh McDonald and of the other Vicars Apostolic lives of great suffering and trial.

About this time the Bishop wrote to Mr. Innes that the two sons of Clanranald—whom he calls Mr. Callender—are to be sent to Amsterdam (Paris). They are to keep their "owne clothes and linnens" and to study Latin and Greek, but especially to make themselves good Christians. In a postscript to this letter Bishop McDonald again declares the difficulties against which he had to contend:

"I did not as yet speak to Mr. Hudson about Mr. Mackenzie for fear to discover anything that is contained in the letters from Hambourg until I see Mr. Fife (Bp. Gordon), but I expect to get the letter of Birly Hudson now, and to be sincere with you, I am not well pleased that Mr. Fife is so easie in giving faculties to persons who retire from the West countries purposely to get more ease and convenience, for this is the true way to win the West Coast trade, and if people continue this way of doing I will certainly give over all trading and retire to some corner where I can take care of soul and body, for I am in as great danger to my health as any of them and I am not obliged to put hand in my own death more than they are; though I am willing to venture all I can with them, I can do nothing without them. Adoe."

It may have been due to the divisions amongst the clergy that several of them retired to the Lowlands or to their native Ireland, whilst the authorities in Rome were less willing to support the clergy, against whom accusations of heresy had been made. At this date it is unnecessary to go into the matter, regarding which there are two large folio volumes in Propaganda. Certain it is that the accusations and the resulting divisions amongst the clergy might have completely ruined the remnant of Highland Catholics if another terrible calamity had not fallen upon priests and people alike and thus put an end to all discussions and petty divisions.

What with his difficulties as to the scarcity of priests to min-

ister to the faithful of his vicariate and the excessive amount of work put upon single priests, what with his little seminary languishing for want of funds and the knowledge that the two missionaries whom he had allowed to go to Rome were far from forwarding the best interests of the Highland mission, there can be no doubt but that Bishop Hugh McDonald had anything but an easy time. What dreams, then, of future prosperity, of freedom from persecution and of financial assistance must have opened out to him as he heard of each success of the little Highland army under Prince Charles Edward. If only a Stuart King would grant a measure of toleration, the Church in the Highlands, with its large numbers of most pious Catholics, would soon outgrow its opponents and the districts which at this period were wavering in their adherence to the new or to the old creeds, besides many others which had only recently abandoned the old religion, would flock back to the faith of their forefathers. Bright indeed was the picture which presented itself to the eyes of the good Bishop, and for some months it seemed quite likely to be realized.

It was on his way back from Edinburgh, where he had attended a meeting of the Bishops and administrators, that Bishop Hugh met Mr. Macdonald, of Kinlochmoydart. From him he learned that Prince Charles Edward Stuart, with only seven gentlemen, 1,500 stands of arms and £17,000 in cash, had arrived on the West Coast of Scotland. The Bishop, in order to reach his actual residence in Morar, had to pass through Moydart, where he met the Prince, who was still on board the vessel which had brought him from France.

Bishop McDonald was introduced, and the Prince asked him his opinion and advice. The Bishop candidly told him that the country was not prepared for his reception and that his coming had not been expected till the year following; that any attempt at the present time would **endanger** his person and probably ruin his best friends; that therefore his advice was to return to France immediately in the same ship and wait for a more favorable opportunity. This advice was little relished by the Prince, and Bishop McDonald was not further consulted. All this, Bishop Geddes tells us, he had repeatedly from the mouth of Bishop Hugh himself.

Despite this strong expression of opinion, Bishop McDonald consented on August 19 to bless the standard which was solemnly displayed in Glenguinan before an army of 1,500 of the Prince's adherents. I have dealt elsewhere with the part taken by the Catholics in the rising of 1745, and need only add here that the Catholics of Moydart, Arisaig, Knoydart, Morar, Glengarry and

Lochagher took up arms under their respective chiefs. They indeed composed a large part of the gallant little army which Prince Charlie led to Edinburgh and on to Derby. Mr. Allan Macdonald accompanied Clanranald's men as their chieftain and as confessor to the Prince; Mr. Aeneas McGillis went as chieftain to Glengarry's men. They wore the Highland dress, with sword and pistol, and had the rank of captain.

When the brilliant campaign of Prince Charles Edward had terminated in the defeat of Culloden, the hopes of the Catholics were destroyed, and the persecution, which previous to the rising had considerably abated, was renewed with greater severity than ever. Orders were issued for the demolition of all Catholic chapels and for the apprehension of all priests. Of the chapels in the Highland District, that in Strathglass was destroyed and the priest, Father John Farquharson, taken prisoner and led to Fort Augustus, then the headquarters of the Duke of Cumberland. The chapels in Uist, Bana and at Shenval, in Strathbogie, were burned to the ground, whilst the priests' house and the furniture of the chapel of Tombae, in Glenlivet, were set on fire, but the priest's house was spared on account of the neighboring buildings. Of the priests. Mr. Colin Campbell died on the field of Culloden; Messrs. John and Charles Farquharson and Allan Cameron, three Jesuits, were imprisoned—the latter dying of sufferings and privations endured. Mr. Allan Macdonald and Mr. Alexander Forrester were made prisoners in Uist, where the altar things and vestments were desecrated. Mr. James Grant, the priest of Barra, surrendered himself because the men from some ships of war threatened to lay waste the whole island if the priest were not delivered up to them.

At this period, according to Bishop Geddes, Mr. William Harrison distinguished himself by his courage and zeal. He presented himself to the Sheriff of Argyllshire, told him frankly that he was a Catholic priest, but had neither done nor meant harm to any one and begged for protection. The Sheriff was well pleased with his confidence and gave him a paper signed by himself requiring every one to allow him to go about his lawful business unmolested. In consequence of this, Mr. Harrison, in the summers of 1746 and 1747, visited almost all the Catholics in the Highlands, administering the sacraments and exhorting the people to patience and perseverance in the faith. The missionaries continued to be much harassed and kept in constant alarm in many parts of the Highlands for more than ten years, until the seven years' war broke out in 1757, and then the parties of soldiers that had been sta-

tioned through those districts were called off to be sent to the army abroad.

There exists in the archives of Propaganda an interesting letter from this Mr. Harrison. Though written at a later date, it is largely concerned with this period and is therefore inserted here in full:

"To His Eminence the Cardinal of Albano, Protector of Scotland, and the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.

"Most Honoured Sirs: I wrote last year to Your Eminences to enquire whether any dispensation has been granted to the missionaries in Scotland, as is reported, from the obligation of writing every year to the Congregation. But whether the letter ever reached Your Eminences or not I cannot say. Now whereas the disposition is uncertain and the obligation certain, in doubt the safer course is to be followed. Therefore, in order to avoid so great an evil as the danger of perjury, I decided to fulfill the duty this year and to inform Your Eminences of my position and circumstances and of the fruit of my labors in the vineyard of the Lord. You must know, then, that I was formerly a student of the Scots College, Rome, and that after my return to Scotland—I belong to the Lowlands—I have by the grace of God labored for thirty years in the Highlands with great fruit. This was especially the case after the late war, when the persecution was most severe, for the priests in Moydart, Arisaig, Eigg, Canna, Mist and Baira having been imprisoned or banished from the Kingdom, I was the only priest left, so that what with preaching and administering the sacraments, I did indeed fight the good fight, did truly keep the faith and almost ended my course in dangers by land and by sea during four years. Yet all this I was enabled to do in Him, Who strengthens me.

"After three priests had come to my assistance, my sphere of work was restricted to Arisaig, Morar and the Isles of Eigg and Canna until the beginning of last year. At present on account of my infirmities I am forced to remain in one district—that of Arisaig—where, thanks be to God, I am still able to fulfill all my priestly duties.

"It will not be out of place to add whatever occurs to me regarding the mission in general. As the heretical preachers leave no stone unturned in order to propagate their errors, I trust that Your Eminences on their side will arrange all things wisely for the spread of the faith and the extirpation of heresy. The harvest is great, indeed very great, but the workers are few, for there are at present six wanting in order that each parish should have its own pastor, and that even although R. F. Mathias, of the Order of St.

Dominic, came to Mist last year and took over that district. To Ireland, his native land, this country is greatly indebted for the zeal and labours of those apostolic men, who at the time of the general apostasy from the faith preserved the Roman Catholic religion whole and entire in the Highlands until apostolic men came from the Lowlands, who sent the children of Highland parents to be educated in the Scots College abroad. It seems at present that the whole priesthood will shortly be confined to the one clan of the Macdonalds, although the chief men of that clan are not Catholics. I greatly regret that the other Highland clans are in the darkness of error and in the shade of death, for I know well that numbers of them are in excellent disposition to receive the faith, and that they would willingly allow their children to be brought up in the Catholic faith. These might, as opportunity offered, convert their parents and their friends, who would, moreover, shield them in times of difficulty. This being so, I commend them and myself to Divine Providence and to the kindness of Your Eminences.

“WILLIAM HARRISON.

“At Kilmorin, in Arisaig, vi. Ides Januarii, 1767.”

The letter is indorsed—Answered April 15, 1767.

When the writer states that apostolic men from the Lowlands had so large a share in saving the faith of the Highlanders, he refers no doubt to Bishop Gordon and also to Bishop Nicolson. He is also quite correct when he speaks of the missionaries from Ireland, Father White and his companions having undoubtedly saved large districts to the true faith. Other details regarding Mr. Harrison are given by Bishop Geddes, who states that “he went from Germany to Rome and entered the Scots College in 1733, returning priest in 1737. After the rising of 1745 Mr. Henderson (alias Harrison) was for two years in perpetual motion, visiting and administering the sacraments without any fear to the whole body of Catholics dispersed through all the Highlands. He ever after gave great contentment to his Bishop till his death, which happened on Friday, February 5, 1773. He was known amongst his confrères as ‘Hatmaker.’”

But to return to the state of the country after the battle of Culloden. According to Bishop Geddes, Bishop McDonald, along with his brother, the Laird of Morar, and Lord Lovat, retired to the Island of Loch Morar and drew up all the boats, flattering themselves that the troops would make but a short stay in those parts and that they would be safe there until the departure of the military. But perceiving that the soldiers had brought a boat overland from the sea to the lake, they were obliged to disperse. During their stay in the island Lord Lovat, who had long been a Catholic

at heart, wished to be received formally into the Church by Bishop Macdonald and was preparing to make his confession. But now he was obliged to take refuge in the neighboring woods, where he was taken care of by a gentleman of his own name for a day or two, until, not being able to bear any longer the inconveniences of that situation, he sent for an officer, to whom he surrendered himself. The party of soldiers pillaged the house on the island, where they found several papers and letters, some of which were afterwards printed in a pamphlet, with observations to render the Catholics odious, and amongst these were some letters written and signed by Mr. James Grant, who was afterwards Bishop.

Innumerable are the anecdotes told of old Lord Lovat. The following is a local one and may be less well known:

"From the larger island the fugitives sought shelter on a smaller one, but as the soldiers approached this he escaped across the narrow strip of water to the mainland and sought refuge in a large hollow oak stump, which may still be seen. But the vigilance of the troops proved too much for him, and, hearing their nearer approach, he was attempting to penetrate still further into the mountains, when they came upon him. The officer in command cried out, 'Stop! I have caught you; you are my prisoner in the name of King George!' On hearing this the Highland Chief retorted sharply, 'Not you, by G—, but the eighty-seven years on my back have caught me.'"

As to Bishop McDonald, after leaving Loch Morar, he lurked about as best he could, until in autumn he found an opportunity of crossing over to France in one of the ships which came in search of the Prince. The Bishop then went to Paris and stayed at the Scots College. He later obtained a pension of some hundred livres from the Crown of France, under the name Moralle, and this he enjoyed until his death. He returned to Scotland in 1749 in the month of August.

In view of the fact that Bishop McDonald was for several years between 1759 and 1762 "a lodger," as the contemporary account has it, with the future Bishop Geddes, this latter is a most reliable authority in such matters as the preceding. It is all the more interesting to find him in error where he says that the letters found by the military at Morar were "written and signed by Mr. James Grant, who was afterwards Bishop." Now there would be little occasion for Mr. James Grant, then a very young priest in Baira, to write such letters to the Bishop of the Highland District. If, however, we suppose that the James Grant who signed the letters was none other than Bishop Gordon—who frequently signed himself James Grant, as we have seen—nothing is more probable than

that these would be most important papers belonging to the vicariate during the previous fifty years.

The ruin which the ill-fated attempt of Prince Charles Edward had brought upon the Catholics was beyond all credence. The official reports of the time show how the poor people were often massacred in cold blood, whilst hundreds of men were taken prisoners on the mere suspicion of having been in arms. The houses of whole districts were burned and the poor women and children left to starve on the hillsides, whilst the cattle, their chief means of support, were driven off to be sold for a few shillings. The following extract from official documents speaks volumes to those who think of the quiet glens so recently thickly populated with flourishing crofts on each side of the river or roadway: "November 19 went into Kintail, and then came in by Glenshiel, and from that to Glenmorrison, which is all burnt, consisting of twenty villages. . . . They seemed to have no arms and in a starving condition for want of meals and in firing. Went from Glenmorrison to Gengarry, where there is neither houses nor people, only some few huts inhabited by women only in a starving condition." Under such circumstances where could the poor priest find a lodging, especially as it was now a criminal offense to lodge him or give him food? The sad state of things is thus described by Bishop McDonald in his letter to Propaganda:

"Most Eminent and Rev. Sirs: No nation probably was ever so broken down with suffering and persecution as Scotland, and especially the Highlands, have been since the date when our Prince was forced to give way before the armies of the enemy. To confine myself to the Highlands, this I can most certainly assert that the enemy were moved by such hatred and fury in those districts that they not only carried off all the means of subsistence and the household furniture, but immediately put to death every man, woman and child that fell into their hands. Those who escaped were forced to hide in caves and rocks, so that I cannot obtain any news regarding them.

"In this terrible state of affairs seven Highland priests have been thrown into prison, namely, four seculars and three Jesuits. I greatly fear lest the other remaining five suffer the same fate, being as they are surrounded by enemies and with no one to assist and to support them. The enemy was especially hostile towards me, and it is clearly Providence alone which saved me from so many dangers, for I found myself robbed of all my effects, both personal and ecclesiastical, and in certain danger of death by hunger or the sword if I delayed longer amongst the enemy. At last an opportunity offered itself and I crossed safely into France. I

am, however, in the greatest need, ill in mind and body, or I would at once continue the journey to Rome. But I am forced to stay in Paris until money be sent me either to continue the journey to you or to rest awhile wherever Your Eminences think best until the heat of this most cruel persecution abate at least in part.

"Meantime I find myself overcome with anxiety to return to the work to which I have devoted the past twenty years with great profit to the mission."

How bitter the hatred was towards all Catholics is shown by the leaflets and the writings of the time. For instance, in July, 1746, the "Scots Magazine" has the following: "Another good that has sprung from our late troubles (and I hope no small one) is its having engaged so many noble hearts and pens in exposing the fraud, deceit, treachery and oppressive tyranny of Popery—a work of vast consequence to this nation." A month later appears the following: "Yet the father whose spurious claim he came to assert was by all accounts an inflexible bigot of the Romish superstition; that it could not be imagined but that the Young Pretender also, having been carefully educated in Rome, thought himself under the strongest obligations to promote the same cause; that the manifesto he had published was in the same strain with the declaration of King James II., viz., 'That he intended to allow *all* his subjects free liberty of conscience,' which the Protestant people of England plainly saw was intended to open Popish Mass Houses and under color of this indulgence to bring in a swarm of priests to corrupt and poison the land."

Burt also tells a story, the point of which evidently is that Popery was the greatest of all evils, than which nothing worse could be imagined. "I was told," he says, "by an English lady, wife of a certain lieutenant colonel, who dwelt near a church in the low country on your side of Edinburgh. At first coming to the place she received a visit from the minister's wife, who after some time spent in ordinary discourse invited her to come to kirk the Sunday following. To this the lady agreed and kept her word, which produced a second visit; and the minister's wife then asking her how she liked their way of worship, she answered: 'Very well, but she had found two great inconveniences there, viz., that she had dirtied her clothes and had been pestered with a great number of fleas.' 'Now,' says the lady, 'if your husband will give me leave to line the pew and will let my servant clean it against every Sunday, I shall go constantly to church.' 'Line the pew!' says the minister's wife. 'Troth, madam, I cannot promise for that, for my husband will think it rank Popery!'"

To Bishop McDonald's other misfortunes at this period must



be added the attitude of his superiors at Rome. His own words in the following letter show how deep were his feelings in the matter :

"Bishop Hugh McDonald to Mr. Peter Grant :

"Paris, February 24, 1748.

"Dear Sir: You have here enclosed the answer to the last letter I had from the Card. Protector, in which he calls very pressingly for two hopeful students for our college att Rome, and he will have them to be very well educated, prepared and instructed in the principles of religion, but the question is how to find such boys att present, and it seems His Emin. does not reflect upon the situation of our country, notwithstanding all the representations we have given of it. Therefore it's necessary to keep him and others in mind that we never gott any help or assistance for educating boys or preparing them for the college, and that such a thing can't be doon to purpose without great charges; it should also be considered that any little methods we make upon our owne expties (!), even by scrimping ourselves very much, are now entirely ruined; the Scalan was burned and the little kind of seminary I had on the West Coast is totally destroyed with all I have, so that it would be impossible at present for me to provide such hopeful subjects as are called for, even tho' I had been at home, much less can it be doon when I am here, besides there is great difficulties in sending boys, by reason that there is such strict watch in all seaport towns in Brittan with regard to prisoners going out of the Kingdome or coming into it, so that B. Smith, who kept two boys att Edin'b. since summer last, waiting an opportunity of sending them here, was obliged att last to send them back to the north because he found the thing impracticable. However, I am glad to hear that Mr. Alexander McDonald is saifly arrived in the country, but I am very much surprised to hear from him by Mr. Leslie, who had seen him att London, what follows, to witt, That our Card. Protector and all our friends at home were wishing and expecting that I would have gone straight forward to Rome upon my arrival here, and that if I had doon so I might be sure to obtain any reasonable favour, both with respect to myself and the mission, and yet you know I wrot to the Cardinal and to you upon my arrival here representing the great inclination I had of going forward, but that I could not do it att that time for want of money and other difficulties, but that I was most willing to go to Rome, if I gott the least encouragement or help to bear my charges, or any hopes (sic) of obtaining anything worth the while for the mission. I say the while because the gratification granted just now would not be worth the while, and I hope by the intercession of good friends

to obtain something better here, notwithstanding that people have not such interest in me, or the mission, as our patrons ought to have; you know att the saime time that the Card. Protector and you did not give me the least invitation or encouragement to go forward, but rather discouragement, which seems very strange if you saw that my going there would be of such great consequence to the mission or to my interest, which is about the saime.

"But whatever grounds this story may have, it may still do harm to me with respect to the churchmen,<sup>2</sup> who are always ready to believe anything of that kind and to attribute to my negligence the great loss they suppose themselves to be att for my not going to Rome. I have also heard that it was ill taken att Rome that I should stay here (I mean at the Scots College) or even call here, as for calling here it was impossible for me to go to Rome; without calling here because I had no money, and I had no method of getting money unless I would get it here, and to say the truth the gentlemen here were under no obligation of giving me money, by reason that my owne money had been sent to Scotland before I cam, and as for my staying here preferably to any other place, it was also in a manner necessary, because I had not wherewith to maintain me decently elsewhere, and since I was obliged to live in a mean way below my character, it was very natural I should incline to be amongst friends rather than amongst strangers; besides supposing that people here should have been suspected, in my opinion that should have been a motive to me for staying amongst them, that I might learn whether there were real grounds for these suspicions or not, and if I found sufficient grounds for them, to be sure I ought to be the first man to inform against them, and if not, I ought to do them justice, and to say the truth, tho' I have been here almost a year and a half, now I can see nothing that could give the least grounds to these injurious suspicions; but the greatest misforton is that the most of us all, both Bishops and clergie, notwithstanding that we have doon all that ever was required for the time past, and that we are willing to do all that may be required for the time to come.

"Yet we must still be suspected wherever we are and whatever we do; but it's very hard if these injurious suspicions deprive the poor mission of the necessary help that might reasonably be expected upon this extraordinary occasion. As there is no possibility of returning to the country of Holland or any port in France, it's necessary that Mr. Dugald McDonald should go home by Lisbon, and I have no other method of going home, but that

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<sup>2</sup> This refers to the disaffected churchmen, or Pilgrims, as he calls them elsewhere.

saine way which from this is very longsome and chargeable, and if I should get some few charitable churchmen to goe alongst with me, where have I Viaticks for them unless something be granted for that purpose? I suppose you'll still insist upon what I have recommended to you and Mr. Allan by the last letters, and I have a most gracious letter from our King promising that His Majesty and the Cardinal Duke will give all the assistance they can for obtaining your demands. B. Smith, as appears from his letter, is calling for a coadjutor. . . . I need not recommend to you Mr. Forrester and Mr. Allan, and you may assure yourself to find me always

"Your affectionate and humble servant,

"HU. McDONALD."

At this date the good Bishop writes again to Propaganda (November 22, 1747) from Paris. He replies to various inquiries which had been of him, stating that it had always been the custom of the Catholics in Scotland to retain the calendar as existing previous to the Reformation of Pope Gregory, but that he knows of no special permission in writing granted to Scotland by the Holy See to this effect; he presumes, however, that the previous Vicars Apostolic must have consulted the Holy See, since they had certainly continued to use the old calendar. Apparently it had also been asserted in Rome that the sacraments were administered in Scotland in the vulgar tongue, but this he states is absolutely incorrect, no such practice ever having prevailed.

During the absence of Bishop McDonald in France, Bishop Alex. Smith (Misinop.), at his request, visited parts of the Highland District, regarding which he writes to Propaganda. His letter confirms that of Mr. William Harrison, quoted above. "Mr. Colin Campbell," he says, "died of wounds received on the field of Cul-loden; Mr. Alan Cameron, S. J., died of sufferings and privations whilst prisoner on board ship; Mr. Alan Macdonald, Alex. Forrester, together with John and Charles Farquharson, S. J., after long imprisonment on board ship, were exiled; Mr. James Grant, always of delicate constitution and now further weakened by imprisonment, is not yet fit to return to the Highlands; besides the aforesaid and Mr. Colgan, an Irish Regular, who is also absent, there are left only Mr. Aeneas Maclaghlan, a man worn out by years of excessive zeal, who with difficulty attends to a small number of the faithful; Mr. John Macdonald is in a similar condition; then there is Niel Macfie, who does more harm than good and whom the other missionaries would like to see recalled from the mission, even though their own labors were thereby increased; and lastly, Mr. William Harrison and Mr. Aeneas MacGillis, who show

the greatset zeal in attending unaided the whole of the West Coast and who visit even the distant islands."

Bishop McDonald returned to Scotland in 1749, but dared not appear openly in public on account of the part which he had taken in the rising of 1745. In the summer of 1753 he had a dangerous illness, of which both he and Bishop Alex. Smith write in their letters to Rome. He would appear to have been still in delicate health when he was betrayed by a base informer and was arrested in Edinburgh in July, 1755. After an imprisonment of fourteen days he was liberated on giving bail that he would appear before the court when called for, and that in the meantime he would remain at Dans, in Merse. He returned to Edinburgh on November 15 to stand his trial, which, however, did not come on till January, 1756. It was not concluded before the month of March, when being found guilty of being a Popish priest, he was sentenced to perpetual banishment.

The following papers relating to his trial are preserved in the British Museum. The first is the letter of the Lord Justice Clerk relating to his arrest. The servile, cringing tone is certainly very unpleasant to read at the present date:

"Edinburgh, July 19, 1755.

"My Lord Duke: I have not for some time past given Your Grace the trouble of any letter, as I religiously determined to give notice of every occurrence here, I believed worthy of your being interrupted, in directing the more arduous and important affairs upon which the safety of His Majesty's Government and his extended dominions do depend, so very persuaded that laying before Your Grace trivial matters was rather impertinent than otherwise. However, I'm persuaded on account that all things at present bear the face of tranquillity at this critical conjuncture would not be disagreeable. Yesterday a Popish priest was seized in this place—he is one of their sham Bishops whom I examined to-day and have herewith transmitted a copy of his examination. I committed him to prison. I cannot say I have as yet any information of his being concerned in any unlawful practice or correspondence against the Government, nor did I find in the papers found upon him when seized any matter of accusation but what related to his superstition and absurd religion. His being in this country is by itself a crime and a cause of suspicion, and therefore he is imprisoned until he be dealt with according to law, and strict inquiry shall be made if anything other is to be laid to his charge. I have given a copy of his examination to General Bland to find out whether the officers stationed in the northern parts from which he comes have anything to lay to his charge, and I hope that Your Grace will believe that

nothing on my part shall be wanting to trace every suspicious circumstance to the bottom that may seem to relate to His Majesty's service and the peace of his dominions.

"With the utmost respect, I am, my Lord Duke,

"Your Grace's most obedient, faithfull and most humble servant,  
CH. ARESKINE.

"At Edinburgh the Nineteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five years."

In presence of the Right Hon. Charles Areskine, of Alva, Esq., Lord Justice Clerk compared Hew McDonald, Brother Consanguineous to Allan McDonald, of Morar, who being examined says that he has been in this town about a month; that he came here upon some particular affairs of his owne; that he lodged the night before he was taken into custody in the house of one Montgomery, a wight in Blackfriars Wynd; that he had lodged there only that one night and before that time he had lodged with Mr. Alexander, the painter; says that he had been last winter in the North, and that near Speyside, and left the country, thinking that he could live more quiet in this place and less subject to any suspicion from the Government. And further says that during the late rebellion he was far from being any instrument either of fomenting it in the beginning or carrying it on, and that he even thought it an unreasonable attempt and desperate; that he denies being concerned in any practices against Government since that time. But as to his religion, as that he thinks no crime, he does not judge it proper for him to answer any questions, only he does not deny his being a Roman Catholic. And if it be criminal for a Roman Catholic priest to be in this country, he does not think it very proper for a man to be asked to accuse himself, and says it is not true that ever he was apprehended upon any former occasion or was under any sentence or brought before a Judge. And further says that he knows nothing of any public or secret practices at present against the Government. And being asked whether he was not habite and repute a Roman Catholic priest, says he does not think himself obliged to give any particular answer to it, being resolved to deal in a candid manner on all occasions. And a packet of letters sealed which were found in his custody having been shown to him, says he believes that they were the papers that were found on him when he was seized and searched, and further says that he went for some time under the name of Colin McKenzie, chusing that name as less liable to suspicion than McDonald. And the reason that he had been informed that he was very falsely aspersed as having a hand in listing men for the French service, which he declares was without any manner of foundation. In regard, he never used

his interest to enlist any man into any service whatsoever. And this he declares to be the truth, and the papers aforementioned are now in his presence sealed up with the declarant's own Seal and the Seal of the Lord Justice Clerk. This declaration is taken also in Presence of the Right Hon. George Drummond, Esq., Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

(Signed) { HU. McDONALD,  
CH. ARESKINE,  
I. DRUMMOND.

Further interesting details regarding his arrest and sentence are given in a letter from the Vicars Apostolic to Propaganda dated November, 1755:

"Bishop McDonald had been forced by the severity of the persecution to leave the Highlands, and had at the beginning of summer gone to Edinburgh, where it was hoped he might remain safely in hiding. Betrayed by some base informer, however, he was arrested on the charge of high treason. But when this could not be proved, he was thrown into prison on the charge of being a Catholic priest. After two weeks he was so ill that he was allowed out on bail on condition that he should leave Edinburgh within forty-eight hours and go to Dans; he might not travel more than four miles from that town under pain of forfeiture of the £200 (1,200 scudi) bail. When summoned to appear again before the court, he did so, and was strongly urged to apply to be sent into exile. This he refused to do, and he was allowed on bail for another month, with orders to appear again when cited. There is little doubt but that he will then be sent into exile, with the certainty of death if he ever return to Scotland."

The sentence of perpetual banishment, however, was by the express connivance of the authorities, and, contrary to the expectation of the Vicars Apostolic, never enforced. Bishop Macdonald nevertheless found it necessary to live for several years outside the limits of his vicariate, residing mostly at Shenval, in the Cabrach, with Mr. Brockie and Mr. (later Bishop) Geddes, the missionaries of that wild glen. In summer he made excursions into the Highlands to discharge his episcopal duties, returning before winter to Shenval or sometimes to the house of a friend at Auchintral.

He was, however, little troubled after this date, but the hardships of his fugitive life, both before and after his sojourn in France, and the illness which his imprisonment brought on, told severely upon his constitution, which had never been very robust. His latter years were passed in comparative peace, though the worries connected with his office continued to be a sore trial to him.

From this date till his death Bishop McDonald lived almost en-

tirely in Glengarry, or, more correctly, at Aberchalder, which is the eastern boundary of that district. The house where he lived is still remembered, but it was pulled down a few years ago and another built almost on the same spot; that is, about 100 yards west of the bridge—one of General Wade's—which spans the Aberchalder burn just before it flows into Loch Oich. Half a mile from this to the east there are the remains of a chapel, which was long in use. It was situated twenty yards from the high road and the foundations of the walls can still be traced. This chapel, however, was of later date than the time of Bishop Hugh, who used one of the other buildings in Glengarry itself.

In 1763 he writes to Mr. Peter Grant, the agent in Rome:

"Dear Sir: Being lately informed that our worthy friend, Mr. Spinel (Cardinal Spinelli) wants to have a particular description of the boys preparing for his shop, which I hope you'll be in a position to give him by the help of this letter. In the first (sic), it's proper to observe that Mr. Dian is at a greater distance from correspondence than he has been for some years by past, and that he is much more taken up with what he can do (which is but little) to help poor customers in what is necessary when there is no others to do it, which is frequently the case; therefore, he cannot be too ready to answer demands as he would incline. He keeps three 'prentices near Mr. John Godsman under his particular care, to witt: Alexander, Austin and Ludovick—all three of good Cat. Families and of the same surname with Mr. Dian. They have been now for some years at school, for they knew little or nothing when Mr. Dian began to take care of them. The two oldest are about fourteen years and are learning grammar and the ordinary authors. . . . I have told you long since that it was impossible to keep shop in the west countrie, their being so many methods taken in these parts to obstruct anything of that kind, even more than elsewhere. There is no man that would be more desirous to keep a shop than Mr. Dian if it were practicable for him to do it, and tho' he had no other motive than to place Mr. Spinel, he would goe to his utmost endeavoures; therefore, when he does all that is in his power, he hopes (sic) he will be satisfied, or rather he's persuaded that his charitable heart is moved with compassion at our present destitute condition. However, amidst all these miseries kind Providence gives us great encouragement, which is that the number of our customers are rather augmenting than diminishing, this satisfaction overbalancing all our troubles. I have heard that my cousin, your neighbour, is thinking to come home this year. I am sure their never was more need for him. I know he's now growing old, but as Mr. Dian, who is about the same age with him, is giving

some help, so might he likewais. You'll remember me kindly to the young folks, and I hope our present condition will move them to go on vigorously in learning their trade well. Offering respects and compliments to all, I am, dear sir, yours, H. D."

In view of the difficulties of maintaining a Catholic school in the Highlands at this period, Bishop McDonald was driven to the expedient of boarding a few boys with one of the priests. For this purpose he chose Mr. John Godsman, then priest at Fochabers, at the mouth of the Spey, and this most worthy priest continued to have boys as boarders till the foundation of a new school at Bourblach in 1768. The following letter is written in a very shaky handwriting. Evidently the years of constant labor and untiring solicitude were making their effects felt on the good Bishop. "Patrons" are the Cardinal Protector and others in Rome. Mr. Tiberiop is Bishop John Macdonald, nephew of Bishop Hugh and the latter's coadjutor since 1761, when he had been consecrated Bishop with the title of Tiberiopolis:

"To Mr. Peter Grant, att Rome:

"Presholme, July 18, 1768.

"Dear Sir: Considering what is contained in the conjunct letter sent by Mr. Siniten (Mr. James Grant) and me to you, I have little to say in this letter, but only to recommend the bearer, Francis MacDonald, who is become of good honest people now being in Knodiort (sic), tho' they are originally from Clanranald's country. The boy is about fourteen years old, baptized and confirmed; he seems to have something more than ordinary capacity, which was the principal motive for my taking him and keeping him at school for about two years, now under the care of Mr. John Godsman, but as the keeping of boys at Fochabers has been very chargeable to me and they not so well taught as I would like, I have now begun a new shop in the West under the direction of Mr. Tiberiop, and Mr. Allan, one of the young travelers lately come, is to be constantly with the apprentices to teach them. By this I expect to have subjects better prepared than formerly, at least in a short time. It's true I may meet with difficulties and the want of funds is a great one. However, I shall do my best and depend on Providence. Mr. McKenna, who is come to the country by direction of patrons, seems to be a good young man and may be of use when advanced. He is going with me to the West, where he inclines much more to be, and we have the greatest need of his help, as Mr. Tiberiop and other laborers are excessively harassed notwithstanding the help we have got. Wishing you health and happiness, I am, dear sir, yours,

"HU. McDONALD."



The annual letter referred to in the above is signed by Mr. Hugh McDonald and James Grant (Siniten). It was thought unnecessary to bring Bishop John McDonald so far, as he had recently been ill and the journey was thought too much for him. He was, however, getting better. Since their last letter Bishop Hugh McDonald has spent the winter in Glengarry, where he had now fixed his residence and whence he attended to the needs of the Catholics as far as his years permitted. In this letter the Bishops mention that they had raised to the priesthood Mr. Alex. Kennedy, who had recently come from Rome in sub-deacon's orders. He had been placed in the small island of Eigg, where it was hoped he would prove a useful missionary.

The concluding portion of this letter is interesting as containing the petition of Bishop Grant for a coadjutor. George Hay, Robert Grant and John Geddes are the names proposed, with a very strong recommendation in favor of Mr. Hay, in which it is stated the other two Bishops and the whole of the clergy and laity concur.

How dear to the heart of the venerable Bishop the little college must have been we see from his wish to leave it, at least in large part, the heir of such small sums as he may have saved during the last years of his life. He writes to Mr. Hay:

"Aberchalder, July 2, 1768.

"Yours of July 17 came to my hands late last night only, and I not only approve that you have settled £100 of Dorlet's remittance, but I allow you to settle £50 or even £80 more, if you can do it without putting yourself to difficulties, which I do not desire, tho' it's my intention by time to add so much as will make £200 for Western shop, and I hope this can be done, tho' God Almighty should be pleased to call me sooner than perhaps I expect, and I entrust you as a friend to see it doon, as I see great necessity for it. I had no news from the West country since I saw you and I am to go off this week to that country, and Mr. McGillis is so well recovered that he intends to goe with me, until we meet Mr. Tiberiop. . . . My landlord expects to recover John Scot's money very soon. Dear sir, I earnestly recommend to you to take reasonable care of your health; you know how precious is the health and strength of a labourer at present, especially one who has the care of all our affairs. If you writ to me after this you may enclose your letter to Mr. Tiberiop, as he and I will be together while I am out of this country. Your excellent well-wisher, H. D."

The "new shop" did not appear to answer the founder's expectations, as in the following year Bishop McDonald wrote to Bishop Hay: ". . . In short the shop in the West does not answer my expectations, for I could keep boys at Fochabers much cheaper

than there. The reason is that Mr. John's house is full of comers and goers every night, and what should be spent on boys is spent on stragglers; this gives me great uneasiness and I am by time to bring the boys back to Fochabers."

Further details of the financial difficulties of the college are given in a letter of Bishop Hugh McDonald to Bishop James Grant:

"Aberchalder, October 24, 1769.

". . . As for the other gentleman mentioned by you, tho' it is very hard to part with him, he being now settled in a new station which has great need of him, yet I shall not be against anything that tends to the general good of company. I should be content to know what number of subjects may be necessary for the new colony, for I fear I shall have much difficulty to provide my share of them, as the western shop does not answer expectations. Mr. Tiberiop settled last year in such a troublesome place that his house will be full of people every night, and by his last account to me I see I cannot keep six 'prentices for less than about £50 a year. This gives great uneasiness to me, and I am thinking sometimes to having the subjects back to Fochabers, where certainly I would keep them much cheaper. However, they must continue as they are this season. As I am growing more weak and infirm and consequently less able to do any service here, I am frequently thinking to retire down the country, where I might correspond better with my friends and take better care of my poor soule, which ought to be my only affaire now. May the Almighty direct me to the best. Your most obedient humble servant,

"HU. McDONALD."

The subject of the school is again referred to in the following letter of somewhat later date. It would indeed appear that the boys actually were taken from the new college and sent to Fochabers, for in August, 1772, Bishop Hugh McDonald writes that he strongly disapproves of Dr. Alex. Geddes and "has asked for his boys back and the account for their keep." The boys had returned, but no account. "Mr. Tiberiop has been with me for eight days not long since."

Besides the management of the school, another subject of difference between the good Bishop and his coadjutor was the latter's support of the emigration scheme of Macdonald of Glenaladale. In this venture the coadjutor seems to have been willing to embark even the mission (company) funds, which clearly could not in justice be used for such purposes:

Bishop Hugh Macdonald to Bishop Grant.

"Aberchalder, November 10, 1770.

"The project of the transmigration was invented by Mr. Tibe-

riop and Glenaladale and as yet is entirely a secret from me, for it seems they suspect that I would not be for it, as indeed I am not, and I think your reasons against it are judicious and reasonable and I shall write Mr. Hay against it. I am informed Glenaladale is going to Edin, not to intercede with great people, but to borrow money from company for making a purchase in America by way of preparation for the transmigration. I hear he's not to demand so much as formerly, but I am persuaded Mr. Danlien (Bp. Hay) will not be very rash to answer demands of that kind without mature deliberation and consulting with those concerned. I pray God direct us all, for I am perplexed at all these difficulties.

"I am your most obe'd. humble servant,

"HU. McDONALD."

The whole question of the emigrations which took place at this period is very involved. That the population in many districts was far in excess of what such poor land could support is proved beyond doubt. "In 1741," writes Abbé Macpherson, "great distress prevailed on account of the bad harvest, so that during this summer *the only resource they had to preserve their lives was bleeding their cattle every other day* and supporting life with that food. This would also have failed them, as the cattle, weakened by constant bleeding, were fast perishing and the whole country swept away had not Providence hastened hay before the usual time—a luxuriant crop, part of which was cut down before it arrived at half maturity. I had it from an eyewitness that about Stobhall and other parts round Perth entire families whom hunger had forced from the Highlands were found dead in ditches and behind hedges of mere famine."

Moreover, it needs but little residence in some Highland districts to realize that these could not possibly have afforded decent sustenance to the large population which at that time had grown up within them. At the period in question all the food was grown within the district, whilst at present it is almost entirely imported. On the other hand, the number of fighting men brought into the field by Keppoch, Lochiel and others show that the population must have been tenfold what it is at present. The same is proved by the countless ruined cottages and enclosures. When these were all thriving little crofts, with numerous children, what must the population of the whole district have been?

It should also be remembered that the chief ambition of the Highland chiefs of that and the preceding century was to place as many fighting men as possible in the field. Hence they encouraged the division and subdivision of crofts until these were far too small to provide sustenance for those who lived upon them.

Granted, however, that congestion existed and that emigration offered some remedy, the manner in which it was carried out was often hard and tyrannical in the extreme. Taking all things into consideration, therefore, one cannot but feel that Glenaladale's plan of voluntary emigration, assisted by due authority, was a great boon to many, whether the lot they had to face was the continuance in a life of great hardship or forced emigration under heartless agents.

The following letter, written forty years later, when the emigrants had had time to settle down, gives a most favorable account of the new settlers:

"Chambly, Canada, N. A., October 26, 1814.

"My dear Sir: Having just returned from a visit of a month to the new County of Glengarry, I cannot help endeavouring to give you some account of it, as well as of the present condition of many of our countrymen, who were driven from their native land and who directed their course to America in search of better fortune. The county is a square of twenty-four miles, all of which and the greater part of the next county (Stormont) are occupied by Highlanders, containing at this moment from 1,100 to 1,200 families, two-thirds of them Macdonalds. More able fellows of that name could be mustered there in twenty-four hours than Keppoch and Glengarry could have done at any time in the mother country. You might travel over the whole of the county and by far the greatest part of Stormont without hearing a word spoken but the good Gaelic. Every family, even of the lowest order, has a landed property of 200 acres, the average value of which, in its present state of cultivation, with the cattle, etc., upon it, may be estimated at from £800 to £1,000. However poor the family (but indeed there are none can be called so), they kill a bullock for the winter consumption. The farm or estate supplies them with abundance of butter, cheese, etc., etc. Their houses are small, but comfortable, having a ground floor and garret, with a regular chimney and glass windows. The appearance of the people is at all times respectable, but I was delighted at seeing them in church of a Sunday—the men clothed in good English cloth and many of the women wore the Highland plaid. Land is now increasing much in price. A lot of 200 acres, without any cultivation, will cost from £120 to £200. An experienced hand can cut the wood and clear an acre in a fortnight. The ground is then ready for the seed, requiring no further preparation than being harrowed; and the produce of an acre may be estimated at from 120 to 150 bushels of potatoes or from twenty-five to thirty bushels of wheat."

The rest of the letter refers to Mr. Alex. Macdonald, who was

later Bishop, and who took such a prominent part in the emigrations and in their subsequent history.

But to return to Bishop Hugh. He maintained his energy to the last, and when over 70 years of age still visited the 'different parts of his vicariate. He writes:

"Aberchalder, October 11, 1770.

"There is about ten days since I arrived here from the West Coast after traversing all the countries in which I had any concern. Upon my arrival I took a fit of sickness, which continued for some days; thanks to God, I am better now. Glenaladale proposes borrowing £2,000 of company's funds."

After again mentioning his surprise that his coadjutor should actively support the proposal without mentioning it to the Bishop, he continues:

"Mr. Tiberiop is continually taken up making houses on his new farm. The charges are great, for I have given him no less than £74, which indeed I would not be able to give had I not been pretty well provided beforehand, and I hope he will not make any demand in haste. If he does, I know not what to say or do. I fear he is much for projects, and what gives me great trouble is the boys are not kept to their work." He concludes with the proposal to go to his brother in Arisaig if the weather would permit, but fears the long journey.

In the autumn of this year Bishop Hugh writes: "I have been in some hover wheer to settle this winter. I had a reluctance not to be within my own bounds, as little service as I could do, therefore I took once a resolution to stay with a brother I have in Arasaig who has a tolerable good house, and if I had time I could make a good warm chamber in the one end of it by roofing it above, etc., but now the season is so far advanced that I could not provide materials for that purpose; for this reason I do not expect to go to the West Coast this winter, and there is no medium but either to stay where I am or goe to you—the last would be much more agreeable if my health and the weather would allow of such a journey. Meanwhile you'll send me without delay a pound of rappee, as you used to send by the Fort William carrier."

That a Bishop should propose to retire "to a good warm chamber" built on to the end of his brother's house may well surprise the present generation. But at that date houses in the Highlands were not of great architectural beauty. It was a common practice for a young couple to be married in the morning and for the wedding party to spend the day building their future abode, which was finished before evening, when all joined in the housewarming, the dancing and festivity—at least having the good effect

of stamping down the clay floor, which was perhaps to serve for many a generation thereafter.

The following letter records the excellent relations which continued to exist between Bishop Hugh and his former host at Shenval, Strathbogie. Indeed, Bishop Geddes all through his life had that great charm of winning the affection of all who met him. As a student in Rome he formed a lifelong friendship with Bishop Hay, by no means the easiest person to get on with; here we find the pleasant recollection of Bishop McDonald for the period of his stay with him at the time of the good Bishop's greatest need, whilst of Bishop Geddes' success as rector of the colleges in Spain his contemporaries cannot speak in too high praise.

Bishop Hugh McDonald to Bishop Hay:

"Aberchaldar, March 15, 1770.

"Hon. and dear Sir: I have the pleasure of yours of February 28 in due time. . . . In the first place, I am exceedingly well pleased that Mr. John Geddes is sent off to manage our affairs in Spain, as I still thought him the most proper person for that purpose, and I am also very sensible of Mr. Siniten's and your goodness in parting with such a good useful labourer, for whom you deservedly had so much regard and so much the more that you knew that to be very agreeable to Mr. Tiberiop and me. Therefore I think myself obliged in justice and gratitude to satisfy you in making the best return I am able by sending Mr. Alex. McDonell to supply the place of Mr. Geddes at Presholme, notwithstanding our own great straits.

". . . Tho' I am well pleased at Mr. Geddes leaving the country for the good of company, yet I feel some regret to want him, especially as I was resolved to retire with him at Presholme, for I would even prefer him to my friend Mr. McDonell, as I was more intimately acquainted with honest Mr. Geddes, and if Mr. McDonell bring his mother with him I do not think I shall settle there, but in this I shall be advised by my best friends, if it be God's will to give me the satisfaction to meet with them. As to what you mention concerning contributions for Cat——, I am willing to give some, but as I have no knowledge of what may be the charges of them, I allow you to give of my money what you see reasonable for that end. I am certainly feared to be in great straits this year for want of money than I have been of a long time, for the reason that Mr. Tiberiop with my own consent is to take a farm in the lower end of North Morar on the seaside—a much more convenient situation for a shop than where it is. If this farm was stocked with cattle on a right footing it would be a great help for supporting small family, but as the stocking of it will

require at least £50, it will be hard for me to procure such a sum all at once unless I got a remittance from Mr. Dorlet. I wish you would insist upon this, for it can never come at a more seasonable time. Your affec. humble servant,

“HU. McDONALD.”

In August, 1770, Bishop Hugh visited Morar and then went on to Kuoydart, returning to Aberchalder at the beginning of October, whence he wrote the letter quoted above. He was now failing fast, but the end did not come till March, 1773. He was laid to rest in the cemetery of Kilfinnan, Glengarry, where his grave lay unrecorded until about 1890, when a monument was raised to his memory and that of two other priests who had been buried in the same cemetery. All the contemporaries of Bishop Hugh McDonald are loud in their praise of him—of his gentle character and untiring zeal, which enabled him to maintain his courage under circumstances of the greatest difficulty. His memories of the rising of 1715, which led to the closing of the school that he attended as a boy; the constant persecution, more or less severe, which filled the years from 1715 to 1745; the terrible distress which followed the defeat of Prince Charles' army at Culloden and which almost depopulated whole districts of his vicariate; his own sufferings in hiding and for several years later, ending in his imprisonment and trial—these were but incidents in a life of zealous labor for the Catholic Church in Scotland—a life indeed which at the present date is all too little remembered, but which it is hoped the foregoing sketch will help to make more widely known and appreciated.

FRED ODO BLUNDELL, O. S. B.

London, England.

## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR AND ITS SURPRISES.

IT IS entirely too early as yet to review even so much of the war as has thus far elapsed with the hope of reaching anything like its ultimate historical meaning. We shall probably have to wait at least several generations for that, for even now we feel that we are only beginning to get at some of the true inwardness of our American Civil War, finished over fifty years ago, and we are not sure that all of the significance of the Napoleonic wars has been brought home to us after more than one hundred years. History is the relation of facts, and it would seem therefore as though those nearest to the facts would surely tell them best. As a matter of well recognized historical principle, however, it is universally conceded that those who are close up to history in the making do not and indeed cannot see it well at all. They are in the position of the observer who in the midst of the trees does not see the forest because of its leaves. The eyes of contemporaries are held as regards the meaning of many events in the world around them and only subsequent generations will get somewhat near the truth. All of which makes a very interesting reflection on those who would use the newspapers or weekly reviews of events as historical matter for their high school and college students—unless they do so to point out occasionally how fallacious may be what are called contemporary documents for historical truth whenever they are not carefully analyzed and weighed against other evidence.

We have reached a time, however, when certain aspects of this war can be reviewed to advantage not with the idea of giving their ultimate and genuine significance for history, but from the standpoint of their effect upon this generation in order to help the future historian to comprehend that important detail of the background of the picture he must present. There are certain impressions that are more vivid now than they ever will be again, and these are worthy of transcription for those who come after us. It is somewhat the same as with the visitor to a foreign country. If he stays for a long while and then writes his estimation of the country and its people, he will know ever so much more about them, and his knowledge will be ever so much more accurate, but it will lack to a great extent, if not entirely, as a rule, the vividness of the first impressions of the traveler who sees particularly the inevitable contrasts that are presented by the people among whom he is sojourning for the first time to what he has been accustomed to at home. These more immediate impressions are not only well worth while having, but they are absolutely necessary for the complete presentation of any true picture of the war as of foreign travel that the



reader of the subsequent time should have. Hence the attempt to set down some of these impressions that have arisen from day to day during the war.

#### ARMAMENTS FOR PEACE.

When on August 1, 1914, the great European war was declared and in the course of a few days it was seen that all the great nations of Europe were lining up for a gigantic struggle that would literally cost the lives of millions of men and inevitably waste billions of money, as well as lead to the destruction of many practical treasures of civilization, a great many people said they were surprised. It came as a shock to them that civilized and cultured and educated nations should thus plunge into a struggle to the death, in which all our best human interests were put at stake. And yet there was no reason for anything like surprise. Europe had been visibly preparing for war for forty years. The major portion of the revenues of the great European States had been devoted to the training of citizens as soldiers and to the armament of the nation. Literally many millions of men—one might as well say tens of millions of men—had been trained how best to kill other men in case of war, and it was felt that all this immense expenditure of money, energy and time was not being made for nothing.

It is true that most of those who thought they knew anything about the subject were persuaded that great armaments were made for peace, and that the European Governments knew so well how much a war would cost in men and money that they would never permit the great nations to become embroiled in a really great war, though for political reasons they might allow or even encourage less important conflicts. Armament for peace sake had become a watchword in Europe, just as it is now coming to be with us. It is about 3,000 years ago since Homer in the "Odyssey" used the striking expression "iron of itself draws man" as constituting a good excuse why arms should be put away. The passage is famous, because I believe it is one of the two in which the word for iron, *sideron*, instead of the word bronze which Homer usually uses when referring to metal implements or weapons is employed in the great epic poems. Homer seems to have been ready to hint at least that the presence of arms constituted a temptation rather than a safeguard, but then after 3,000 years we were wiser in our generation and were therefore quite sure that "when the armed man keeps his household, it is in peace." Europe has had a sad disillusionment, but now we Americans are engaged in preparedness for war, because that will *guarantee peace*—just, I suppose, as it did in Europe.

In nearly the same way most people who read the newspapers

and were familiar with the language of diplomacy were quite persuaded that what has been called in the modern times "the balance of power," by which so many nations were lined up on each side in alliances of offense and defense, would surely preserve the peace of Europe. Nearly 2,500 years ago Thucydides spoke of something very similar that was supposed to preserve peace among the warring Greek peoples. They were franker in Greece than they are in our time in diplomatic circles, and so Thucydides called it "the balanced fear" among the nations. He felt that their dread of each other because of their mutual knowledge of their preparedness for war and the alliances that they had made would surely serve, and indeed be the only means that would prove effective, to preserve the peace. Almost needless to say, it did not, and the highly cultured Greeks went to war at the very height of their prosperity and the climax of their civilization, which was also the climax of civilization for all time, and they ruined their intellectual life, destroyed many of their artistic monuments and ushered in that decadence which brought Greece low during the succeeding century. How history does repeat itself, though all the while people talk so much about our progress and how far ahead we are of the foolish past!

It is true that incidents like the Algeciras affair had seemed to indicate that perhaps thorough preparedness for war with strong allies lined up on each side and the realization of the awful consequences that would inevitably follow from a plunging of the civilized nations of Europe into an armed conflict would eventually make for the maintenance of peace. The Algeciras affair had apparently gone so far that war seemed almost if not quite inevitable, and yet war did not occur. There was a definite backing down. It was felt that this was a token of what would always happen under similar circumstances, and that there would be not only persistent hesitation, but almost necessarily an ever recurrent refusal actually to enter upon a great modern war. This idea seemed to be confirmed by certain similar imbroglios of diplomacy that occurred during the past ten years, none of which, it is true, had gone quite so far as that of Algeciras, though quite far enough to show apparently that while statesmen could bluff loudly, and would always be tempted to do so for their personal political prestige at home, and that what is familiarly called jingoism would probably always be rife, Governments could be counted on to back down eventually before the dreadful consequences of a great war.

The idea that the awful destructiveness of our most recent engines of war had actually put an end to the possibility of at least a great continental war was entertained by many people. Even

Alfred Nobel, whose fortune was made in the manufacture of high explosives and the development of these materials to their highest point of efficiency, felt that his life work made for peace rather than war. Hence we have by the irony of fate the Peace Prize of the modern world offered in the name of a high explosive manufacturer. These were some of the rather paradoxical considerations on which the assurance of peace in many minds was founded, though there were others that seemed scarcely less convincing—before the war.

The one thing that appealed beyond all doubt to a great many people in most of the countries of the world, and to none more so than the English-speaking people themselves, as a rule, was that, come what might, Great Britain would not be tempted—indeed, could not be tempted into a great war. Continental nations feeling the pressure of each other on their contiguous boundaries might make war, but the Western Island Empire could be counted on to stay out of it. There was a very general feeling that the English people would not stand for war, and many of their statesmen were thought to be unalterably opposed to it. This was felt so strongly even by foreign diplomats that it is said that the German Ambassador in London had personally assured his Government that England would not go to war. The British Government would protest vigorously, but then would settle down to watch the unequal conflict to end. After the British formal declaration of war there, it is said to have been necessary to restrain him from doing violence to himself so deeply did he feel that his assurances to his home Government had involved them in a war, which, now that Great Britain was in it and her navy could shut up, as he and his Government well knew, the German empire from all intercourse with foreign countries, made the war a dubious matter, though with Great Britain passive the beating of the French and Russians in detail, owing to their different periods of mobilization, would have been a comparatively easy task.

In spite of this very general persuasion that the nations were afraid to go to war, military men on all sides were quite sure that all this immense costly preparation was not for nothing. The publication of Bernhardt's and Treitschke's books in practically all of the modern languages since the beginning of the war have shown very clearly that there was a large militaristic party in Germany at least who were quite confident that a great war in Europe was inevitable and not far off. The same thing was true, though perhaps to a less degree, in France, where, however, cabinets fell and political reputations were made and ruined on the question of military preparedness and the state of the army, quite as threatens to be

the case in our own country for the next generation. Nor were the English in the dark, though they were making the least preparation. It is some forty years now since the story of the imaginary "Battle of Dorking" was written showing very clearly that some at least of the English anticipated the possibility of Britain being treated as France had been treated after the war in '71. The "Battle of Dorking" was read very widely and created a deep sensation. There had been a series of war dramas and novels in more recent years that had called attention to the danger under which England was reposing so peacefully, but it was somehow felt that these were merely sensational literary productions meant to attract public attention and to make money for the writers and the playhouses.

Those who were more in touch with military matters, however, knew all the danger of a European war and how acute it was. Three years before the opening of the war Hilaire Belloc pointed out that the building of the strategical railways along the German Belgian frontier indicated very clearly that Germany would attack through Belgium, and that within a very few days after a declaration of war involving France the Belgian frontier would be violated and in a very short time after that German troops would make their way through Belgium and into North France. Knowing the country well, he pointed out almost exactly the routes that would be followed and indicated further that owing to the slowness of mobilization of the French themselves compared to the Germans, and the still greater slowness of both Russians and British, the one thing for the French to do would be to retreat before the Germans, allowing no important body of troops to become so engaged that it could not retire without too much risk, and even if necessary allowing Paris to be occupied rather than that any important French army should be separated from its base or from its communications with the other French troops. Nearly every important step of the first month of the war was thus pointed out very clearly by a military expert more than three years before the war began.

Some two years before the opening of hostilities—in April, I think, of 1912—an English military expert who did not sign his name discussed in one of the English magazines the question as to whether the first Balkan war, which was just then raging, would involve the other nations of Europe and thus bring on a great continental war. He declared that Europe was not yet ready for war. He said further, however, that in the late summer of 1914 Europe would be ready for war and that then very probably some incident in the Balkans, most likely the murder of a reigning prince down there, would precipitate a European war. Such prophetic foresight is almost uncanny, and yet it seems to have represented only what

was the feeling in a great many of those who were familiar with the trend of events in the military circles of Europe.

#### A SHORT WAR.

Once the war had actually begun, those who were surprised or said they were at its breaking out—and it is easy to see now how lacking in ordinary knowledge of the actual occurrences and feelings of their time they were—said at once: “Well, war has become so destructive that it cannot last long.” There were a good many who ventured to say—and as a rule they were people who were supposed to know something of what they were talking about—that it would be a matter at most of a few weeks. Some went so far as to declare that the war could not last more than six weeks. Three months was put conservatively as the outside limit of it. That it could not last beyond the time when the snow would fly was a favorite expression. How almost inexplicably wrong most of us were with regard to the possible length of the war can be judged very well now when it is a year and a half in progress, and if possible the end seems farther off at the present moment than it ever did at any time during the war, and above all at its beginning.

It may be well to recall that at the beginning of our Civil War there was just the same feeling with regard to its duration. The first draft was for soldiers for ninety days. Three months was felt to be the ultimate term. Some of the military men knew better or at least felt the true significance of the situation more keenly than this. General Sherman was recruiting in the Department of the West in the early months of the war and was asked by a reporter how long he thought the war would last. He said very curtly, almost in the words of Kitchener at the beginning of this war, “Three years.” The expression was published all over the country and, like Kitchener’s expression in our experience, was considered to be the opinion of a military man who thought only in terms of military values. Sherman’s words, however, attracted very unfavorable attention from the administration and army headquarters at Washington. He came near losing his commission and it is said it required all the influence that could possibly be exerted in his favor to keep him from losing all opportunity of advancement during the war. Sherman was right and the administration was wrong, but who could have been brought to believe for a moment, early in 1861, that it would take over four years to fight out the question of States’ rights or Federal Government between North and South.

The fact of the matter is that the feelings of the people became deeply engaged and they were ready to make any sacrifice for the cause which they embraced. At the beginning of this present war

it was thought—and perhaps there was some truth in it—that the Governments rather than the nations were making the war and that the people would not stand for a prolonged conflict. Now it is known that the patriotic feelings of all the countries engaged in the war have been quite as deeply aroused as were those of the Southern people during our Civil War, and it would not be surprising if there should be a like persistency in sacrifice in the conflict. Let us not forget the awful toll of dead and wounded demanded by Lee's starving, almost barefoot and ragged army before surrender.

It was said at the beginning of the present war that the Socialists would prevent any great European conflict, or at least so hamper the action of Governments as to make its continuance for any prolonged period impossible. If anything ever revealed the impotence of modern Socialism, so far as the exertion of international influence is concerned, it is the fact that Socialists have counted for absolutely nothing in the war and Socialist party leaders have simply lined themselves up with their fellow-nationalists and often have even been more ardent than others in the expression of their patriotism, as if they feared lest they might be misunderstood.

The other much bruited opinion, often loudly expressed before the war, and usually uttered with the greatest confidence, was that a great war could not continue for long, because it would be so enormously costly that it could not be financed. It had been said over and over again that the peace of Europe was in the hands of the bankers; that modern war materials were costly and modern wars in every way so expensive that the bankers could prevent any great war, though they were quite willing, because of the money there was in it for them, to continue to finance the lesser wars, and above all to finance the munitions plants and encourage "preparedness." It was confidently declared that the bankers would surely stop any great European war in the course of three to six months at the very outside.

As we look back on it now, was there ever an expression of opinion more ludicrously unfounded. Has any one heard even the slightest peep of opposition on the part of bankers. They have had absolutely nothing to say, and it is well for them they have not. Their fortunes would not have been worth much to them if they had. The war has cost unprecedented sums, far beyond what even the wildest imaginings had conceived beforehand, and what was expressed in hundreds of millions before with bated breath now has to be expressed in billions, and the call is ever for more. War expenses amount up to probably over sixty millions of dollars a day, and yet the war goes on and there is no question of the end

of it being in sight. France was practically bankrupt before the war; for two years a deficit had been accumulating; Italy was scarcely better, but the war goes on regardless.

It was declared that the awful losses in men would touch the heart of humanity and give even Governments, ruthless though they might be, pause in the awful slaughter of human beings. Just before the great war broke out, as the result of experience in the Balkans with the modern weapons, both small arms and artillery, and the fact that in one small battle—that is, small as compared to those that we now know of—150,000 men had been killed and wounded in five days, a Belgian surgeon of large military experience, who had made the Balkan campaigns, declared that a great European war with the nations of Europe arranged on both sides would cost a million of casualties a month—that is, a million of men in killed, wounded and missing. This seemed an egregious exaggeration to a great many people, and yet it has not proved so. The latest Prussian lists make a total of casualties—that is, of killed, wounded and missing—above 5,100,000. The Prussian lists do not include Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Baden and some other portions of the German Empire. They do not include Austria nor Turkey nor Bulgaria, only recently in the field as I write, but yet making enormous losses. Surely it is not too much to say, then, that all the casualties of the Central Powers mount up to 8,000,000. The Allies have surely not lost less than that, so that 15,000,000 for fifteen months is not far out of the way. Of course, many of the wounds reported were comparatively slight—more than three-fourths of the wounded men, owing to the efficiency of modern surgical methods, went back to the fighting line afterwards, some of them have been wounded two and three times, so that casualties do not represent actual losses except for the time being, but the figures given here furnish some idea of the awful condition of affairs which involves the life and physical and civil status of so many men.

Far from these awful losses in men and money proving in any sense deterrent or a factor for peace, all the nations are simply calling younger and older men to the colors—men below and above the military age—and they are engaged in mobilizing their financial resources so as to go on in spite of all difficulties; and the people are not only satisfied to make the sacrifices, as a rule, but willing and anxious to make them for the glory of their country. Any one who knows conditions will realize that this is not a sympathetic exaggeration, but a literal statement of facts as they are.

#### MAN'S EVOLUTION BEYOND WAR.

The main reason why people were astonished—the word they

used was surprised, but that could not have been their meaning, since preparations for war were so evident long before the breaking out of the war—was that they felt that mankind had advanced beyond the period when it settled its conflicts by the last barbaric alternative of war. There is a general feeling among the well informed classes of our time that man is very definitely progressing and getting better from day to day, and of course gentler and less savage, and in line with this evolution naturally should come the disappearance of war. As some of my readers doubtless remember, I once wrote a book called "The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries." A friend of mine, a university professor, well up, particularly in history, said to me not long after the publication of the book: "Of course, as a title that challenges interest, the paradox of declaring a century seven centuries ago as the greatest of human history may serve to attract attention, but no one who knows the history of that period can possibly think for a moment of that time as really representing a climax in human achievement, for even a superficial knowledge of its history makes one aware that there was a war a little oftener than every five years among the European nations at that time. Any period," he added, "in which the barbaric instincts and savage tendencies of mankind were so manifest as this, that the instinct for bloodshed had to be satisfied by actual combat as often as this among men supposed to be civilized, could not be set up with any plausibility as representing a supreme epoch of human accomplishment."

I may say that I was rather taken back by his remark. Something of the martial ardor of my thirteenth century favorites I had known and yet had not realized that it had gone to this extent of demanding lustral satisfaction. As a matter of fact, I had almost deliberately avoided this phase of the history of the time, for while war is usually considered the very essence of history and is emphasized and dilated upon even in our historical schoolbooks, for me the story of a time concerns not the wars and the battles and the generals and the corrupt politics and the rotten diplomacy and the kings and their mistresses and all the rest that goes to make up what has usually been called history in the past, but the education, the art, the architecture, the scientific discoveries, the things that people were thinking about, and above all, all that made for the happiness of mankind. In my "Thirteenth Century" I deliberately relegated all this political and martial history to two brief pages of dates, events and names, devoting some 500 pages to the genuine history of men's deeds and arts and words by which humanity had been enriched.

With this expression of my historical university friend in mind



I have recently been reviewing the story of our wars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when supposedly we have advanced so far that war, except among the semi-barbarous who are left here and there in the world, has presumably become a thing of the past. How many people who said they were astonished or surprised at the beginning of this greatest war that humanity has ever seen, because they thought wars were coming to be a thing of the past, have taken the trouble to recall the tale of our recent wars.

Let us name over at least those wars which have taken place in the twentieth century. In 1900 we were at war in the Philippines. How this great Republic, intent only on "forming a more perfect union, establishing justice and insuring domestic tranquillity"—to use the words of the Preamble of the Constitution—was at the beginning of the twentieth century engaged in a war with "the little brown men" in the distant Philippines, is indeed hard to understand. Still, we were at it, and let us record the fact. We lost some 30,000 men, I believe, mainly because of the awful climate and conditions. In 1901 came the Boer war. Just why England found it necessary to take up a destructive campaign on the simple Dutch farmers, who had succeeded in finding happiness in their hard work on the farms of the African veldt, will be a matter for future historians to discuss learnedly—and leave unsettled—but the war cost England nearly 100,000 men, mostly from disease, and several hundred of millions of dollars.

These were, of course, only baby wars. But in 1904 came a good man-sized war. Japan and Russia locked horns and the largest of European nations had to acknowledge herself defeated by the little Oriental Island Empire that had been looked upon with contempt until a few years before. It is interesting to recall that just exactly fifty years before Japan and Russia entered upon the conflict the United States had sent a fleet under Commodore Perry to Japan to require that her harbors should no longer be closed to civilization and that she should open them and permit world culture to go in, while her people should have the advantage of Western education. It took just fifty years for Japan to acquire a veneer of our civilization. There is a general impression that we Occidentals seriously hurt Japanese art and undermined the national life, but Japan got *civilized* so thoroughly that in a scant half century she was able to take on in a regular war the largest of the European nations—and the one most feared by all the other nations—and *lick her*. Now that is civilization with a vengeance. There is nothing like standing off a little bit and seeing what we mean by civilization when we have the story of a half century to help our judgment. Of course, quite needless to say, Japan could have done nothing like

that in 1854, when Commodore Perry went on his well-meant culture mission. But by 1904 she was quite ready, and after she had defeated the Russians all the rest of the Western civilized peoples, including even ourselves, trembled a little bit as to what she might do next in her marvelous new born *civilized* vigor.

This Russo-Japanese war, however, cost 2,000,000 of men and about \$2,000,000,000 of treasure in our money. Apparently those staggering figures gave the civilized nations of the world pause, for we had no war for five years after that. In 1909, however, Italy and Turkey went to war, and that cost I believe several hundred thousand men and added between six and seven hundreds of millions of dollars to Italy's debt. How much it added to Turkey's debt we do not know as yet, to be sure, and the creditors are rather dubious, though the bills may be paid if the Central European Powers continue to be as successful as they have been recently. Then Europe waited three years before the first Balkan war broke out and gladly welcomed the idea that now at last Europe should be rid of the Turks. When the little Christian Balkan nations had, however, just about succeeded in eliminating the Moslem from Europe, they quarreled among themselves and the Turk got a chance to come back to a considerable distance into his old European haunts, while the Christians butchered each other in a manner such as had never been known before in the world's history.

In the midst of these European squabbles came the present trouble in Mexico, which by the same token is still with us. Whether that should be called a war or not, is perhaps dubious. It inflicted more suffering on mankind over a large area than any of the mediæval wars. For our purpose it is worse than many old-time wars. Let us count it, then, for the sake of good measure.

Then toward the end of the summer of 1914, as had been foretold so clearly years before, came The Great War, with the nations of Europe ranged on each side. There is no need to emphasize particularly that it is the *greatest war of history*. Now if we count them all over again—from the Philippines and the Boer war and the Russo-Japanese and Italo-Turkish and the two Balkan wars, then Mexico and the Great War—we have eight wars in less than fourteen years. The poor, barbarous, benighted mediæval people made a war about every five years, but this modern, progressive, greatly advancing **twentieth century** has evolved to such an extent that it can make a war about every year and a half. How few there are who realize the actual conditions of our own time, such as they are, when presented in this way. We have been accustomed to think that we were quite different from the older people in this regard. Here is what we find when we study the actual details.

Some people, it is true, have felt that there were elements in these various wars which somewhat lessened their significance. Barbarous and less civilized nations must ever have quarrels that cannot be arbitrated because, of course, even semi-barbarous people will not listen to reason. Our war in the Philippines and the Mexican trouble might thus be explained. The fact that certain nations were still not on the highest plane of civilization might help to explain the others. Russia and Japan could scarcely be compared with the Western cultured nations, Turkey was always a disturbing element and the Balkan peoples were as yet too recently extricated from their more or less barbarous condition due to Turkish misrule and lack of education to be quite up to the highest ethical national standard. Even some people in England were rather inclined to think that it was the lack of culture and at least amiability on the part of the Boers that led to the Boer war. We were quite ready to fool ourselves with the thought that there were excuses for most of these wars which made it very clear that when a proper stage of civilization was reached there would be and could be no wars among two or more really cultured people. Our evolved sense of justice and gentle kindliness, if not our fear, of the awful results would prevent it. In the midst of this self-complacent vanity there came this greatest of all wars, with culture as the watchword in it. Perhaps its outbreak may serve at least to teach us a lesson as to our foolish self-sufficiency.

This tendency to think that war is a thing of the past and that men have come to the place in human development where they will no longer wage war, is not new and has frequently been noted before. A typical instance occurred just after the middle of the nineteenth century when the first great modern World's Fair was being held in London. A number of the prominent men, university professors, literary men and philosophers of Europe, who were invited to talk at meetings in connection with this fair, referred to the World's Fair as a definite pledge and symbol that the nations of the world were no longer going to make war with each other, for now their main interest was in making commerce with each other. This exhibition of the arts and the industries and the scientific productions from the different nations would surely bring the peoples to understand each other, would make them appreciate the fact that all those even of different nationalities were striving after the same purpose in life, would counteract national jealousies and ill-feelings and make the narrow boundaries of mere national patriotism give place to a true international spirit. Very much was made of this idea by the newspapers and periodicals of the time, as well as by the orators. A great many of those who were supposed

to have their fingers on the pulse of the time and to be so widely observant and thoroughly educated that they knew what they were talking about, joined in acclaiming these ideas.

Perhaps it may be well to remind present day readers what happened almost immediately afterwards. In 1854 came the Crimean War, with England and France ranged with Turkey—a peculiar combination indeed—against Russia. Then in 1859 came the war between France and Italy against Austria, which gave Napoleon III. presumably the military prestige that was to prove the death blow to his dynasty. Then in 1861 came the outbreak of our Civil War, to be followed before its conclusion by the war between Prussia and Denmark in 1864, which was the almost necessary prelude to the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866. In the meantime there was a revolution in Mexico and the foundation of an empire, and then after our Civil War Maximilian fell. Before twenty years were over another great war—that between Germany and France—took place to complete the record. Within less than a scanty score of years after the acclamation of peace at the World's Fair and the promise that now at last the end of war between civilized peoples at least was at an end, there were altogether seven wars in less than two decades. The mid-nineteenth century is not quite so bad as the early twentieth in this respect, but it ran our precious time a very close second.

#### THE WAR AND THE INTELLECTUALS.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the first three months of the war—at least it will doubtless prove extremely interesting to future students of history, and especially those who are trying to get at the true inwardness of this great struggle—was the attitude assumed by what for want of a better term in English we may call by the French word, the intellectuals of the various nations—that is, the men who as writers, professors at universities, members of academies, scientists, philosophers and others whose ability had been demonstrated quite apart from politics or government administration, and who were looked up to as the leaders in mentality in our time. To a man, with the exception of a very few who, for the sake of the sensation they would thus create and the attention they would attract, ventured to disagree slightly with the policy of their Governments, all these men in all the nations promptly lined up with the policy of their own Government. The exceptions to this mode of conduct, if there really are any, for I must confess I cannot now recall their other names, are so few as to be quite negligible, and indeed prove that the rule was as stated.

We had formal declarations from most of them proclaiming that *their* country was right and that the enemy was entirely wrong. There was just a plain contradiction between them. They gave each other the lie direct, and that was all about it. On each side they were quite sure that their country was fighting a war of self-defense, and the enemy, whoever it might be, was fighting an offensive war of conquest, or at least a conflict for the prohibition or limitation of opportunities for neighboring countries. We have, then, the lively spectacle of nearly a dozen of civilized nations whose peoples, following their leaders, are fighting a "defensive" war for their hearths and homes against ruthless invaders. The Servians are quite sure that their nationality was threatened and are defending themselves. The Austrians are defending themselves against such Servian aggression, as was exemplified before the war by the murder of their Crown Prince. Germany is fighting a defensive war against Russia, because the mobilization of the Russian armies could not be brooked. Belgium is, of course, on the defensive. France is fighting a death struggle for her very existence, and England is quite confident that with Germany on the other side of the channel or in the Belgian ports, her national existence would surely be threatened, so there they are all fighting this immensest war of all time in purest self-defense, and men on both sides are dying in the fullest persuasion that they are sacrificing themselves in order that their country may live on after them and its blessings may endure to posterity.

Now I am not writing ironically, but as literally as can be. All Europe is up in arms in self-defense, and the people of each country know that not only their rulers and the Government authorities are agreed that it is a struggle for existence that is being waged against a foe who is entirely mistaken in his aggression, but they have been made aware by the public proclamation of all their university professors, their most important writers, scientists, philosophers and literary men generally that the national policy is right and the national policy of other nations entirely wrong.

I do not think that we have ever had such an indictment of the inefficacy of human intellect to decide questions of right and wrong and its inefficiency as a guide to conduct as this train of events. Men in familiar phrase, even when they belong to the intellectual classes and are highly respected for educational ability, "make up their minds" as to what they are going to do—that is, form their wills to the purpose they want to accomplish and then set their intellect to find reasons for the line of conduct they have already determined to pursue. To me it seems an argument for the freedom of the will, but the lack of the freedom of the intellect, though I

suppose there are many people who might disagree with such a conclusion.

What is most interesting, however, is that for several generations now there has been a definite tendency to proclaim education and intellect as the salvation of humanity. When people knew enough, we were told, they would be sure to act right; when popular education was universally diffused, then we would have so little crime that life would become much more pleasant than it had been. Indeed, the persuasion of a great many people would seem to be that when the great majority of men enjoyed such advantages of education as public schools would afford, we would be able to shut up our gaols or perhaps turn them into institutions for the temporary housing of the needy poor, and our courts might still sit as judges of awards of merit and of virtue, but with almost no necessity for criminal procedure. There never has been a time in the world's history when popular education was so widely diffused and when so many people could read and write as just now, yet I fear that no one has noticed that our gaols are being shut up or are yawning emptily for tenants, for at least here in New York our gaols are all overcrowded and we are constantly building new ones and we cannot keep up with the influx into them. Our courts, so far from having nothing to do, are two years behind with their criminal calendar, and we are constantly providing new Judges and yet do not seem to be catching up much on the list of cases to be tried.

#### OUR INVENTIONS AND SOME REVERSIONS.

We have had some very serious surprises in the war. Man's inventive genius had been applied so effectively to the manufacture and improvement of instruments of destruction that it looked as though a war could not last long, and prophecies were freely made that two great armies that came in contact fully armed with modern weapons would almost inevitably wipe each other out in the course of a prolonged direct conflict. The modern rifle will kill at two miles if it strikes a vital soft part. It will go through the human skull, completely piercing the bones on each side of it at nearly a mile and a half. It is said that it will penetrate three men at the distance of a mile. Artillery has been still more fearfully developed, so that even from twenty to twenty-five miles shells may be launched which deal death and destruction all round them even at this long distance. Besides, the airmen carry bombs and penetrating darts and there are many inventions of poisonous shells and the like that add to the awful destructiveness of the modern armament. No wonder it was felt that armies would have to be kept a distance from each other, except at moments of absolutely

forced contact, and that could endure at the most for but a very brief space of time, for the stronger, better armed line would surely obliterate the other.

And yet the development of the war has brought the two greatest armies that were ever lined up against each other in such intimate contact over a front 400 miles long that not only they throw hand-grenades into one another's trenches, but hand-to-hand conflicts are often the rule, and it has been found that a club is more handy and more effective in some of these attacks than either the bayonet or the rifle. Strange as it must seem, utterly unforeseen as it was, impossible as it would have appeared to the stern believer in the progress of man, the oldest implement that man ever made, the spade, which he fashioned for peaceful purposes and has had in hand all these thousands of years, has beaten that highest product of modern inventive ingenuity, the rifle. The opposed lines dug themselves into trenches, buried themselves beneath the possibility of effective rifle fire, and while they may be dug out by a rain of shells or a shower of artillery missiles, as a rule, the only way to get them is to go after them in a hand-to-hand conflict. We have gone back in some respects to the oldest days of fighting among men and all the feeling of personal hate of the immediate enemy and bloodthirsty desire to get him before he gets you, has come to animate the soldiers in the trenches.

How little human life may mean in the balance of such awful events that are developing in the midst of the war is illustrated very well as I have suggested by the immense numbers of killed and wounded that must be counted up. A Swiss military authority writing with the advantage of all the sources of information available in a European country close to events recently declared that probably the number of dead up to November amounted to 5,000,000. This seems to a great many people an utterly exaggerated statement, but the proportion of dead, in spite of the absence of great epidemic diseases and the magnificent surgical care of the wounded that is saving many lives, is much larger in the present war than it has been in the past. While only one in five or even six of those wounded by rifle bullets are fatally injured, the proportion of fatalities from artillery wounds is more than one in three and in many cases almost one in two. The spade has beaten the rifle, the armies are dug in on most of the fronts, only artillery is effective against them, and artillery wounds are much more frequent in this war than any previous war. Certainly the fatalities to date (November 15 as I write) are surely more than 4,000,000 and are probably very nearly 5,000,000.

Even all that frightful destruction of men is not so appalling as

the thought that sometimes enormous sacrifices of human life in the war have seemed to be dependent not so much on the military necessities of the moment as on some extraneous consideration—some effect to be produced on the minds of those not in the war or for some other less commendable ulterior purpose. For instance, it has been suggested that the great drive which took place along several sections of the long line of battle in the West early in October, 1915, was really timed so as to help the sale of the bonds of the Allies, half a billion of which were being disposed of that very week in America. It seems almost too hideous to think that human lives should thus be sacrificed for a bond selling effect, but certainly the timely coincidence could scarcely fail but make many people think of the possibility of some direct connection between the two events. It is said that several hundred thousand men (on both sides) were sacrificed in that supreme effort, which did, of course, create a very favorable effect for the time being, though it proved to have very little effect on the actual fortunes of the war or any phase of it so far as can be seen up to the present time.

On the other hand, the Russian drive by the Germans in the fall of the same year was not so much a military incident as an event meant to influence diplomatic circles. There are military experts who declare that the Germans felt that they could not succeed in their supposed aims on that Russian drive, but it was felt that the forcing back of the Russian armies well within Russian territory would have the greatest possible effect upon the Balkan nations, whose adhesion to one side or another was hanging in the balance. Having produced this diplomatic effect with an immense cost of men, the Germans were quite willing to retire before the Russians, recognizing that they could not maintain their positions in Russia during the awful cold of the winter season, satisfied with having accomplished or at least made a great move toward another purpose.

Such reflections may be only the result of the prejudice of hostile observers who are ready and anxious to find anything which they can use to blacken the reputation of the Government authorities on both sides of the conflict, but to any one interested in this war, now and hereafter, such reflections throw sidelights on the history of the time and the bitter feelings that the combat aroused which may be lost sight of by the historical student who will miss some of these smaller details and see only the larger figures of the picture and its high lights.

#### PROSPERITY AND WAR.

We have been very proud of the accumulation of money in the



nineteenth century and have set up the prosperity of the modern nations as a great sign of progress. Indeed, it has more than once been suggested that our prosperity was a sign of the approval of Providence on the recent generations, and there has been a very curious argument outlined that the fact that the Catholic nations were not so prosperous as the Protestant nations was in itself a sign and a symbol of the greater truth of Protestantism and of the lack in Catholicism. It is interesting, then, to see what the prosperity of the nations has brought them to. At the present time they are spending over \$60,000,000 a day in war expenses. Billions have been added to the debts of the countries of Europe, some of which were practically bankrupt at the beginning of the war—that is, were having a deficit in expenses above their revenues and no feasible way of making up for it. Apparently their prosperity is to vanish in one awful cataclysm. Nations' debts were never so high and taxes will be almost prohibitive of saving for long enough.

It is rather well understood now where the immense accumulation of capital, the largest that has ever been known in the world's history, came from during the past three generations, when the great industrial era made the Western nations so prosperous. Workmen have been very inadequately paid, and while in recent years much more justice has come for the workmen, it has been slow of foot and its march has always been hampered just as much as possible by the capitalists. Every increase in wages, every reduction in the long hours of labor—twelve or more nearly a century ago, with almost never a holiday except Sunday and not always Sunday—every increase in the amount of wages paid the men has been dearly bought by the efforts of organized labor. Pope Leo XIII. in his great Encyclical on labor called attention to the fact that labor, unlike commodities, cannot in justice be bought just as cheaply as possible and according to the market price of it, for it devolves on the employer to see to it that his laborers are paid a decent living wage.

Defrauding laborers of their wages is one of the three sins that cry to heaven for vengeance, and oppression of the poor is another. One is prone to wonder, then, whether this awful war, with its wastage of accumulated wealth, may not in some way be connected with the Divine vengeance for the sins involved in the storage of that immense wealth. So much of suffering, however, is coming for the poor themselves in the midst of it that the hesitation rises almost to a negation of the thought, and yet somehow mankind has had to suffer for men's sins over and over again in history, and unfortunately the innocent have often suffered with the guilty, though

somehow there must be a Divine compensation for it in spite of our not being able to understand it.

About the middle of our Civil War President Lincoln said in his great speech on the occasion of the "Emancipation Proclamation" that perhaps in the order of Divine Providence the great Civil War between the States would not end until for every drop of human blood that had been drawn by the lash, a drop of free white blood should be shed in the war. It has been suggested that perhaps in the order of Providence this great war of ours would not end until for every drop of the sweat of workmen that was not properly paid for during that industrial era, with its sad abuses of the laboring classes that is at the foundation of our accumulation of capital, a dollar shall now be spent in the expenses of war.

Any mere human attempt, of course, to outline the order of Providence cannot but be a small and narrow vision of all the realities of the situation and can scarcely but seem trivial in the light of all the great interests at stake, but the thought forces itself on one who knows the social abuses of the immediate past and who realizes the leveling influence of war and how much this war is going to mean in this regard.

#### HUMAN PROGRESS AN ILLUSION.

The one all-important conclusion, as it seems to me, that must be drawn from the war in so far as we can learn the significance of it at the present time, is that it completely contradicts the ordinarily cherished notions with regard to man's constant advance. Man is supposed by the extreme evolutionary school of thought to have begun his career on the earth just one stage higher than the animal constantly quarreling with his brother animals, even of his own kind, and killing those of other kinds in the struggle for existence. Gradually growing more and more gentle, he evolved until the social virtues developed and many men became even ready to be helpful to others. This interesting bit of theory has had many disturbing contradictions in recent years, not the least of which is that most of the animals exhibit too carefully a good many of the social virtues, and that mutual aid and not the struggle for existence is the most significant feature of their life histories.

Quite apart from this, however, has been the recognition of the fact that in history, when man gets to be prosperous and peaceful and seeks his comfort, the men of the race lose courage and the women lose virtue, children become few, luxury dominates the scene, and then war comes to take away domination and the world is handed over to the stronger peoples of more primitive instincts. Hence the ups and down in history, which for nations as well as

for peoples may be represented as the trampling of sabots on the way upstairs, while the high heels of milady's slippers come tripping down. Man has not here a lasting city, and while this lapse into war is sometimes spoken of as a reversion to barbaric instincts, let us not forget that such reversions are usually followed by further reversions to primitive instincts that are in accordance with the highest virtues of the race.

War is an awful thing in its slaughter of humanity, but it must not be forgotten that of the millions of men slain up to the present time, scarcely more than a handful would at best be alive a half century from now. They would all have met their deaths, and most of them ingloriously. These men now have died for a great cause in the highest feeling of patriotism and for the sake of preserving the blessings of their own national Government for posterity. It is the finest thing in the world for a man to die nobly, and if the choice between a noble death and ignoble life, in which many of them would accomplish nothing and not a few of them would during fifty years do all sorts of unworthy things, the premature glorious death must rather be looked upon as a blessing than a misfortune.

Of course, if death is the end of all things, the real annihilation that so many people seem inclined to think of at the present time, then these millions of deaths would be the awfulest possible misfortune that could befall the world. If life is, however, but the preparation for another world, then this death for duty may be the best possible entrance to that, and indeed once life is compared with eternity, the utter triviality of their loss under the circumstances can be readily understood. It is the suffering of those who are left after them, the widows and orphans, that must be the one thing to count. Even that, however probably has quite a different significance from what is usually attached to it. Many an orphan of the Civil War found his best incentive for the development of all that was most worth while in him because he had from earliest boyhood to help in the support of his widowed mother. When we consider how many widows and orphans our divorce courts have made—since the Civil War there have been at least ten times as many of them as the widows and orphans of the war itself—then it is easy to understand how ignoble, worthless and even degrading peace may become, while war is appealing to many of the nobler virtues in man—though, alas! also arousing all the worst passions that some of them possess.

#### THE VIRTUES OF WAR IN TIME OF PEACE.

I am not of those who believe that war is inevitable. I am

still a member of a number of peace societies and intend to continue to work with them for peace, but I am quite sure that peace has its horrors as well as war, and that whenever peace breeds only the vices of selfishness, self-indulgence and neglect of others, there will always be a term to it, and war is one of the remedies for such evils. War is not inevitable, but unless we can have in time of peace some of the virtues of war, war will constantly recur, for it is the best antidote to the vices of peace.

The vices of peace, however, are not inevitable. People have said that this war means the failure of Christianity. They have gone farther and said, "We have tried Christianity long enough; now it is time that we should try something else," to which Gilbert Chesterton's answer is, "We haven't tried Christianity at all yet; let's try Christianity." Until the world will come to recognize that there is a brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God in the Brotherhood of Christ, and until men are ready to make even great sacrifices for that belief, there will always be war. The only times in the past when war has been reasonably controlled is under thorough Christian influence. Ever since the series of European incidents called the Reformation, we have had more wars probably than ever, because that movement introduced a perpetual element of disunion and strife. In the meantime the greatest of all wars goes on, and barring some unforeseen accident will almost surely continue for several years yet. The most highly educated and most deeply intelligent, the most genuinely cultured nations of the earth will continue to exhaust every effort to kill and maim just as many of their enemy as possible. They will continue to do so from a sense of duty that in no case is quite mistaken, though they will be working out a purpose much higher than any they see. There are some precious lessons to be gathered from the war, and it is sincerely to be hoped that they shall not be missed. It would indeed be too bad if the world was to pay so dearly and then were to miss the precious significance of the awfully costly human experience.

We have been priding ourselves on the growth of individualism amongst us, or at least a great many people have been quite sure that the important evolutionary development of our time was the greater importance that it brought to the individual and the definite tendency to make the individual account for more and more in life. What the war is emphasizing above all is that the interests of the community are far more important than those of the individual. This is the true spirit of fraternalism and Christianity as opposed to the selfishness of man's lower nature. In one of his recently published essays, Arthur Christopher Benson, the brother

of Monsignor Benson of beloved memory, says of his own experience since early manhood: "A different spirit has grown up, a sense of corporate and social duty, a larger idea of national service, not loudly advertised, but deeply rooted, and far removed from the undisciplined individualism of my boyhood. It has been a secret growth, not an educational programme. The Boer War, I think, revealed its presence and the war we are now waging has testified to its mature strength. It has come partly by organization and still more through the workings of a more generous and self-sacrificing ideal. In any case, it is a great and noble harvest, and I rejoice with all my heart that it has thus ripened and borne fruit in courage and disinterestedness and high-hearted public spirit."

At the end of July, 1914, there were some 25,000,000 of men in Europe who thought that they had some right to live their lives for themselves and to seek their own individual development. Most of them had acquired relationships which involved duties in life that they felt that they could fulfill without molestation or hindrance from any one. Most of these 25,000,000 of men have learned during the course of the year and a half since that they had no right at all to their personal existence and that they are in the thrall of duty to their community. Some of them have been put aboard trains without knowing whither they were going, and there has been nothing for them to do but to obey the orders that are given them and feel that somehow all must be for the best. For the great majority of them there is no question of any personal advantage to be gained. The most that they can hope for is gain for the community to which they belong, though the prospect for many of them is of personal loss and suffering and often the end of life. They have learned the literal meaning of the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," though that neighbor may be represented by a series of distant members of the country of which they are citizens and consist of but few of those to whom they have been related in life by blood or association. Most of these men are making the sacrifices needed whole-heartedly and are simply intent on doing their duty as they see it.

In a word, the war has brought back supremely the sense of duty into life. When it is recalled how much this was lacking in the trivial life that had invaded so much of existence before the war, it is easier to understand the place that even such a giant struggle may have in the order of Providence. It is true that there never was so great a war, nor one in which so many men were slaughtered nor so much suffering inflicted, but then there never has been a time when the world was so thickly populated as at the present moment. Density of population, however, especially as illustrated

in our larger cities, has brought more and more of that following after trifles which the Scriptures says obscures good things and the ordinary forces for good seemed utterly incapable to cope with the advancing tide of superficiality in life. Here on a sudden depth of meaning has been given to existence, and all the world wonders just what will come of it all, though confident that a higher seriousness in life is surely to be the result.

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## CENTENARY OF THE OBLATES—THEIR WORK IN CANADA.

ON January 25, 1916, the Oblates of the Congregation of Our Lady Immaculate celebrate the first centenary of their order. It was on that date, in 1816, that Father Charles Eugene de Mazenod<sup>1</sup> and his four companion priests for the first time formed themselves into a religious community, with the approval of the Archbishop of Aix, their original designation of "Oblates of St. Charles" (in memory of the founder's patron saint) and "Missioners of Provence" being subsequently discarded for that of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a name which he called "a passport for heaven," wondering that they had not thought of it sooner. When, as a student, he had entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, he consecrated his life to Our Lady, and from the very beginning he placed his order under her protection, to whom he attributed exclusively the development of his institute. The great devotion which as seminarist, priest and prelate the saintly Bishop of Marseilles cherished, he instilled into all who came in contact with him, particularly his religious brethren, "whose praise is in all the churches." The work of the Oblates, from its humble beginning in "fair Provence," where they simply sought to bring about a religious renovation after the spiritual desolation which supervened after the great Revolution, has spread over the whole world. The sphere of their labors has widened until it reaches from Scotland to the Antipodes, from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the Pacific Ocean and from Lake Superior to the Arctic regions. Not only the English-speaking races, but Cingalese, Red Indians and half-breeds on the Canadian plains, and Esquimaux in the icy regions of the extreme North have profited by their self-sacrificing labors.

The coming of the Oblates to Western Canada towards the middle of the nineteenth century was like the coming of the Friars to England in the thirteenth—an epoch-making event. More than a quarter of a century had elapsed since the establishment of the mission on the banks of the Red River, and comparatively little progress had been made, despite heroic sacrifices and sufferings. There was, it is true, a Bishop with a cathedral, but he had only four priests, in 1844, to minister to 2,800 Catholics scattered over a country as large as a kingdom. The secular clergy were coming and going like birds of passage; some, moved by an impulse of generous abnegation, came to labor in a region remote and isolated

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<sup>1</sup> See article, "A Model Bishop," in the "Ave Maria" of June, 1911.

from the civilized world, but, after a sojourn of four or five years, rarely longer, they, one after another, left. To one of these Monsignor Plessis said: "When one comes to say 'my work is finished,' his zeal must be very dull. Ah! where would Canada be if the missionaries who came there to plant the faith had not had more constancy? 'I have done my work,' you say. The work of all of us, as long as we exist, will only be finished when we shall have devoted our whole life to the salvation of souls."

Seeing the slender hold he had upon the secular clergy, he turned his attention to the religious orders, whose organization was a guarantee of more cohesion and continuity. He tried to enlist the co-operation of the Jesuits, but was disappointed. Providence had other designs. In response to an appeal of the Bishop of Montreal a much younger religious order had established itself on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Monsignor Provencher heard of their marvelous success in the country parishes of Lower Canada. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were the first missionaries to penetrate into Canada after the cession of the country to Great Britain. During his last voyage to Quebec the Bishop of Juliopolis assisted at the oblation of Father Eusebius Derocher, one of the first Canadians received into the new congregation. The question of detaching the Red River mission from the jurisdiction of Quebec was then under consideration. This made the services of a religious order the more necessary. It was a question of life or death for the parishes being formed and particularly for the Indian missions of the Northwest. "Religious, religious, religious!" he wrote. "We shall do little good and spend much as we are. There is no unity; every one acts and sees things in his own way. Reverend Oblate Fathers! May God bless their labors and thus shut the mouths of those who talk and will not act." His heart was set on having them. He appealed directly to their superior general, and not in vain. Monsignor de Mazenod, "whose heart was as big as the world," at once consented to undertake a foundation at the Red River. "Humanly speaking," comments Father Morice, "it was a decision of unparalleled temerity. His sons were hardly encamped in Lower Canada; why think of weakening, if not destroying, those humble beginnings by trying to found, in a country much more distant and destitute of every material resource, establishments the number of which could not be foreseen? Would he be able to find a sufficient staff for these two overseas missions in the ranks of his young institute? But Monsignor de Mazenod was a man of immense faith. He yielded to the supplications of the poor missioner-

<sup>2</sup> "Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien, par le R. P. A. G. Morice, O. M. I.



Bishop and directed Father Guigues, first Oblate provincial in America (pending his becoming first Bishop of Ottawa), to send some of his religious to help Provencher.

God, not to be outdone in generosity, immediately recompensed His servant for the extraordinary confidence he had shown in His providence. It is from the establishment of his first Indian missions in Western Canada dates that marvelous development of the Oblate Congregation, then scarcely known, even in France, outside the region which had been its birthplace. The thought of the incredible difficulties, of the enormous sacrifices which awaited the heralds of the cross on the frozen steppes of the American extreme North inflamed with holy ardor the hearts of a multitude of young clerics and more or less experienced priests, who, bidding an eternal farewell to the 'sweet land of France,' yearly embarked on the search of the lost sheep of Israel amid the snows of Athabaska and MacKenzie, without uttering a word of regret for the friends and relations they left in their native country."<sup>2</sup>

It was towards the close of August, 1845, that the first Oblates arrived at the Red River. But, in place of a small band of priests ready to enter on their apostolic work, there was only one, Father Peter Aubert, who was accompanied by a very young man of rather childlike presence, hardly more than a youth. "What!" exclaimed the astonished prelate. "I asked for men, and here they send me a child!" The "child" was Brother Alexander Antoninus Taché, then a novice and sub-deacon, a direct descendant of the discoverer of the country, the great explorer Lavérendrye, his destined successor, who, ordained at twenty-two and mitred at twenty-seven, at once the youngest priest and youngest Bishop in the Church, and who, later, as the first Archbishop of St. Boniface, was to shed such lustre on the Church and the country as the greatest churchman and the greatest Canadian of the West. During seventeen years not a single priest went to the West unless to labor as an Oblate immediately or shortly after his arrival.

The harvest was ripe, however few the laborers were. "The zeal of these poor savages to hear the word of God and learn to serve Him was extreme," wrote Father Thibault. An old French-Canadian of eighty-eight led him on foot through the woods and a thousand obstacles to Lake Biche, where he found a family of fifteen, who received the missionary with infinite gratitude, confessed several times and attended assiduously the exercises of a fortnight's retreat. "I am working day and night; I am half dead," he wrote from Ile-à-la-Crosse on May 24, 1845. I have seen all the natives who trade with this post, about eighty families, and all, from the youngest to the oldest, display extreme zeal in learning.

. . . Day and night they are occupied in going through the prayers in order to be baptized the quicker. 'Let us make haste,' they say, 'for perhaps we'll die soon and we may not see God.' It is impossible that a savage people could be better disposed to embrace the faith than the Montagnais." It was not hard to convert such a race to Christianity; the difficulty was to get them to adhere with constancy to the rule of moral conduct it prescribed. During the course of his journey he reached the famous portage of La Loche, the highest point of the lands lying between the Arctic Ocean and the Atlantic, the great rendezvous of the fur-traders. There he witnessed the same religious enthusiasm. "These good people," he said, "are indescribably docile. Were God to come among them in person to make known His will to them Himself, I believe they could not treat Him with more honor and listen to Him with more docility, although I am only His very unworthy representative."

He was so enchanted with the result of his journey that, in his enthusiasm, he would like to prolong the summer until he reached "the last nations who people our earth." After the extraordinary favor of the Indians of the North, those of the Western plains—Crees, Assiniboines and Blackfeet—seemed tepid in their love of prayer and practice of the Christian virtues, absorbed as the latter were in their unceasing wars and corrupted by strong drink given to them by whites still more debased than themselves. Father Bourassa, who was the first to see Peace River and Little Slave Lake, where he baptized 107 of the Castoro tribe, wrote: "It is impossible for me to describe the transports of joy and gladness with which these poor savages received me. I saw them running from hut to hut as soon as they saw me to announce that the man of God had arrived. I have had much difficulty in getting into the Fort, for I had to give my hand to all, big and little. Their ardor was so great that they willingly fasted some days, and several who had already left, apprised of my arrival, returned."

The departure of Father Taché on July 8, 1846, to establish a permanent mission at Ile-à-la-Crosse, marks the origin of the famous Indian missions of the Oblates in Northern Canada. At the close of that year, fifteen months after the arrival of the first Oblates, Monsignor Provencher had seven priests of the congregation, one scholastic, who was soon to be ordained, and a lay brother. "One has only to go to Ile-à-la-Crosse," says Father Morice, "to admire the splendid mission the Catholics have always maintained there since the days of Laflèche and Taché. One would seek in vain for a single Protestant among the Indians who frequent it, and if one is curious enough to obtain information, he will not be

long in learning that there was never one in this locality or its vicinity. Sir John Richardson, a Protestant and a disinterested witness of the fruits of their labors, notes in his journal: "25 June, 1848. As to-day is Sunday our *voyagers*<sup>3</sup> have been to Mass at the Catholic church situate nearly a mile from this. This mission was established in 1846 by M. La Flèche, who succeeded to a high degree in gaining the confidence of the Indians and grouping them in considerable numbers in a village around the church. In the course of the journey I have received a visit from Monsieur La Flèche and his colleague, Monsieur Tasché. Both are intelligent, educated men, devoted to their work of teaching the Indians."<sup>4</sup> It was thus seculars and regulars combined their efforts to extend the kingdom of God in North America.

Both missionaries enjoyed the esteem, not to say veneration, of Mr. R. McKenzie, the Protestant layman at the Fort, who continually asked himself how it was that two cultivated men like La Flèche and Taché could be resigned to spend their lives in teaching simple savages. "You must have a good salary to spend the best years of your life in a post like this," he said to them. La Flèche replied that he had exactly \$50 a year, but that Father Taché got absolutely no remuneration. "If that is so," responded McKenzie, "I prefer Father Taché's lot. Fifty piastres is something ridiculous for the work you are doing here. Father Taché has at least all the merit of his devotedness."<sup>5</sup> This devotedness was signally recognized by the highest authorities in the Church, when on June 24, 1850, being then only twenty-seven, he was nominated Titular Bishop of Arath, *in partibus infidelium*, and coadjutor to Monsignor Provencher, with the right of succession. Despite his youth, he was evidently the man of the situation; he knew the country and several of its languages, was capable and educated, and, above all, he belonged to a religious congregation. Once he was consecrated, it could not in honor abandon the missions he would be called to direct. "This diocese must fall to the Oblates; it cannot provide itself with subjects otherwise," wrote Monsignor Provencher.

Father Taché had gone to visit the camps of the Dénés (Montagnais) and the Crees, and on his return, in February, 1851, was astounded to hear of his elevation to the episcopate. Monsignor de Mazenod summoned him to Marseilles, being wishful of seeing the young subject of whom he had heard so much, and the mis-

<sup>3</sup> This word has a special local significance, and indicates the fur-traders moving about from one post to another.

<sup>4</sup> "Arctic Searching Expedition," Vol. I., p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Dugas. "History of the Canadian West," pp. 94-95. Montreal, 1903.

sioner hoped by this interview to get rid of the burden placed upon his shoulders. But Monsignor de Mazenod knew what he wanted and was not a man to change his mind once he was persuaded that such or such a measure was necessary for the good of the Church. "You'll be a Bishop," he said to him in that familiar manner he adopted with most of his spiritual children. "But, Monsignor, my age, my defects—" objected Father Taché. "The Holy Father has nominated you, and when the Pope speaks, it is God who speaks." "Still, Monsignor, I would like to remain an Oblate." "Certainly, it is thus I understand it." "But the episcopal dignity seems incompatible with the religious life." "What! The plenitude of the priesthood exclude the perfection to which every religious should aspire!" Then, drawing himself up with the noble dignity that characterized him: "No one is more a Bishop than I am, and certainly no one is more an Oblate."

Consecrated on November 3, 1851, Monsignor Taché was named vicar of the missions in the Canadian Northwest, and shortly afterwards went to Rome, where he got Monsignor Provencher's title changed to that of Bishop of St. Boniface. He became not only the vigilant and zealous director of those missions, but their historians.\* On June 27, 1852, he reached St. Boniface, with which his name will ever be associated, accompanied by an Oblate Father, Henri Grollier, who was soon to become the pioneer in the Arctic Circle, and a young secular priest who was to occupy a position and wield an influence hardly second to that of the future Archbishop. The latter was Albert Lacombe, the famous "black robe *voyageur*," whose character, life and deeds have been so graphically portrayed by Miss Katherine Hughes in a series of picturesque glimpses of missionary life in the Northwest which are redolent of the breezy freshness of the wind-swept plains.

Prelate and priest were then witnesses of a disastrous inundation which, in its impetuous torrent, carried away houses, granges, stables and bridges, transforming the whole country around St. Boniface into a vast lake, the water being five feet deep at Monsignor Provencher's door; if it rose two or three inches more, it would have covered the floor. He dared not stir out; he was like one marooned on an island, or, as he said himself, like a vessel in the midst of the ocean. When the waters subsided a scene of indescribable desolation met their gaze.

On July 8 Monsignor Taché, along with Fathers Lacombe and Grollier, knelt at the feet of the venerable prelate, who affectionately blessed the little band of missionaries. It was the last leavetaking

\* See his "*Vingt Années de Missions*" and the "*Vie de Mgr. Taché*" by Dom. Benoit.

of the two first Bishops of St. Boniface, who were never more to meet again on earth. Monsignor Provencher had a presentment of his approaching death. The three dearest desires of his heart were now accomplished. He had religious whose presence in the ranks of his clergy insured the perpetuity of his missions; he had nuns who were watching over the education of youth; and finally, he had a coadjutor, with the right of succession, which relieved his mind of all uneasiness as to the near future. "The Father of mercy," he wrote on July, 1847, "has then reserved for me the sweet consolation of seeing my Vicariate Apostolic provided with religious who will increase for its happiness, to carry the light of the Gospel and of civilization to the numerous nations who people the immense countries of the North. I shall joyfully chant the canticle of Simeon and shall see my last hour draw near without sadness."

When he rose on Saturday morning, May 19, 1853, he had an apoplectic seizure, which left him stretched unconscious on the floor of his room. When he regained consciousness he could hardly speak and passed the following night without taking any rest. He would, however, assist at Mass and say his Office. All that week he spent in a kind of delirium, and after receiving the last sacraments on May 24, during the afternoon of June 4, having blessed his people, his absent priests, the two who attended him and the Sisters, he calmly breathed his last. Major Caldwell, Governor of Assiniboia; the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry and a large number of Protestants were present at the obsequies and added their tribute of regret to the veneration and prayers of the Catholics. "Needless to dwell upon the merits of the first Bishop of St. Boniface," observes Father Morice. "He is judged by his works, and we have some little knowledge of them now. He belonged to the old school of strict ecclesiastics who knew no compromise when it was a question of duty. He was remarkable for his devotedness to his flock, the interest he took in public affairs, his practical, sound sense which led him to distrust every hazardous undertaking, sincere piety and excessive kindness of heart. He lived poor and left nothing to his heirs. On the other hand, the remembrance of his extreme charity and those little liberalities which his own denudation enabled him to dispense is still vivid in the valley where he passed more than thirty years of his life."

His biographer, Dugas, tells us that his reputation for sanctity was such, even among Protestants, that one of them one day asked him to sing two High Masses to draw down the blessing of heaven upon the harvests—a proceeding which at the same time shows the

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<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 363-65.

great harmony which then prevailed among all classes at the Red River.<sup>a</sup>

Sister Connolly, daughter of an old inhabitant of British Columbia, had very special reasons to love him as a second father. In her old age she was never tired of telling how one day when her companions were working in the fields he had, by his prayers, freed them from the clouds of mosquitos which swarmed about them. She also averred that on another occasion, when the poor Sisters were lamenting the inutility of their labors in view of the ravages caused by the caterpillars, the holy prelate, by the fervent recitation of his Breviary, caused the insects to betake themselves to the river, where they were drowned. Father Morice says there are still in the West a number of old men who knew Monsignor Provencher and who are unanimous in proclaiming his extreme charity and great simplicity. He had a grave sense of responsibility for the flock entrusted to him, even for their material well-being, and continually visited the colonists, particularly the nuns he had taught there, to assure himself that they lacked nothing needful. His generosity was only limited by his slender resources. He had constantly with him children or young people, whom he educated and then set them up at his own expense. One of these still remembers the astonishment, mingled with religious respect, he felt on discovering one day that the Bishop's pillow was not stuffed with feathers or hay like that of the other colonists, but a block of wood. He worked laboriously in the fields as much for mortification as example.

"In taking our leave of this grand figure which shines with such particular lustre in the history of the Canadian West," says Father Morice, "we are going to let a man who was by no means partial to Catholics, Alexander Simpson, give the finishing touch to the portrait we have endeavored to sketch of the first Bishop of St. Boniface. This Protestant depicts him in colors with which we rarely find this prelate associated when he writes: 'A man more jovial and of more majestic bearing than Monsignor, the Bishop of Juliopolis, is not easily met. In comparison with him Friar Tuck was only a baby. Who ever knows him admits that he works with zeal, judgment and discretion for the advantage of the spiritual and temporal interests of his diocese.'"<sup>b</sup>

Monsignor Taché was only thirty when, by the death of Monsignor Provencher, he exchanged his distant titular see of Arath for that of St. Boniface. The present cathedral city on the Red River opposite Winnipeg, which in 1914 had a population of 12,025,

<sup>a</sup> Dugas. "Monsieur Provencher," p. 131.

<sup>b</sup> Morice, Vol. I., p. 369. "Life and Times of Thomas Simpson," p. 89.

then consisted simply of the cathedral and episcopal "palace" adjoining; a convent inhabited by eleven nuns who cared for the sick under their own roof; one or two houses destined for the occupation of Narcisse Marion and Louis Thibault (brother of the missionary of that name), and some maisonnettes along the Seine. All the other parishioners, about 1,100, were scattered over their lands, more or less cultivated, on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Monsignor Taché gives a humorous description of his "palace," which had nothing palatial about it but the name. "I have an episcopal palace," he wrote, "as fit for that purpose as I am for mine. The said palace is 20 feet long by 20 feet broad and 7 feet high; it is built of earth. This earth is not impermeable, so that the rain, the wind and other atmospheric miseries have free access thereto. Two windows with six panes light the principal apartment; two pieces of parchment supply the rest of the system of illumination. In this palace where everything may seem small to you, everything, on the contrary, is impressed with a character of grandeur. Thus my secretary is a Bishop, my valet-de-chambre is a Bishop, my cook himself is also sometimes a Bishop. These illustrious employes have all numerous defects; nevertheless, their attachment to my person renders them dear to me and makes me regard them with complacency. When they appear tired of their respective occupations, I send them all on the road and, joining them, I strive to divert their ennui."<sup>10</sup>

The priests who served the different stations then consisted of four seculars and seven Oblates—men who brought enthusiasm and devotedness to their work. Their zeal gained for them the constant love of their flocks and the admiration of honest Protestants, sometimes even of their rivals. The observations, published in 1854, of one of the Wesleyan ministers, the Rev. John Ryerson, who visited the incumbent of the Fort William mission, express the opinions of most of the contemporary Protestants of the West. "I pointed out to our brethren," he wrote, "that such a manifest zeal for the work, which testified such a spirit of sacrifice, was worthy of a better cause than the diffusion of Papism, and that it was of a character to humiliate us when we contrast it with our own missionaries, who seem to measure the kind and quantity of their work with as much care and exactness as a Jew would do for a piece of silk velvet. I remember one missionary, if not more, who would not form a class under pretext that this occupation was not quite canonical and was beneath the dignity of his office, adding that he was a minister and not a schoolmaster. One thing is certain—that the

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<sup>10</sup> "Vingt Années de Missions," pp. 52-60.

Roman Catholic missionaries in the whole extent of these vast regions surpass us much in zeal, work and the spirit of sacrifice, and that the success which crowns their efforts is much superior to ours."<sup>11</sup>

This tribute of admiration to the Catholic missionaries, wrung unwillingly from one of their adversaries, is the more valuable, as their labors went to the very root of the evil—polygamy. While the Catholic missionaries insisted upon monogamy as imperatively obligatory upon Christianized Indians, the Protestant preachers often permitted them to retain three wives, thinking that faith in the Redeemer and the observance of the Sabbath was sufficient—a very easy creed, for the Indian is always more than disposed to rest from labor. Father Morice says that it is hardly an exaggeration to regard as a miracle of grace the fact that despite everything the immense majority of the natives remained under the control of a Church which has never compromised with evil.

Among the missionaries sent in 1854 by Monsignor de Mazenod to reinforce Monsignor Taché was a young priest, Father Vital Julien Grandin, who before his ordination had been rejected by the authorities of the Seminary of the Mission Etrangères, in Paris, as unfit for the arduous work of a missionary on account of his weakly constitution, but who, in the sequel, was to spend a life of 58 years on the mission, a career full of merit and glorious work in North America, and to become Monsignor Taché's coadjutor. According to the modern discipline of the Church, a Bishop is only given a coadjutor chiefly on account of advancing years or infirmities disabling him from completely discharging his episcopal functions; but, though Monsignor Taché was probably the youngest prelate in the Church, as his immense diocese comprised an area of 1,520 by 1,300 miles,<sup>12</sup> an exception was made in his favor, the necessity of extending the sphere of missionary activity further towards the North making itself daily felt.

"Farther North!" became the watchword of the missionaries as well as of the Arctic explorers, until now the North Pole is actually included in the remotest Northern diocese presided over by an Oblate Bishop. Monsignor Grandin, after establishing the mission of Providence, in the midst of the solitude of the MacKenzie, pursued his way farther Northward in the direction of the Polar regions. Father Pettist, who arrived there on March 15, 1856, was the first missionary who labored on the borders of the inland sea called the Great Bear Lake, after crossing no less than 336 lakes by the end of the previous year.

<sup>11</sup> "Hudson's Bay Territory," p. 19. Toronto, 1855.

<sup>12</sup> In May, 1856, there were 534 families, or a total of 3,000 souls in Red River colony.



Father Grollier, called the Apostle of the Arctic Circle, was not satisfied until he reached the extremest points—the first priest to find himself at the most Northern part of the New World, where the first Esquimaux received the regenerating sacrament of baptism at his hands, after making peace between the Loucheux, the most Northern tribe of the Déné, and the Esquimaux who had been at deadly enmity massacring one another (September 14, 1860).

Father Grollier, already mentioned, reached Fort Good, just below the Arctic Circle, where he passed the winter of 1859-60. It was the origin of the famous mission of Our Lady of Good Hope, where later he was to bid an eternal farewell to the scene of his too brief labors to go and receive the reward promised to the good and faithful—to “enter into the joy of the Lord” after years of sorrow and suffering. He had been the bearer of the glad tidings of salvation to distant regions more than 2,000 miles from St. Boniface.

It was not without good reason that Pius IX. called the Oblate missionaries of sub-Arctic America the “martyrs of the cold.” The climate in the North is so severe that in certain regions a Siberian winter prevails for nine months out of the twelve. It was so cold when Monsignor Grandin, on January 8, 1862, started on his journey to the St. Teresa mission at Fort Norman, that it was said with the greatest difficulty he could get two men and three dogs to draw the sleigh that contained his provisions. He had to sleep in the open air in a temperature of from 45 to 50 degrees below zero, with two or three dogs over him to get what warmth he could from their close proximity. He had also to keep his hands continually in mittens, or otherwise they would be immediately frozen. One day his companion, an Indian, who preceded him in a narrow path, turning towards him to reply to a question, suddenly seized his nose, squeezed it and pressed it in all directions, and then rubbed snow over it, to the prelate’s surprise. He was thinking the savage had lost his reason; but the Bishop’s nose was frostbitten and this rough and ready massage treatment was for the purpose of restoring the circulation of the blood. Ophthalmia, due to the intense whiteness of the snow, added to their tortures, so that the poor missionary-Bishop was completely exhausted when he reached Fort Simpson on March 17, 1862. Later on, in 1880, despite piercing cold, he had to journey, partly in a cart of primitive construction and partly on foot, from St. Albert to Notre Dame de Lourdes, on the left bank of the Saskatchewan, and from thence to the Francis Regis, or Fort Pitt, often stopped by forty-five unbridged rivers, which he generally crossed over ice and sometimes had to ford, meeting with numerous accidents—broken axletrees or wheels in pieces, horses

stuck in the mud or almost drowned, and such like. It is almost certain death to be caught in a blizzard in the open without any shelter from the snowdrifts. A young man, Louis Dazé, who helped the missionaries without any recompense but the satisfaction of doing good for the love of God, perished in this way in mid-November, 1874, being surprised by one of those terrible "poudreries" against which there is no protection. The devoted servant was found frozen stiff, after wandering five or six days without food in the midst of a snowstorm, although, had he known it, he was only five minutes' walk from an Indian camp.

Cold was not the only thing they had to endure. They had to suffer many deprivations and were often famine-stricken in the wild wastes far away from civilization. Many missionaries spent whole years without ever tasting bread, and had often to depend upon the charity of the dwellers by the lakes for their daily sustenance, after trudging painfully through the snow, two sacks of wheat or meal and a few of old and more or less rancid pemmican, the food alike of man and dog, being the annual allowance to each mission.

"Famine," says Father Morice, "was a condition with which all the missionaries were familiar. They oftenest laughed over it, and were wont to replace a meal lacking by a knotted cincture, as they said in their picturesque language, to impose silence on the clamorings of nature." Added to these deprivations were the fatigue and thousand and one drawbacks inevitable from long journeys on foot. Judge Prendergast, writing in 1894, said: "It is now well known of all the religious orders that, without excepting those of China, the Corea and Japan, the missions of Athabaska-MacKenzie are the hardest and most painful in the whole world."<sup>18</sup> Fasting and famine were the order of the day for pastor and flock at the St. Teresa mission in 1862. One of the employes of the former had thrown away an old pair of moccasins on the journey made in company with Monsignor Grandin; a few days afterwards an Indian family, who had been long without food, picked it up and fed on it. A still more pitiable incident is related. An Indian killed and ate his four or five-year-old daughter, who had been baptized by Father Grollier, and it was said many others had been reduced to the same extremity.

Notwithstanding all they had to endure, the priests worked wonders, multiplying themselves as much as they could and exposing themselves with light hearts to all sorts of numberless dangers and deprivations. In May, 1885, Father Georges Ducot visited the

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<sup>18</sup> "Le Manitoba," June 28, 1894.

nomads of Keith Bay, on the Great Bear Lake, after nearly dying from hunger in the wood. Three of his dogs perished for the same reason, and he was reduced to feed on the fourth. With starvation daily staring him in the face, his only reliance was on prayer for his daily bread. Father Kearney, his devoted companion, shared his extreme poverty and helped him, by procuring some rare partridge or hare, to drag out a poor and suffering life near the Polar Circle. Rheumatism, to which he was subject, made traveling a real martyrdom to Monsignor Grandin. In his Northward journey in 1862, more than once overcome by fatigue, he threw himself down on the snow, exclaiming: "It is all over with me; I can't go any farther;" but only to resume his painful march after some moments' rest—an evident proof, he remarks in his journal, that necessity renders a man capable of doing much more than seemed to him possible at first sight. Father Eynard, who reached Fort Rae a day before him, was in a still worse plight, each of his ears and cheeks and his nose being frozen.

"The reason his superior gives for it," observes Father Morice, "is a proof of his humility, just as it shows his spirit of mortification. It was, says Grandin, because he fasted strictly to conform to the letter to the Lenten observance, and that despite the numerous forced fasts and other privations to which every missionary on the road must necessarily submit." Father Farand, after laboring day and night for twelve years at Lake Athabaska, was reduced to such a condition that he had to be sent back to the South. In his journey to the Northern posts, Monsignor Grandin found shelter in the humble home of an old man who has become legendary among the missionaries of the Great North. This was Francis Beaulieu, the patriarch of Salt River, the oldest of the French Metis of the North, a relic of the heroic times of the explorers, Alexander MacKenzie, John Franklin, J. Back and others. Born about 1771, he was baptized in 1848 by Father Taché. Since he had led such a Christian life that one might have proposed him as a model to many people. Despite his poverty, he had built a house for the exclusive use of every priest who might honor him and his little colony with a visit. Father Gascon remained there some time and received lessons in Montagnais from the old man. The place where the first missionary said Mass became sacred in the eyes of Beaulieu and his family; they never occupied it any more, but adorned it with a lot of images hidden from the eyes of the profane by a curtain, which was only drawn back on Sundays, Fridays and feast days, when the exercises of an improvised religious service were performed in presence of the whole population. To the Indians who had chosen him as their chief, as well as to his own children, grand-

children and great-grandchildren and their families, Francis Beau-lieu was priest and Magistrate in the absence of either.<sup>14</sup>

The Irish (who appear to turn up everywhere) were equally serviceable to the missionaries at Fort McLeod. "We have no foothold here," wrote Father Doucet in 1881, "but there is a good number of Irish Catholics, and with them the priest has never any trouble. They supply all our needs during our sojourn, and at our departure they found a way of making me a generous contribution."

The missionaries were not only "martyrs of the cold," but laid down their lives in their heroic efforts to propagate the faith. Under the head of "tragic deaths," Father Morice enumerates some of these supreme sacrifices. Father Eynard, of whom mention has been made, suffered from insomnia and was accustomed to rise very early in the morning to perform his religious exercises and promenade in front of the chapel at the Nativity Station, on Lake Athabasca, awaiting the time to call his companions, Father Laity and Father Reynier. On August 6, 1873, in place of taking his usual walk, he bathed in the lake. As they did not see him at the altar at the hour when he usually said Mass, they searched the neighborhood and found him with his arms across his breast under six feet of water. Still more tragic was the death of Brother Alexis. Sent by Monsignor Clut to place himself at the disposal of his Bishop, Monsignor Faraud, who was coming with a numerous caravan of new French missionaries, after ascending the Athabasca for two weeks, his companions, deterred by the swollen waters of the river, now an impetuous torrent, retraced their steps to Fort McMurray. Impelled by a sense of duty, the Brother resolved to continue his journey by land with his guide, an Iroquois Metis, and an orphan girl he was leading to the nuns at Lake La Biche. The change of route rendered it impossible to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions and they had to rely upon chance forest game for their sustenance during a twenty days' journey. His first companions did not leave the fort until the waters had considerably subsided. Great was the consternation of everybody when neither Brother nor Iroquois appeared at Lake La Biche. Fearing an accident, two men were sent on horseback and returned after twelve days. They found the Brother under a layer of sand at the mouth of a river, but no trace of his guide. A further search-party only succeeded in discovering some dried human bones deposited by an unknown hand in a rather deep hole, and near them a hatchet covered with blood; the head was perforated through and through.

A short distance from the place were traces of a bivouac fire, with the fragments of a horrible meal—a human spine and portions of a

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<sup>14</sup> Morice, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 50-51.

man's side. The Iroquois and the young orphan were never seen again. The conclusion arrived at was that the Brother was a martyr of chastity and sacrificed his life in a vain effort to protect the young girl from outrage. Some years afterward an Indian tribe called Castors said their camp had long been haunted by a ghost wandering at night round their tents, so that no one ventured to go out. One night a native whose dog had been stolen loaded his gun and was on the watch; when he saw the "phantom" he fired and returned to his tent. The next day a man's body, pierced by a ball, was found in the wood; it was the Iroquois. Two Oblates, Fathers Marchand and Fafard, were killed by the Indians during the rebellion in Saskatchewan in 1885. They are remembered as the martyrs of Frog Lake, where the massacre took place. Father Paquette lived at this time in constant danger of death, and it was longed feared that he had fallen a victim to the resentment of the Indians and Metis; Fathers Cochin and Legoff were dragged from place to place by the rebels, who kept them in perpetual dread of paying by their loss of life for their opposition to the rising; Father Scollen incurred what was equivalent to a death sentence, because he had succeeded in saving the life of a messenger of the Canadian Government, while Fathers Vegreville, Moulin, Fourmond and Touze were held prisoners and even deprived of exercising their sacred ministry among the people around them. Seven Catholic churches and as many missionary establishments were completely destroyed and all that was valuable in them stolen.

Monsignor Grandin, since his last voyage to Europe, had lost eight missionaries, only two of whom died in their beds; the others were either frozen or drowned or massacred by the Indians. Still, like a true Christian, he never harbored thoughts of vengeance, but pleaded earnestly in favor of clemency being shown to the captured rebels. The attitude and action of the Oblates during this critical episode placed the Government under an obligation to the missionaries for the moderating influence which they exercised among the Indians in arms. "Father Lacombe," observes Father Morice, "kept the Blackfeet in the path of peace, and in acting thus acquired a title to the eternal gratitude of the West; for one cannot think without shuddering of the results of a revolt in which a numerous and bellicose tribe like that of these Indians actively participated. Father Paquette did the same among the Crees of the Green Lake and Father Collignon among those of Lake La Biche, while Fathers Végreville, Moulin, Leduc, Fourmond, Legoff and others were noted for their efforts in favor of order against the proceedings of the malcontents who wanted to join Riel's troops."

It was no easy task to tame and civilize and Christianize races of nomads so long accustomed to the unrestrained freedom or license of children of nature, who knew no law but that of their tribal usages, like the wild Indians of the extreme West or far North, or the civilized and semi-civilized half-breeds who regarded the white settlers from the East as aggressive introducers in a domain of which they had held immemorial possession through their native ancestry. Among the former polygamy largely and even cannibalism partly prevailed. After telling how seventeen murders had been committed on the desolate shores of the Great Bear Lake during the brief sojourn Sir John Franklin made there, Father Petitot admits that after the visit he himself made to the Indians who frequented it, a little child was devoured by dogs almost under the eyes of its family, having been thrown a prey to them. Another child was torn in pieces from its mother's bosom, and a third buried alive by his brother-in-law under the eyes of his own sister and all the people on the march. This missionary knew an octogenarian named *Kra-nda* ("Hare-eyes") who, like another Saturn, had eaten not less than eleven members of his own family—his brother-in-law, three of his children, his mother-in-law and four other persons.<sup>15</sup>

"It is, however, only just to remark," comments Father Morice, "that these crimes against nature should be credited to the pagan parties. Once under the influence of the priest, the Indians come to regard them with horror." Until this influence was brought to bear upon them they adhered to their old savage customs, had recourse to cannibalism to appease the pangs of hunger in famine times and abandoned to certain death on the march the aged and infirm who were unable to follow the bulk of the party. The change wrought by the missionaries was almost miraculous. The great majority of the Indians in the MacKenzie valley remained faithful to the teaching of the "men of God"—the "true praying men," as they called the Catholic priests, whom they always preferred to the "men with wives," the Protestant ministers, although some of the most unscrupulous of the latter complacently shut their eyes to polygamy among the natives and did not enforce the Christian law.

The Oblates devoted themselves to the work with a whole-hearted zeal—"happy," wrote Monsignor Faraud, "if, at the cost of a thousand sacrifices, we can wrest some souls from the claws of Satan and do our part in increasing the number of the children of our Heavenly Father." In a sketch of the moral aspects of

<sup>15</sup> "Exploration de la Région du Grand Lac des Ours," pp. 106-7. Paris, 1893.

his immense vicariate, he says: "Even the hordes who are not entirely converted are losing their ferocity, and infanticide and cannibalism, formerly so common among certain tribes, tend to disappear."<sup>16</sup> In 1880 there were from 750 to 800 Montagnais, perfectly civilized and industrious, frequenting the mission at Ile-à-la-Crosse. "All the Indians," reported Monsignor Grandin, "are Christians, and we may even say that their habits are becoming daily more conformable to their faith. True civilization has found its way into their manners, and if the country was more adapted to cultivation, they would undoubtedly become a people completely transformed from a temporal as well as a spiritual point of view."

Protestant as well as Catholic testimony has been borne to this marvelous transformation of a race of wild nomads, who were addicted to idleness and the grossest vices. One of the principal officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, writing to Monsignor Grandin in 1865, said: "The noble abnegation, calmness and admirable energy with which you have encountered difficulties, surmounted obstacles and endured sufferings of an exceptional nature are beyond all praise. For my part, although I have passed fifteen years in those savage regions and seen and felt, in my own person, several of the vicissitudes of life in the extreme North, I would recoil before the long, multiplied and continued sufferings and deprivations which Your Lordship has endured on the banks of the MacKenzie. If your distant friends had seen you, as I have, in a 'palace' constructed with some shapeless trunks of trees, placed one upon another to the height of six or seven feet, lit only by some coarse pieces of parchment, which alone served as windows, having only the frozen soil for your floor and for a door a few badly joined planks, through which the snow and the wind penetrated at every moment; for a bed, some pieces of wood on trestles; for habitual diet food which the lowest domestics in fair France would have rejected with scorn; your long and painful journeys, often in a half-fasting condition; having for your companions only some barbarians, who have none of the habits or sentiments European civilization inspires, certainly your friends would have shed tender tears over your unhappy lot. I know your unexampled patience and unalterable courage have excited the admiration of all the officers of the district, not to speak of the esteem so full of affection with which Your Lordship's personal qualities have inspired all classes of the inhabitants of the MacKenzie River."<sup>17</sup>

A traveler who, in the course of 1872, visited the St. Bernard

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<sup>16</sup> "Report on the Missions of the Diocese of Quebec." April, 1868.

<sup>17</sup> Letter dated, July 14, 1865, in "*Vingt Années de Missions*," pp. 205-206.

mission (now Gronard), on Little Slave Lake, where he found Father Remas, who told him he had not tasted bread for six months, says: "The society which supplies the territories of North-western Canada with Roman Catholic missionaries is an extraordinary body and deserves in passing a tribute of respect and admiration for the spirit of sacrifice, zeal, personal immolation and courage with which each of its members, from its Bishops to the humblest lay brothers, pursues the work of evangelization. They are subject to a vow of poverty, and they certainly observed it to perfection, for they only possess the clothes with which they are clad."<sup>18</sup>

A Huguenot French noble who visited Manitoba and recorded his impressions in a book published in 1880, says: "The Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface, Monsignor Taché, brother of the Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Immigration at Ottawa, was not then at Red River. I had seen him in Montreal and Ottawa, where he had recovered his health, shattered by over twenty years on the mission in the Northwest. This prelate, whose influence over the whole Canadian and French-Metis population is enormous, as well as over a large portion of the Indians of his immense diocese, is one of those truly superior men, to meet whom leaves a profound impression. If our nationality, represented hitherto by 12,000 or 15,000 Metis, without cohesion, without instruction, without an outlook upon the future, succeeds in maintaining its position between Winnipeg River and the Rockies, history will record to what a large degree the Archbishop of St. Boniface will have contributed to this result. What he has conceived, attempted and wrought for the moral and material amelioration of the country during the government of Hudson's Bay Company, what energy he has expended during and after the troubles occasioned by annexation to maintain on the ground of legality a resistance which mad provocations might from one moment to another have caused to degenerate into an open struggle—all that would require more space than befits this work. Monsignor Taché has, besides, as co-workers some remarkable men—such are, among others, Monsignor Grandin, a French Oblate, now Bishop of St. Albert; Father Lacombe, author of works on various Indian idioms; Monsignor Faraud, Vicar Apostolic of the MacKenzie River; Father Petitot, of the same vicariate, one of the latest distinctions of the Geographical Society of Paris."<sup>19</sup>

An English Protestant, writing to the "Saturday Night," a To-

<sup>18</sup> Charles Horetzky, "Canada on the Pacific," pp. 26-27. Montreal, 1874.

<sup>19</sup> De Lamothe, "Cinq Mois chez les Français d'Amerique," pp. 266-267. Paris, 1879.



ronto paper, says: "Whatever may be the quarrels of party politicians, whatever may be the aims of ambitious, self-seeking men, bitter as may be the religious antipathies of Eastern Canada, the author of this article, a Protestant, desires to bear evidence to the devotedness, the ardent zeal and the simplicity of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the most Northern part of the Northwest. Where could be found an old man simpler, more gentle and more zealous than Monsignor Grandin, whose diocese coincides with the territory to the North of the Saskatchewan? I have never met a more amiable old man. To show what the Catholic missionaries can do, we may mention the case of Father Legoff. When I saw him for the first time I took him for an Indian. Father Legoff was born in the Province of Quebec<sup>20</sup> of parents belonging to good families, who descend from a long line of noble aristocrats of old France. Between thirty and forty years ago he offered himself for the missions of the Northwest, and when I met him he had been twenty-seven years a missionary among a little band of Crees of the woods and Montagnais in their colony situate 260 miles to the northeast of Edmonton and civilization. His skin was as tanned as an Indian, his clothes were in ribbons, he appeared ill and worn out; but to hear him speak the purest French, as he took supper in my tent—he does not speak a word of English—to see his eyes glisten and sparkle with enthusiasm while he mentioned the gratitude of the poor, uncultured savages entrusted to him; to see gradually revealed the mildness of his character and his infantine religious simplicity; to hear of the difficulties which often confronted him on his way—difficulties which, in winter, went near causing him to die of hunger—to realize, little by little, all that he has given up and all that he has voluntarily assumed, was sufficient to make one love the ragged priest and wish the world contained a larger number of these noble citizens and Christians. For months in succession this devoted priest saw no newspaper and received no letter;<sup>21</sup> for months in succession he had no opportunity of speaking his native language. His dietary was that of the Indian, his food coarse, raw or badly cooked. He worked with the savages in little clearings which they had made; he baptized them, married them and buried them, and when his own hour will come, he will sleep alongside them his last sleep. And the case of this noble and devoted priest of ascetic aspect is only one among many. The spirit of sacrifice and abnegation is their characteristic trait. One

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<sup>20</sup> This is an error. He was born in Brittany.

<sup>21</sup> Father Morice notes that, when he was a missionary among the natives of British Columbia, he was several times five months without receiving any mail, and that his predecessors could only correspond once a year with Europe.

could find Father Damiens even in the solitude of the great North and the extreme West."

Lord Southesk was much struck by what he saw in the distant mission of St. Ann, in the extreme West, where he says "we were very cordially received. We had the pleasure of dining with Fathers Lacombe and Lefrain—agreeable persons and perfect gentlemen. What an advantage Rome has in this respect! Protestants continually send to their missions vulgar, uneducated people, while Rome sends well mannered and very cultivated gentlemen. And then it excels in its way of capturing the Indian mind! For instance, every native enrolled in the temperance society receives a handsome silver medal to wear. That touches his pride and is much more effective than simple dry exhortations." Father Morice traces the rapid evolution of the Protestant missionary from an ignorant Bible-reader or half-educated schoolmaster into a "reverend;" and mentions as illustrative of the low-class type of Protestants thus employed how one of these unscrupulous gentry told the Indians that it was the Catholics crucified Our Lord, and that was why the Oblates wore the cross in their girdles and gave crosses to their converts!

Despite the obstacles against which they had to contend, the Oblate missions progressed. "The grain of mustard seed sown by Provencher," says Father Morice, "had now (1870-72) become a tree of respectable dimensions. Its growth had not only been rapid since the arrival of the Oblates, but vigorous offshoots, whose branches on one side touched the Arctic Ocean and on others the Rocky Mountains and Hudson's Bay, but in time had sprung from its own roots, and now sheltered tribes of every tongue and every origin." Up to 1875 almost all the missions in Western Canada were still in the hands of the Oblates. "One may say," observes the writer just quoted, "that the Oblates had made the religious Northwest of Canada, such as it then was." In the beginning of 1876 the Meits of St. Charles received in the person of Father Dandurand, still (1915) officiating at the patriarchal age of over 97, the first Canadian who ever became an Oblate. When Monsignor Grandin visited the mission of St. Gertrude on Lake Pelican in 1875, he only found there a wooden cross and twenty Catholics; in 1880 they numbered 200. In 1896, while awaiting the nomination of an auxiliary, Monsignor Taché, the Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of St. Boniface, which, without counting his own see, then comprised that of St. Albert, and the Vicariates Apostolic of Athabaska, Mackenzie and British Columbia, rejoiced in contemplating the progress made by the Church in those immense regions since his own arrival at the Red River in 1845. In place of

being a simple dependence of Quebec, this territory was now divided into four episcopal circumscriptions. From Lake Superior to the Pacific it counted twenty-four secular priests in place of the four found there in 1845. Where the congregation had then only two representatives, it counted in 1886 not less than 163, of whom 97 were priests. In 1845 the country had only four Grey Nuns; it now possessed 93, independent of 71 nuns of other orders. But the greatest contrast was presented by the educational institutions under the mediate or immediate direction of the Church. On the arrival of Father Taché there were only three Catholic schools, with 120 children, in the West; in 1886 this same territory possessed not less than 100, giving instruction to 4,517 pupils. To these institutions must also be added the College of St. Boniface, of which the Jesuits have had the direction since 1885, the transference of his favorite foundation from his own congregation to that of the great teaching order being due to the fact that the Oblates are essentially and exclusively a missionary body, while the Jesuits are among the foremost educationists in the world.

The episcopates of the two first Archbishops of St. Boniface, Monsignor Taché and Monsignor Langevin, were consistent with the use, progress and expansion of Catholicism in Western Canada, and even to the extreme North as far as Yukon, the Pacific shores of Alaska and the Arctic Ocean. Monsignor Taché, a man of his time, neglected no available means of insuring its making material progress subservient to moral regeneration and civilization, founding a newspaper organ for the defense of Catholic interests and industrial schools to train the natives in skilled labor. In 1876 he effectively promoted Catholic colonization, with the object of counteracting the hostile influence of Protestant immigrants, attracting no less than 500 French-Canadians to Manitoba, and in the following year 600 more. This was all the more desirable and advantageous, as many of the Catholic Metis had wended their way northward, where new parishes were formed. The opening up of the country by the Canadian Pacific Railway, to which gigantic undertaking Father Lacombe rendered such valuable assistance, greatly helped the work of the missions, thanks to the late lamented Sir William Van Horne, to whom Catholic missionaries were much indebted for facilities of transit from one point to another.

The death of Monsignor Taché in 1894, whose declining years were saddened by the bigoted opposition of Orange Protestants to the Catholic education in Manitoba, called forth a unanimous tribute to the great prelate. Even the non-Catholic press struck no discordant note to mar the harmony. Friends and foes generally recognized the large share he had in the development of Western

Canada. "He cannot be replaced," declared the "Free Press" in a five-column obituary. "The life of such a man always ends too soon. . . . It has not been given to him to see accomplished all that he wished; but he could bear witness that he had neglected nothing." Even the "Tribune" joined in the chorus of praise. "By this death," it said, "mankind has lost a great friend and the Church he loved so much a faithful servant. . . . In presence of all that was mortal of this distinguished prelate, every difference of opinion is laid aside, and it is impossible to discern anything but the memory of a well-filled, useful life composed of sacrifices in the cause of God. . . . He has died on the battlefield, sword in hand and clad in his armor." The principal Manitoba paper said that "the work of he who has left us will always remain as a monument to do honor to his memory."

He did not write much, but he wrote well, his "Sketch of the Northwest of America" being regarded as the most complete and accurate work ever published relating to the hydrographical, ethnological, botanical and zoölogical features of that vast region. But, though an accomplished *litterateur* and a perfect master of style, he was above all and before all things a Bishop. When he was ordained in 1845, he was only the sixth Catholic priest in the British possessions between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains. At his death the Ecclesiastical Province of St. Boniface in the same territory counted not less than 147 priests under five Bishops, and about 150 nuns in place of the four who went into the West the year before his own arrival, while the Catholic population of the Diocese of St. Boniface was 21,000, whose spiritual requirements were provided for by 85 churches and chapels; that of St. Albert, by 24 Oblates and four secular priests; the Vicariate Apostolic of Athabaska-MacKenzie, by 23 Oblates, and the new Vicariate of Saskatchewan, by 18 priests, seven of whom were Oblates, who ministered to a population of 7,000, without counting the monks and nuns.

Monsignor Taché had a worthy successor in Monsignor Langevin, who last June passed to his well-earned rest and reward. He was, as Dr. Thomas O'Hagan, the well-known Canadian scholar, called him, "a warrior of the cross." The Bishop of Calgary, Dr. McNally, who paid an eloquent tribute to his memory, said he "spent himself with tireless energy, giving of his very best in what he believed to be the cause of God—one who was a watchful shepherd, a generous father of his flock." The Bishop of Regina, Monsignor Mathieu, who spoke his *éloge* in the French tongue as eloquently, described him as "an incomparable figure, a great servant of God." Father Lee, the pastor of St. Edward's, Winnipeg, spoke

of the "fearless and noble character" of the late Archbishop, who "had fought all his life for the liberty of the Catholics of Manitoba, and especially for the Catholic education of the little ones." Monsignor Cherrier, in another panegyric, said: "He was a great chief-tain of the Catholics of this country. He has accomplished great deeds. He never disputed the rights of those outside the Church. He demanded a right (Christian education for the young) which the Constitution had given us; he fought for justice and died in his fight for that noble cause." A writer in the "Missionary Record of the Oblates" says: "The second Archbishop of St. Boniface succeeded in 1895 to an inheritance of distress. Where all his powers would have found exercise enough in the ordinary work of building up a diocese in a new and daily growing country, he was obliged to give his days and nights to the endeavor to win back the educational rights which had been filched from the Catholics of Manitoba. The difficulties with which he had to contend were enormous. Besides the frank opponents of religious education, there were some who merely desired to lessen expense; there were many who sought to make Manitoba and all the West absolutely English, and if Protestant, so much the better; there were some who cared for none of these things, but wanted to gain or retain a place in politics; there were many sincere Catholics, clerical and lay, who did not understand Canadian or English ways of 'agitation,' and there were many who judged it useless to contend for the right when on the weaker side. During two pontificates, views and reviews, and reports and counter-reports, and promises from politicians, and warnings from some ecclesiastics, and hopeful messages from others, must have kept pouring into the Vatican. For Archbishop Langevin it was at least a consolation when, at length towards the close of the second Pontificate, Pope Pius X. said to him, '*Bene laborasti; bene certasti.*'"

As long as the Church is served in Canada by such earnest and vigilant Bishops and intrepid missionaries, no matter what passing clouds may dim the horizon, the outlook of Catholicism in that wide Dominion is full of promise of a bright and prosperous future.

R. F.

## Book Reviews

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**THE SEQUEL TO CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.** The story of the English Catholics continued down to the re-establishment of their hierarchy in 1850. By the *Right Rev. Monsignor Bernard Ward*, F. R. Hist. S., Corresponding Member of the Société Archéologique de France, President of St. Edmund's College, author of "The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England (1781-1803)" and "The Eve of Catholic Emancipation (1803-1829)." In two volumes. Vol. I., 1830-1840; pp. xx., 296; illustrated. Vol. II., 1840-1850; pp. vii., 328. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

It would be difficult to find the history of the Catholic inhabitants of any country for a given period filled with more interest or treated in a more satisfactory manner than the story of the English Catholics told by Monsignor Ward in this series, which has just been completed with the two volumes before us. It covers a period beginning with the days of the late Vicars Apostolic of 1780 and ending with the establishment of the Hierarchy in 1850.

The first two volumes, entitled "The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England," extended from 1781 to 1803. These were followed by three volumes called "The Eve of Catholic Emancipation," which brought the story down to 1829. And now the series is completed with these two volumes, which end with the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850.

In the meantime, while Monsignor Ward was engaged on this monumental work, Dr. Burton, vice president of St. Edmund's College, Ware, wrote and published the "Life and Times of Bishop Challoner," which pushed the history back to 1691.

It is a fascinating story, at times sad, again joyful, now discouraging, again encouraging—a story of the heroic struggle of holy, learned, zealous churchmen and laymen to restore the faith to their beloved country, from which it had been stolen, and to bring that country back to the faith for which their forefathers had suffered and died. It is a story which makes the blood of the true Catholic tingle with pride and enthusiasm, and a story which cannot be read in part. The true student will not be satisfied with less than all.

It seems almost presumptuous to recommend such a book. The mere mention of the title, with its relation to the volumes that have preceded, and the name of the learned author is a better recommendation and guarantee than words of praise from any reviewer.

The Preface is so interesting and informing that we quote from it at length without apology :

It was in the year 1906 that the Bishop of Clifton invited me to his house to see the collection of letters and papers which he had lately discovered bound up in some thirty large volumes relating to the days of the later Vicars Apostolic from 1780 onwards, and he was kind enough to press me to study them and to write on the period which they covered. At first it seemed impossible to spare sufficient time to undertake so large a work with any hope of doing it satisfactorily. As, however, he urged his request, eventually, though with much diffidence, I consented to try the first period. Gradually the work developed; it has already grown into five volumes, and now to two more. Whatever measure of usefulness may have resulted, therefore, is attributable in the first instance to the Bishop of Clifton's initiative.

In the Preface of the "Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England" the following words occur :

"It seems generally recognized that the times of the later Vicars Apostolic are shrouded in some obscurity. It was accordingly determined to begin the present work with the years which followed the death of Bishop Challoner, in 1781, and to continue it if possible down to the time of the Hierarchy. It is much to be hoped that if this proves beyond the power of the present writer some one else may be found to complete the undertaking."

This passage indicates the extent of the work as a whole, and it originally appeared to the mind of the writer. In view of the uncertainties of life, one could hardly look forward with any confidence to being spared to finish so considerable an undertaking, and hence the qualifying sentence at the end. It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that now in the year 1915 the work as set out at the beginning is complete, for the present volumes bring us down to the restoration of the Hierarchy. And although it has been done in less time than could have been expected—for it has proceeded almost at the rate of a volume a year—it is hoped that the period has been fairly covered without any important omission, and whatever the shortcomings, at least every movement and event of importance has been faced. This has necessitated the revival of the collection of many disputes and misunderstandings between laymen

and their Bishops, and even among the Bishops themselves, which had been almost forgotten; but if the lessons of history are to be learnt, it is necessary that we should be willing to face such matters, provided that sufficient time has elapsed to prevent the recital from being the source of a revival of party feelings now happily long extinct. Milner expressed his opinion that thirty years ought to elapse before the history of those turbulent times could be dispassionately written. In point of fact, nearly three times that period has elapsed since the struggles were at an end.

The period covered by the present volume is—with the possible exception of the incidents of chapters 2 and 3—practically free from the acute struggle described in the preceding ones. There are indeed misunderstandings and differences of opinion to chronicle—and wherever human nature exists there will most assuredly always be such; but they did not reach the acute pitch characteristic of the times of Milner, Charles Plowden, Dr. Poynter and the Catholic committee. It is believed, however, that the interest of the present period will be found in no way inferior to that of the earlier ones. As we get nearer to modern times, the personal side of the history becomes more vivid and lends variety. Among the laity the vigorous and characteristic personalities of men such as Welby Pugin and Frederick Lucas, the saintly figure of the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, and his convert friend, Mr. Ambrose Lisle, Phillips, added to occasional glimpses of O'Connell and his relations with English Catholics; among the ecclesiastical rulers, Bishop Naines, Bishop Wisemann, and latterly Bishop Ullathorne, together with the two Roman Cardinals, Weld and Action; among the inferior clergy such scholars as Lingard, Tierney and Daniel Rock, added to the picturesque figures of the three great missionaries—Father Dominic, Dr. Gentili and Father Ignatius Spencer—bring before us names which recall an interesting and eventful period of our ecclesiastical history. The lives of most of these great men have indeed been written; but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that down to 1845—the year of the Oxford conversions—the period as a whole has been almost as forgotten as the years which preceded Emancipation.

After 1845 there is literature in abundance, and if one had simply consulted the convenience of writing, it would have seemed



well to leave off there, or at least at the death of Dr. Griffiths, Vicar Apostolic of the London district in 1847; for as will be seen, this later event really marked the passing of the old order of things. It seemed necessary, however, for the sake of completeness to continue the story throughout the three years' delay, due chiefly to the Revolution in Rome, and take it down to the actual establishment of the Hierarchy, as originally proposed.

Nevertheless, this course was not without its grave drawbacks, for it has involved telling once more, however briefly, the story of the Oxford movement, which has been written and rewritten so copiously and from such various points of view that many will hardly welcome its repetition, with little that is new to embellish it. The only fresh contribution to the general story in the present volume is the view of it as taken by the "old Catholics"—as they were styled—a view typified by Dr. Griffith's letter in answer to Prince Hohenlohe, and by various articles and letters in the *Orthodox Journal* or *Catholic Magazine*, which are not altogether without interest.

Another incidental drawback connected with the same subject is that the careers of the Oxford converts as Catholics really belong to the next period—to Wisemann's Archiepiscopate. If we consider that very few of them joined the Church before the year 1845, that those who became priests had then to go through such training as was thought necessary by whatever Order they joined, or by their Bishops, as the case might be, before ordination, it is evident that the bulk of this work as Catholics would be after 1850. But in some cases—as in those of Newman and Faber—it was begun a year or two before that date, so that it becomes necessary to introduce the reader to the beginnings of various undertakings, of which the development must be looked for elsewhere. In the case of Henry Edward Manning this difficulty does not arise, as he did not become a Catholic until 1851.

It will be seen that throughout these two volumes the central figure is Dr. Wisemann. Although his life has been written very fully, a fair amount of supplementary matter will be found in the present volumes concerning his connection with the work of the "old Catholics." He necessarily appears in a somewhat different light in cold history from that which he assumes at the hands of

a biographer with whom he is the central figure throughout. His limitations and his occasional mistakes become more prominent; but this is no disadvantage in helping us to arrive at a full estimate of his life and work, and it is believed that the net result will be by no means to lessen the idea which has been formed of him.

It is perhaps natural that Wisemann's very greatness has caused him to be credited with some of the works of his predecessors to which he can lay no claim. His achievements have put those who were before him somewhat in the shade, and the work done by them has in some cases become credited to him. For when Wisemann came to live in England it was a time of considerable development in all Catholic work. In particular the modern congregations, such as the Sisters of Mercy, the faithful companions, the Religious of Sacre Cœur and others were opening houses in London and elsewhere. Dr. Wisemann was in full sympathy with this movement, and especially after he came permanently to London in 1847, did much to foster and develop it. But he was not the originator of it, as is so often thought. Nor was his predecessor, Dr. Griffiths, an unbending opponent of the churches of Regulars, as is so frequently stated. And it was not due to Wisemann that the Redemptorist for lack of subjects refused the invitation to come to London in 1844, having secured more members, came in 1848. It may indeed be conceded that Dr. Griffiths took a somewhat narrow view of the functions of the Regulars, in comparison with the Parochial (Secular) clergy; and that Wisemann's largeness of heart and great ideas did more to encourage their coming than the calm prudence of his predecessor; but there was no such definite antithesis in their respective policies or mode of government of the diocese as has been usually implied.

Furthermore, it has often been said, and indeed is commonly asserted, that Wisemann brought the Roman spirit to England. This necessarily implies that before his time the Roman spirit was wanting among English. In a sense, this is undoubtedly true. The long isolation due to the Penal Laws had produced a certain narrowness of outlook in the Catholic body and a dry and formal style of prayer, both of which stand out in contrast with the breadth and warmth of devotion characteristic of the Apostolic See. Looking back, no one will now question what we owe to Wisemann for be-

ginning to break down this insularity and helping to found many devotions which have developed since his time so as to remove from us any such reproach.

In essential matters, however, and questions of doctrine many would vehemently deny that there was any want of the truest Roman spirit among the Catholics of that day. It was perhaps natural that a body to whom the tradition of the Catholic Committee and the Cisalpine Club were supposed to cling should be suspected of Gallicanism—a suspicion which Manning and others in later years treated almost as a maxim. Yet I venture to think that, so far at least as the laity were concerned, the accusation was wholly devoid of foundation. The Cisalpinism which was openly professed by them at the end of the eighteenth century was political rather than theological, and was aimed directly at helping on the question of Emancipation. And even when, at its worst, it was limited to a few. Charles Butler himself declares that the extreme men, such as Sir John Throckmorton—who called upon the Catholics to elect their own Bishop without having recourse to Rome—never had any following, and whatever Cisalpinism existed in the lay leaders quickly died down as soon as the political situation changed, which was quite early in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the name “Cisalpine Club” continued for many years and was a continual reminder of the past; but Dr. Poynter bore witness in 1815 that even at that date the club had long ceased to have any theological tendency whatever, and its title was only an empty name. This statement is fully borne out by a perusal of the minute-book, which shows that after the first few years the club became nothing more than a social gathering. Had it contained any anti-Roman spirit, O’Connell would assuredly have wished to join it in 1829.

We can also quote the written authority of Father Amherst. Speaking of the later members of the Cisalpine Club, whom he himself remembered, one of whom was his own father, he says that “it would not be too much to say that in remembering them (we) call to mind men who were remarkable for their respect for Church authority, and who carefully instilled that respect into the hearts and minds of their sons.” The present writer can add at least some corroboration by bearing witness that of the very many letters of the Catholic laity on ecclesiastical matters which have passed

through his hands written during the period under review in these volumes, he does not call to mind a single sentence which, so far as obedience and devotion to the Holy See is concerned, might not have been written by the most extreme Ultramontane. The spirit always breeds of accepting and acting on not only the decisions of the Holy Father, but also any expression of his wish."

It is possible that some traces of Gallicanism could be found among the clergy of those days, which may have been due to traditions imbibed when the colleges were in France; but it is probable that it was imputable to individuals rather than to a class. No more typical English Catholic priest could be quoted than Dr. Gradwell, who learned his theology at Crook Hall, the precursor of Ushaw; and when he went to live in Rome as rector of the English College, he does not appear to have found himself in any way out of sympathy with the theological opinions in vogue there and taught to his own students. In similar way it may be pointed out that Dr. Cox, who for eleven years presided over St. Edmund's College, had been one of Dr. Wisemann's students and had learnt his theology in Rome; and we do not hear that he found any tendency in the theological teaching at Old Hall to which he took exception. Many would indeed maintain that on such subjects as Papal Authority and the like the views expressed in authoritative quarters to-day would accord more with the careful and balanced exposition of them characteristic of the English clergy of the old school than with the more rhetorical method of speech used by the zealous converts of a generation later.

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THE NEW MISSAL. In English. For every day in the year, with Introduction, Notes and a Book of Prayer. Contains over 1,200 pages, but is not bulky, as it is printed on India paper. By *Rev. F. X. Lasance*, author of "My Prayer Book," etc. Prices: From \$1.50 to \$3.25. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Only a short time ago another author well known in this country announced that he was engaged on the preparation of a new English Missal. Very soon after this announcement Father Lasance's book appeared.

It speaks well for the excellence of such a book, and the prompt recognition of the demand for it, when two of the most prominent

clergymen of this country in devotional work try to meet the demand at the same time. It is quite evident that no one will be more ready to welcome this Missal than the compiler of the other.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the value of the Missal in the hands of the laity.

It is superfluous to say that the best book for the Mass is the Mass book. It must always be said of even the best prayer-book that it is a substitute. The prayers of even the most learned and most devout son of the Church cannot equal the prayers of the Church. When the people can assist at Mass in the most perfect manner, they will derive the greatest benefit from the Holy Sacrifice. But the most perfect way, surely, is the Church's way, and that is the way of the Missal.

There are some points about this new edition that are worthy of special mention.

The liturgical arrangement is strictly correct and up-to-date, according to the latest Roman decrees, something that cannot be said of other Missals.

The translation of the prayers of the Church has been very carefully done, and it is confidently believed that this edition gives the most correct and at the same time most idiomatic rendering.

This edition contains directions, easily understood, on how to use the Missal, and gives also the ceremonies to be observed by the laity at Mass.

A specially valuable feature are the many explanatory notes to be found throughout the book

A Book of Prayer has been added to the Missal. It consists of devout acts, hymns, litanies and other forms of public prayer, together with devotions for Holy Communion and for visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and other prayers for private devotion.

The type is a very clear boldface, easily read. The various styles of binding in flexible covers are handsome, strong and durable.

The correct text, the smooth, idiomatic translation, the many valuable special features, the clear type, the fine India paper, so thin, but opaque, and the flexible binding, place this Missal far in advance of any other.

"The New Missal," besides being a complete Missal for every day, is also a complete prayer-book. The Introduction is replete with good things, old and new, containing solid instruction as well as interesting references regarding the folk-lore of the Mass. The explanatory notes running through the Ordinary of the Mass are a unique feature. The Appendix of Prayers contains a large col-

lection of the most favorite prayers, special attention being paid to prayers for Communion and for visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

There should be at least one copy in every Catholic family, and if all the members of the family cannot use it in church, it would be well for the head to read the Mass for Sunday to the others on Saturday evening.

**THE HALE LECTURES, 1914-15. The Ethiopic Liturgy: Its Sources, Development and Present Form.** By the *Rev. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Ph. D.* (Munich), professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, Western Theological Seminary. Chicago. 12mo., pp. 488. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co.

This is the latest course of lectures delivered and published under the will of the late Right Rev. Charles Reuben Hale, D. D., LL. D., Bishop Coadjutor of Springfield, who left the residue of his estate in trust for the general purpose of promoting the Catholic Faith, in its purity and integrity, as taught in Holy Scripture, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils, and in particular to be used for the publication and circulation of Courses of Lectures on one of the following subjects: Liturgies and Liturgics, Church Hymns and Church Music, the History of the Eastern Churches, the History of National Churches, and Contemporaneous Church, treating of events happening since the beginning of "The Oxford Movement" in 1833.

The learned lecturer, realizing the scarcity of Ethiopic manuscripts, especially modern ones, in Occidental museums and libraries, communicated with the American and British representatives at the capital of Ethiopia and got a manuscript copy of the Ethiopic liturgy as it is used in Abyssinia to-day. This is published in its original form and in an English translation in this book. He then examined every Ethiopic liturgical manuscript in the museums and libraries of Europe (including those in Petrograd and excepting those in France, which on account of the war were inaccessible).

He begins his course of lectures by a discussion of the background, sources, earliest form and development of the service. This is followed by a translation of the present Ethiopic liturgy in such a form that liturgical scholars who are not Orientalists may use it in their studies. Then follows a series of critical notes on the text of the Ethiopic manuscript; and finally a facsimile copy of the "Ordo Communis."

Of course, the final object of this course of lectures is to justify the existence of the Anglican Church and to form a union with the Eastern churches.

The attempt at union has been made on more than one occasion, but unsuccessfully, because they are Catholic in most of the essentials, and they will not compromise. The Ethiopian Church has separated from the Catholic Church on the humanity of Christ and the procession of the Holy Spirit, but it professes all the other articles of faith professed by the Roman Church. It has seven sacraments, devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the saints, prayers for the dead, and feasts and fasts without number.

In general, its liturgy is allied to the Coptic Rite, and its hierarchy is subject to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria. The study of its liturgy should lead to the liturgy of the Roman Church rather than away from it.

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**LIFE OF BLESSED MARGARET MARY ALACOQUE.** (Revelations of the Sacred Heart to Blessed Margaret Mary.) From the French of Monseigneur Bougard, Bishop of Laval. By a Visitandine of Baltimore. 12mo., pp. 400. New Year: Benziger Brothers.

It speaks well for the excellence of this biography that although it was first published in 1874, and first saw the light in an English dress in 1890, it still remains the standard life of the apostle of the Sacred Heart. This is not surprising when we consider the learning and sanctity of the biographer and the fineness of the biography.

It is an exhaustive life, beginning with a very interesting chapter on "The State of the Church in France at the Birth of Blessed Margaret Mary," and ending with her Beatification. A chapter on "The Spread of Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus" from 1870 to 1874 is added, and this is followed by copious notes and documents.

As to the reputation of the biographer, that is sufficiently known from his two excellent volumes on St. Vincent de Paul and his works, and on the two equally valuable volumes on St. de Chantal and the origin of the Visitation.

The author tells us that he expected to rest from his labors when he completed these two works, but, to put it in his own words, "a pure sweet voice called him—that of the first of St. Chantal's daughter—to be raised to the altar, Blessed Margaret Mary. She was chosen by God to finish the work of St. Francis de Sales and his great coöperatrix. Both had labored together in the construction of the edifice. They dug the foundations and drew the grand plans. But the crown was wanting. It was Margaret Mary, that saintly and humble virgin, who was deputed to place it on its brow. In some way, then, the life of our blessed sister is a necessary se-

quel to the life of St. Chantal. The biography of the one illustrates and perfects that of the other.

"But if Blessed Margaret Mary interests us as the first beautiful daughter of the holy founders of the Visitation, we hesitate not to say that she awakens our sympathy from still another point of view. Hidden in the depths of her cloister, in the seclusion of a little town far from Paris, she receives a first-class mission. She was deputed by Almighty God to come to the assistance of the Church in the fulfilment of a work the greatest and at the same time the most formidable ever accomplished in this world."

In this spirit Monsignor Bougard approaches his labor of love, and in this spirit he tells the story which links 1647 with 1864. He writes not only as one who narrates facts that have been submitted to all the tests of true history, but also as one who realizes the significances of those, and who is moved by them to love and devotion.

It seems especially fitting in these latter times that this excellent biography should again be brought to the attention of the lovers of the Sacred Heart, that their love may be intensified, and to the attention of those who have not yet loved, that they may feel the glow of this furnace of love.

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ONE YEAR WITH GOD. Sixty sermons and meditations for pulpit and pious reading. By Rev. *Michael V. McDonough*, author of "The Chief Sources of Sin." 8vo., pp. 256. Boston: Angel Guardian Press.

Father McDonough tells us that he aims at extreme simplicity in his sermons. Therefore he recommends his book particularly to the simple—little ones and all who are striving to conform to the standard of the Master Who said: "Unless you be converted and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Math. xviii., 3).

The title of this book is a little surprising, and would be quite puzzling without a word of explanation. The titles of some of the sermons are rather odd. For instance: "Five Little Holes in a Box," meaning the five senses in the body; and "The Parable of Graft," referring to the unjust steward. But the author is to be congratulated on having accomplished his purpose with unusual success.

The sermons are models of simplicity and clearness. At the same time they are models of correctness, so that while they are intelligent to the least educated of the congregation, they will not offend the most learned. They are also remarkable for directness. Very few of them have any exordium. The preacher states his purpose at once, and attacks his subject promptly. They are not homi-



lies, and do not pretend to treat the epistle or Gospel of the day exhaustively. They do, however, bring out the main idea of the epistle or Gospel and force the application of it in a way that is irresistible.

**HOMILIES ON ALL THE SUNDAY GOSPELS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR.**  
By the *Rev. Gaetano Finco*. Translated from the Italian by Edmund M. Dunne, D. D., Bishop of Peoria. 12mo., 276. St. Louis: B. Herder.

The Homilies of Rev. Gaetano Finco are introduced by the Translator in the following words: "The learned and humble author of these Homilies declared, in his publication of them, that they were not intended to see the light. The Diocesan Examining Board of Turin, however, judged otherwise.

"In preaching to his people, Father Finco aimed at simplicity and brevity—two rhetorical qualities which every clergyman having the pastoral care of souls might do well to cultivate."

The Translator adds that he has made such changes and omissions as seemed necessary to render the sermons suitable to American readers.

It may be truthfully said that the reverend author has succeeded admirably in his aim to be simple and brief, while the Right Reverend Translator has been quite as successful in preserving these qualities in the translation.

But something more remains to be said. These discourses are splendid examples of sermon construction. They might well be taken as models by homiletic students. Each one is a complete composition with all the component parts of a homily, and the language used is clear, flowing and pleasing. They can all be preached without alteration to any congregation, with the assurance that the sower has sowed the seed well and that it will bear fruit abundantly.

**THE PRACTICE OF MENTAL PRAYER** By *Father René de Maumigny*, of the Society of Jesus. Second Treatise: *Extraordinary Prayer*. Translated from the French Edition and Translation revised by Father Elder Mullan, S. J. 12mo., pp. 293. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

This book is called with special appropriateness "*The Practice of Mental Prayer*," because the author was moved to write it in answer to cases regarding Extraordinary Prayer actually laid before him. He says:

"For some years cases regarding extraordinary prayer have often been laid before me, and I have thought Christian charity entailed upon me the duty of giving my humble opinion, in spite of the

difficulty of the subject. But in these lofty paths a single answer is generally not enough, and I have been asked to supplement these individual counsels by a treatise on infused Contemplation. I will say nothing more as to the origin of this work, because this is enough to indicate its spirit. It is not a theological, but a practical treatise that I have in mind, and I have avoided as far as possible anything which might give rise to controversy."

The treatise is divided into five parts.

Part 1 speaks of the nature and degrees of contemplation, but only so far as to give the necessary ideas to directors for the guidance of souls. In this part the author has inserted lengthy citations from the writings of the saints.

Part 2 shows the great trials to which souls raised to Contemplation are sooner or later subjected. On this point the author has been most often consulted, and consequently he has developed it at great length. He says in regard to it: "I hope these pages, written with bruised hearts rather than written books before my eyes, will bring some comfort to the afflicted souls who read them."

The subject of Part 3 is the virtues necessary to contemplative souls. The author considers this part of supreme importance, since the greater number of souls who are raised to Contemplation and who make only indifferent progress in it must attribute it to the absence of solid virtues.

Part 4 treats of supernatural visions and speech. Here illusion is easy, and the author dwells at length on the discernment of spirits.

Part 5 takes up the question of vocation to infused Contemplation. The importance of this question is obvious, for in order to reach the goal, it is not enough to run, but the running must be along the path leading to the goal.

The sources from which the author has drawn are Holy Writ, the lives and writings of the saints and the experience gained from the numerous cases laid before him.

THE WAR AND THE PROPHEYS. Notes on Certain Popular Predictions Current in this Latter Age. By *Herbert Thurston, S. J.* 12mo., 190. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

In this book Father Thurston deals with the prophecies current during or recalled to memory by the present war. It is confined to those prognostics which have attracted attention in recent times and are expected to find their fulfillment in our own generation.

Although this work might with truth be called a refutation of

modern prophecies, the author's purpose is to critically examine them, weighing the evidence for them and against, and then to draw the conclusion which must follow. He does not approach the subject as counsel for the plaintiff, nor as counsel for the defendant, but rather as attorney for the Commonwealth or as Judge. We gather this from his own words in the opening address. He says:

"Naturally it is not the aim of the following pages to show that credibility is to be denied on principle to every attempt to foretell future events. St. Paul writes, as we know: 'Despise not prophecies, but prove all things; hold fast that which is good.' (I. Thess. v., 20-21.) That there has been and are many persons to whom a knowledge of the future is imparted in ways that transcend our comprehension, I fully believe. But that this knowledge ever extends to the foreseeing of political events of general interest, is very difficult to establish by evidence.

"It does not seem to be part of the divine dispensation that assurance regarding the decrees of Providence should be given to any considerable body of mankind. Certainly a careful scrutiny of such pretended oracles as are discussed in the present volume must lead to an attitude of extreme suspicion in regard to all literature of this type. Of the many hundred predictions recorded in the various collections which I have examined, almost all have been long ago refuted by the actual course of events. I have, in fact, come across but one, and that a prophecy to which attention has not hitherto been directed, which seems to me to retain the least semblance of intrinsic probability. Moreover, even here the extrinsic evidence is quite unsatisfactory, and should the terrible catastrophe foreshadowed unhappily come anywhere near realization, one could feel no confidence that we were in the presence of anything more than a rather exceptional coincidence."

The longest chapter in the book deals with the pretended "prophecy of St. Malachy," as this is the one most frequently quoted and most generally accepted. Father Thurston thought it best to discuss its fraudulent origin in greater detail.

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**THE SACRAMENTS.** A Dogmatic Treatise. By the *Rev. Joseph Pohle Ph. D., D. D.*, formerly professor of apologetics at the Catholic University of America, now professor of dogma in the University of Breslau. Authorized English version by Arthur Preuss. Vol. I, The Sacraments in general, baptism and confirmation. 12mo., pp. 328. St. Louis: B. Herder

This is volume 8 of an excellent dogmatic series. The previous volumes treat of God, the Holy Trinity, Christology, Soteriology, Mariology and Grace. Four succeeding volumes will deal with the

Holy Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, Matrimony and Eschatology. Although a treatise on the Sacraments must necessarily be like all other treatises on the same subject to a great extent because it deals with matters of faith, there is much room for difference in the manner of treatment. It is possible for a student to learn all that the Church requires concerning the Sacraments from a dry, obscure, uninteresting book, without any aid to clearer understanding or fuller study by way of illustration, or references, or bibliography. In that case the reader goes forward through a sense of duty, laboriously, and wishing for the end.

Or it is possible for one to acquire the same knowledge from an interesting, clear and inviting volume, gradually developing, in logical order, and leading on to fuller study and a clearer understanding by copious references and a rich bibliography. In this case the student forgets the end and is disappointed when he comes to it. Dr. Pohle's book belongs to the second class. Two chapters that are especially interesting tell us about "Pre-Christian Sacraments" and "Sacramentals."

It is hard to imagine a clearer, more complete or more satisfactory course of dogma in English than this one. Its value and accessibility is increased by the exceptional manner of its material making and by the reasonableness of its price.

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COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. *Sabetti-Barrett*. Editio Vigesima Secunda. Neo Eboraci: Fr. Pustet & Co.

Father Sabetti's Compendium of Moral Theology, founded on Gury-Ballerini and continued by Father Barrett, easily holds its place as the best manual of the present time. Father Sabetti's purpose in writing this book was to produce a short practical manual for students and missionary priests. He said in the original preface: "I have kept these only before my eyes, namely, young men pursuing their studies in our seminaries and missionary priests who labor hard and earnestly in the vineyard of the Lord. The first do not need long dissertations, nor controversies, nor doubts, nor new and stranger doctrines, but short and solid solutions by the living voice of a professor. The other needs a brief compendium in which solutions, perhaps forgotten, can be seen at a glance."

He carried out this purpose admirably, and hence the lasting value of his work. His wonderful prudence in solving cases, his profound knowledge of theology and his cheerful charity gave him an equipment that was rare and fruitful.

Father Barrett is a most worthy successor. His love and respect

for Father Sabetti and his appreciation of his predecessor's ability cause him to approach his task with that reverence which does not presume to improve the work of the master, but rather to continue it and supplement it.

This is what he has done in this latest edition. It has been brought strictly up to date.

A word of commendation should be added for the publishers, who present the work in an entirely new dress altogether becoming and pleasing.

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THE SUMMA THEOLOGICA OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, Part II. (first part), third number, QQ., XC.-CXIV., treating on "Law and Grace," translated into English by the Fathers of the English Dominican province, 8vo., cloth, net \$2. New York: Benziger Brothers.

To say that the appearance in English of the present volume is timely is only to repeat what has been equally true of preceding numbers. Nowhere in the literature of the past can a better antidote to the poisonous errors of the day be sought than in the theological masterpiece of a master mind—"The Summa of Theology."

All that was best in the great philosophies of paganism was distilled into the great work that is being translated through the generous pains of the Dominican Fathers. The genius of Socrates, of Plato and of Aristotle is latent in the pregnant sentences of the "Summa;" not alone profane knowledge, but also sacred tradition is accumulated in its pages. To read St. Thomas is to read all the fathers, for to St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom and St. Ambrose, to the two Great Gregories, as well as to the other fathers, St. Thomas has made himself a debtor.

This volume is the eighth of a projected series of seventeen, appearing at regular intervals, sold singly or by subscription.

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CATHOLIC HOME ANNUAL FOR 1916. Profusely illustrated. Stories and special articles by the foremost Catholic writers. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The "Catholic Home Annual" has been joyously welcomed into thousands of Catholic homes year after year. Indeed, it becomes indispensable when once introduced into the home circle, for it brings the warm sunlight and cheery fireside atmosphere along with it. Each year it has been better than the year before, and the newest number eclipses all the rest. Special articles, all written by authors gifted with the necessary knowledge, and with a sense of accuracy that makes for absolute historic truth, are numerous. All

of the stories are by Catholic authors whose names stand in the foremost rank of story-writers.

The "Annual" is not a paper book to be glanced at and then thrown into the waste basket. On the contrary, it is a family year book. It contains information and entertainment for every month and every week in the year, and is worthy of a place on the family round-table under whose lamp Christian parents should night after night strive to inculcate those lessons of Catholic truth which will equip their children for the battle of life.

**THAT OFFICE BOY.** By *Rev. Francis J. Finn, S. J.*, author of "Tom Playfair," "Percy Wynn," "The Fairy of the Snows," etc. 12mo., with frontispiece, 85 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

A new story by Father Finn! It will be glad news to many to learn that Father Finn has found time from his many duties to write a new story, and such a story! From the opening chapter to the last page of the book the interest never lags. The plot is very simple, turning on a prize contest for pianos offered by certain newspapers to the school, society or club that receives the greatest number of coupons. Of course, this calls for keen competition on the part of the young people of the city, and it is in this contest that Michael Desmond, "That Office Boy," figures prominently. The characters in the book are just those people that Father Finn delights in drawing—people that we meet every day, that we know intimately—good, straightforward folks and others, too, that we would not care to associate with. What the result of the contest is, who the successful competitors are, must be learned by reading the story.

Of course, there is a strain of Father Finn's delightful humor running through the book, with here and there a touch of genuine pathos that brings the tears to our eyes. Father Finn has so long been recognized as a master of fiction that he needs no words of commendation. Suffice it that "That Office Boy" is the equal of anything he has ever written.

**THE MODERNIST.** By *Francis Deming Hoyt*, author of "Catherine Sidney," "The Coming Storm," etc. Crown, 8vo., pp. xli.—265; net \$1.25, by mail \$1.35. The Lakewood Press, Lakewood, N. J.

A story of modern social life, in which some of the allurements and dangers of Modernism in society are depicted in an interesting and forceful way, and some of the fruits of present-day liberalism are plainly pointed out.

The author introduces us to two families, intimately associated, yet differing radically in their views regarding domestic and social questions.

Helen Seton, the elder daughter of the conservative family, personifies that gentle, unassuming, yet strong type of womanhood, which has and always will rule the world, not by self-assertion, but by force of an innate refinement of mind and heart which shrinks from notoriety, but commands both the respect and love of men.

The other school of thought is represented by Dorothy Gates, a daughter of "progressive" parents—an exaggerated type of the modern woman, a selfish, worldly-minded, undisciplined girl.

The story presents the working of these opposite characters in the relations of life, and their natural consequences are revealed in the denouement.

**LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.** According to the recent Pontifical Decrees, with a chapter on the "rubrics to be observed in reciting the office." Large, bold type; printed on tinted paper; substantially bound. English and Latin or Latin only. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is a beautiful edition of a standard book of devotion. It will appeal to Mary's devout clients not only in convent and cloister, but also in the busy world outside, where so many of her faithful children offer her their daily act of homage and obtain through her powerful intercession abundant graces.

This book is faithful and accurate, and at the same time it is convenient and inviting. It excels in paper, in binding, in type, in arrangement, so that it is hardly possible to improve on it.

**THE CAMP BY COPPER RIVER.** By Rev. H. S. Spalding, S. J. 8vo., cloth, with three illustrations, 85 cents. The book has an illustrated jacket and three very fine half-tone illustrations. New York: Benziger Bros.

This story tells of a group of city lads who go up into the keen air of the Michigan forests on a camping trip. Though they set up their tents on the densely forested bank of the Copper River, the lads, through the scientific attainments of one of their number, are in daily communication with the news of the civilized world, for "Spider Eggert," a wireless operator, strings his outfit between two tall pines. One of the most thrilling parts of the book is that narrating how "Spider," by a marvelous handling of the wireless, catches and brings a thief to justice.

Interesting, instructive and pleasant as is "The Camp by Copper

River," the thing that stands out foremost in its pages is its pure and vigorous atmosphere of young Catholic manhood, which will be breathed in by all our boys and girls to their mental and moral development—the highest object of all literary effort.

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THE RED CIRCLE. By *Gerald A. Reynolds*. 12mo., pp. 320. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

A dramatic story of the Boxer uprising in China and the adventures of a small coterie of Europeans who are forced to abandon their homes to escape the fury of the mob.

There is a captivating charm in the way the tale is told, and it is done with a force that gives the dramatic parts so pronounced a realism that the reader feels himself a part of the life of this far-off country, siding with the unprotected Christians, a real participant in defense of their life and their property.











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